





*John Beatson.*















NAVAL AND MILITARY  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM  
1727 TO 1783.

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BY  
ROBERT BEATSON, Esq. L.L.D.

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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THE following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the University of Aberdeen, and who have been elected to the various degrees of the University, from the year 1800 to the present time. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the degrees are arranged in chronological order. The names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the University are given in full, and the names of the persons who have been elected to the various degrees of the University are given in full. The names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the University are given in full, and the names of the persons who have been elected to the various degrees of the University are given in full.

J. Barnett, Printer,  
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	43	—	9	from the bottom, after the words "clear space between" <i>insert</i> "them."
	68	—	5	from the bottom, after "and" <i>insert</i> "he."
	85	—	4	from the bottom, before "reached" <i>insert</i> "it."
	98	—	4	from the top, for "whom" <i>read</i> "who."
	106	—	15	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "he."
	106	last line,		for "and were not" <i>read</i> "and not being."
	119	—	11	from the bottom, for "who" <i>read</i> "which."
	156	—	7	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "which."
	198	—	10	from the bottom, for "and frigate" <i>read</i> "and a frigate."
	218	—	16	from the bottom, for "British line" <i>read</i> "British fleet."
	218	—	5	from the bottom, for "completed, formed," <i>read</i> "completely formed."
	220	—	10	from the top, <i>dele</i> "for" at the end of the line.
	220	—	14-15	from the top, <i>dele</i> "little doubt was entertained."
	256	—	7	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "at."
	270	—	9	from the bottom, for "will" <i>read</i> "shall."
	282	last line,		after "he" <i>insert</i> "was."
	332	—	4	from the bottom, after "or" <i>read</i> "catamarans."
	338	—	15	from the bottom, for "those" <i>read</i> "the."
	386	—	15	from the top, for "while he was escorting the prizes to Brest" <i>read</i> "while he was escorting to Brest the prizes."
	405	—	2	from the top, after "nearly on" <i>insert</i> "an."
	409	—	17	from the top, <i>dele</i> "having."
	508	—	6	from the bottom, <i>dele</i> "though" and after the word "board" <i>insert</i> "who."
	508	—	2	from the bottom, for "to work" <i>read</i> "working" and for "to clear" <i>read</i> "clearing."
	577	—	4	from the top, after "arrived" <i>insert</i> "there."
	592	note 4 line		from the bottom, for "became" <i>read</i> "become."
	599	—	4	at the beginning, <i>dele</i> "the."
	604	—	6	from the bottom, after "vessels in" <i>insert</i> "the."
	637	—	11	from the top, after "there was to" <i>insert</i> "be."
	654	—	4	from the top, after "in" <i>insert</i> "the."



NAVAL AND MILITARY  
M E M O I R S

OF

*GREAT BRITAIN.*

---

1780.

THE Parliament met for the dispatch of business on November 25th, 1779, when the King, in his Speech to both Houses, said, “ that he was glad to meet them in Parliament, at a time  
“ when they were all of them called upon, by every principle  
“ of duty and every consideration of interest, to exert their  
“ united efforts in support and defence of their country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending  
“ with one of the most dangerous confederacies, that ever was  
“ formed against the crown and people of Great Britain.

“ The designs and attempts of their enemies to invade this  
“ kingdom, had, by the blessing of Providence, been hitherto  
“ frustrated and disappointed. They still continued to menace  
“ them with great armaments and preparations : but, he trusted,  
“ that we were well prepared on our part to meet every  
“ attack and repel every insult. He knew the character of his  
“ brave people : the menaces of their enemies had no other  
“ effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to  
“ call forth that national spirit, which had so often checked  
“ and defeated the projects of ambition and injustice, and enabled the British fleets and armies to protect their own coun-

“ try, to vindicate their own rights, and, at the same time, to uphold and preserve the liberties of Europe, from the restless and encroaching power of the House of Bourbon.”

The King very emphatically lamented the heavy burdens it would be necessary to lay on the nation; and regretted, that the circumstances and exigencies of public affairs rendered them indispensable.

The addresses to his Majesty, on this occasion, were combated with all the eloquence and strength of the opposition; but the Minister carried his points by very considerable majorities: and the supplies granted in the course of the session, were great beyond example. Eighty-five thousand seamen, including the marine corps, were voted for the service of the current year: and the supplies amounted to the enormous sum of 21,196,496*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*\*

Very great preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour. When the rupture with France took place, five battalions of his Majesty's Electoral troops were taken into British pay, two of which were sent to the island of Minorca, the other three to reinforce the garrison of Gibraltar; and at both places, they rendered most essential services. Every ship fit for service was put in commission, and the greatest exertions were made at all the dock-yards, to get them ready for sea. Sir Thomas Pye was continued in the command at the port of Portsmouth, and made Lieutenant-General of the Marines. Vice-Admiral Roddam was appointed to the command at the Nore. Rear-Admiral Evans succeeded to Rear-Admiral Francis William Drake in the command in the Downs; and Rear-Admiral Gambier to Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker at Plymouth. Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands. Upon the death of Sir Charles Hardy, the government of Greenwich Hospital was given to Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and the command of the grand fleet to Admiral Geary: but as his state of health did not permit him to retain it

\* See Note 162.

it any length of time, he was succeeded by Vice-Admiral Darby.

On the 6th of September, his Majesty was pleased to appoint John Earl of Sandwich, Wilmot Earl of Lisburne, Henry Panton, Esq; Constantine John Lord Mulgrave, Bamber Gascoigne, Esq; the Hon. Charles Fulke Greville, and George Darby, Esqrs. (vice J. Buller, Esq;) to be Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland.

In pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure, the following promotion of Flag-Officers took place on the 26th of September, viz. Matthew Buckle, Robert Man, Esqrs. Vice-Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.

Hugh Pigot, Esq; Molyneux Lord Shuldham, John Vaughan, Esqrs. Vice-Admirals of the White, and Robert Duff, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Honourable John Byron, Matthew Barton, Esq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Honourable Samuel Barrington, Mariot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, George Darby, and John Campbell, Esqrs. Vice-Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

James Gambier, William Lloyd, Francis William Drake, Esqrs. Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Hyde Parker, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Red, John Evans, Mark Milbank, Esqrs. Rear-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

Nicholas Vincent, John Storr, Esqrs. Sir Edward Vernon, Knt. Rear-Admirals of the White, Joshua Rowley, Richard Edwards, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, Esqrs. Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

And the following Captains were, at the same time, appointed Flag-Officers of his Majesty's fleet, viz. Charles Webber, William Langdon, Benjamin Marlow, Alexander Hood, and Alexander Innes, Esqrs. to be Rear-Admirals of the White.



Sir Chaloner Ogle, Knt. Sir Samuel Hood, Bart. Matthew Moore, Esq; Sir Richard Hughes, Bart. Francis Samuel Drake, Esq; and Richard Kempenfelt, Esq; to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

The Spaniards had now blocked up Gibraltar a considerable time both by sea and land, and were preparing most stupendous works for cannon and mortars to batter the place. It was therefore determined to relieve it, although the enemy had at Cadiz a very strong fleet, with which they boasted, that they would prevent any succours from being thrown in to the aid of the garrison. A strong squadron, under Admiral Rodney, being in readiness to proceed with the trade to the Leeward Islands, it was resolved, that to defeat any force with which the Spaniards might endeavour to oppose the relief of the fortrefs of Gibraltar, to strengthen the fleet under Admiral Rodney with a squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Digby, and that they should proceed together to the succour of that place; and that having accomplished that service, the latter should return to England with the ships under his command, and the other should proceed to the West Indies, with the squadron which was ordered for that station. His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, (now Duke of Clarence) his Majesty's third son, served on board Rear-Admiral Digby's ship as a midshipman. On the 27th of December, 1779, Sir George Rodney put to sea, with twenty sail of the line and nine frigates,\* having under him Rear-Admirals Digby and Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. This fleet also escorted the merchant ships bound to Portugal and the West Indies, besides the store-ships and victuallers bound for Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. As this grand fleet was sent out purposely to relieve Gibraltar, its operations fall more properly to be related under the article *Mediterranean*, where the reader will find a full account of them.

As both the French and Spaniards continued to send strong reinforcements of ships and troops to their settlements in the

\* See Note 163.

the West Indies, it became absolutely necessary that Britain should, on her part, pursue similar measures, for the safety and protection of her colonies in that part of the world. Accordingly, a squadron of six ships of the line and two frigates\* were sent there, under the command of the Honourable Commodore Walsingham. He had orders to escort the trade bound for the Leeward Islands and Jamaica; and also, the transports which had on board four regiments of foot for the garrisons in the West Indies. He sailed from Spithead on the 8th of April; but by contrary winds was constrained to put into Torbay; where he was unfortunately detained by the same cause until the 1st of June. This untoward circumstance retarded his junction with Sir George Rodney, who, with such a reinforcement, would have been enabled to have given a good account of the French and Spanish fleets, while they were at Prince Rupert's bay in the island of Dominica.

From the beginning of this war, symptoms of a mutinous disposition had appeared among the seamen in some ships of the British fleet: and this year, that disposition manifested itself in an alarming manner at Spithead, in one of the ships destined to the West Indies. The origin and particulars of it we shall proceed to state.

The *Invincible* of seventy-four guns, commanded by the Honourable George Falconer, was one of the ships that should have accompanied Commodore Walsingham to the West Indies; but the crew refused to weigh the anchor, until they should be paid the wages which they alledged were due to them. In the act of Parliament for the regulation and the better payment of seamens wages serving on board his Majesty's ships of war, it is, among other things, enacted, that when any ship shall have been in sea-pay twelve months or more, and shall be at or arrive in any port of Great Britain, or the coast thereof, &c. and so on to the words, "And shall cause *immediate* payment to be made of the wages due," &c. to the end of the fifth article. And the words of the sixth article are:

"Such sums of money shall in the first place be appropriated,

“ and shall from time to time be issued and applied out of the  
“ supplies granted, or to be granted, for any naval services, as  
“ shall be sufficient for the regular payment of all tickets made  
“ out pursuant to the act, and for the regular discharge of all  
“ wages due, or to grow due, in manner following: that is to  
“ say, as often as any ship shall have been in sea-pay twelve  
“ months, or more, shall be or arrive in any port of Great  
“ Britain, or the coast thereof, the Captain, or Commander,  
“ shall immediately cause five complete pay books to be made  
“ out for all the time such ships shall have been in pay, except  
“ the last six months; and forthwith transmit, by the first safe  
“ opportunity, such books, together with three alphabets, and  
“ a stop book, to the Commissioners of the Navy at their Board;  
“ and so soon as such ship shall be or arrive in any port of Great  
“ Britain, where there is a Commissioner of the Navy, the  
“ said Commissioner of the Navy shall solicit the necessary sums  
“ of money, and shall cause immediate payment to be made of  
“ the wages due, deducting the advance money and all de-  
“ falcations; leaving always six months wages unpaid, and no  
“ more: and all the wages due upon any ship shall be paid as  
“ soon as may be, or within two months at farthest, after the  
“ arrival of such ship in the port to be laid up. The month shall  
“ consist of twenty-eight days.”

Upon these two articles, the seamen of the *Invincible* found-  
ed their claim to receive their pay before the ship failed. Their  
situation with regard to wages was, that according to twelve  
months of twenty-eight days, they had six months pay due;  
but according to calendar months, the pay of the seamen would  
not have been due for near a month longer. The case was  
singular as to the demand, by reckoning the months of twenty-  
eight days instead of calendar months; but it had frequently  
happened before, that the companies of ships had refused to  
proceed to sea, without being paid the wages due to them, as  
they always alledged, in compliance with a positive act of Parlia-  
ment. In direct contradiction to any refusal to proceed to  
sea, stands the fourteenth article of war. The words follow:

“ If



“ If when action, or any service shall be commanded, any person in the fleet shall presume to delay or discourage the said action or service, upon pretence of arrears of wages, or upon any pretence whatsoever, every person so offending, being convicted thereof by the sentence of a Court-martial, shall suffer death, or such other punishment, as from the nature and degree of the offence, a Court-martial shall deem him to deserve.”

The seamen of the *Invincible* took the methods which had been formerly practised in such cases. They were unanimous in their refusal to weigh the anchor, but in other respects they were obedient to the officers of the ship. Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, who commanded at Portsmouth, sent several Captains on board the *Invincible*, to persuade the crew to return to their duty; but persuasions seldom succeed in such circumstances, and they proved quite ineffectual. Menaces were also used. The *Alexander* of seventy-four guns was ordered to be warped close alongside of her, and preparations were made for battle; but it does not appear that even this was attended with any decisive effect, as the ship did not proceed to sea with Commodore Walsingham; and consequently the disobedient ship's company attained the end for which they contended, which was, not to go to the West Indies without having their wages paid. It is true, that four of the men had been seized, and they were afterwards tried by a Court-martial, and two of the four were condemned to receive five hundred lashes each; but as the whole ship's company were in nearly the same circumstances with these two men, it does not appear that it was thought proper to inflict this punishment.

Since the period we are now speaking of, a Bill was brought into Parliament for the better payment of the Navy, and passed into a law, which has been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the seamen, who are thereby enabled to remit (free of all cost) the whole, or such part of their wages as they may judge proper, to their families or friends. And this, it is

to be hoped, has effectually removed the grievance complained of by the crew of the *Invincible*.

Administration having received certain information, that the French had come to a determination to support their American allies, with a powerful fleet and a strong body of land-forces, immediately detached Rear-Admiral Graves, with six sail of the line and two frigates,\* to North America. He sailed from Spithead on the 13th of May, and arrived at New York on the 13th of July. As several of the ships of war, which had suffered from severe service in the West Indies, and were in great need of repairs, had returned to England in the course of this year, Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood was, on the 29th of November, detached to the West Indies with eight sail of the line and two frigates, and several sloops of war, in order to replace them. A very considerable reinforcement of troops had been sent the end of last, and in the course of this year, to North America and the West Indies; an account of which the reader will find in the Appendix.†

## NORTH AMERICA.

THE formidable sea and land-force, which accompanied the *Compte d'Estaing* to the coast of Georgia, in the autumn of the year 1779, induced Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot to adopt a change of measures at New York. They resolved to act entirely upon the defensive, and to fortify that place in the strongest manner. The Commander in Chief of the land-forces also determined, to concentrate all his troops in or near New York, having every reason to suppose, that the enemy intended to attack that place. Under circumstances of the greatest danger, it was judged adviseable to withdraw the post at Rhode Island, that the General and Admiral might be enabled to make a more vigorous defence, and to oppose with effect, the immense superiority of force, which they apprehended was coming against them. Accordingly, Sir Robert Pigot withdrew the

\* See Note 165.

† See Note 166.

the garrison from Newport on the 25th of October, and repaired to New York. General Washington had assembled in the highlands, a very considerable body of troops, to which the New England colonies had largely contributed : and being in possession of the upper part of the North River, he remained in that district ready to act, and to march towards New York, as soon as the French fleet should make their appearance off that port. For this event the Americans daily looked, as they did not expect that Savannah would be able to retard the motions of their allies, for any length of time.

The gallant defence made by the garrison of Savannah, freed the British Commanders in Chief from the apprehensions they were under for New York : and the retreat of the French squadron, enabled Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot to resume their plan of active and offensive operations. They accordingly resolved on an expedition, with a powerful armament, to the southward. Every circumstance seemed to favour this design. General Washington's army was greatly diminished in point of strength ; the auxiliaries which had joined him were returned home ; the term of enlistment of a great number of continental soldiers was expired ; and the recompleting his regiments, with fresh recruits from their respective states, must necessarily occupy a considerable time. The state of his opponent was such, that Sir Henry Clinton had little to apprehend for the safety of New York during his absence : but if, contrary to his expectation, the American Commander in Chief should be able to appear in force before that place, the evacuation of Rhode Island, and the reinforcements he had received from England, had put it in his power to leave there, a large body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, perfectly sufficient for its defence. It was also abundantly provided with artillery, and with ample magazines of provisions and military stores.\* The naval force, under Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, was completely equal to the service on which he was going, exclusive of the detachments left for the

\* See Note 167.



the security of the ports of New York and Halifax, and of cruisers for the protection of trading ships.

The object of this armament was to obtain possession of the opulent province of South Carolina; and its operations were to begin with the siege of Charlestown. The success of the British arms here, would, it was thought, be severely felt by the enemy: and, besides the great supplies of provisions which the place afforded, its situation was remarkably well calculated for covering and securing the province of Georgia, and for checking the depredations made on the British West India commerce by the enemy's privateers.

Sir Henry Clinton having made all the necessary arrangements, the troops were embarked on board of transports,\* and fell down to Sandy Hook in readiness to put to sea; but they were detained here a considerable time, for want of certain information as to the departure of the *Compte d'Estaing* from the coast of North America, with the fleet under his command. The tempestuous weather had prevented the British cruisers from reaching the Hook sooner than the end of December: and as the retreat of the French fleet was then ascertained, Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot with the squadron, and Sir Henry Clinton with the troops, put to sea on the 16th of that month. Their voyage to the southward was both tedious and boisterous; and, in the course of it, both the transports and victuallers received considerable damage. Several were lost, others dispersed, a few were taken by the enemy's privateers, an ordinance ship foundered with all her stores; and almost all the horses, whether of draught or appertaining to the cavalry, were lost. It was the first of February before they got sight of the Carolina shore; and then the fleet coasted along to Tybee, where it came to an anchor.

The American Congress had conferred the command of their troops in the southern provinces on Major-General Lincoln, and had given him early notice of Sir Henry Clinton's design against Charlestown and the province of South Carolina. He accordingly

\* See Note 162.

accordingly did all that lay in his power for its defence. He even sent a Lieutenant-Colonel, with a letter to the Governor of the Havannah, earnestly requesting his Excellency to aid him, by sending a body of troops and a naval force, sufficient for the defence of Charlestown, against the attack with which he was threatened. If this request should be granted, the officer was authorised to promise the Governor the assistance of two thousand men, to co-operate with the Spanish forces, whenever his Catholic Majesty should think proper to attack St. Augustine. Whether a compliance with this request exceeded the powers with which the Governor was invested, or whether he had a naval and military force to spare, is uncertain ; but the officer returned without obtaining the supplies.

When the British armament appeared off Charlestown, the Provincial Assembly of South Carolina, which was at that time sitting there, immediately adjourned ; having first delegated full powers, until ten days after their next session, to Mr. Rutledge, the rebel Governor of the province, and such of his Council as he could conveniently consult, to do everything necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial. The Governor immediately ordered the militia to assemble : but although every one saw the absolute necessity of the measure, the order was not obeyed so readily as was expected. This made a second order necessary, which was soon after issued, and required the militia that were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard, and to join the garrison without delay, under pain of confiscation. Even this coercive measure did not produce the desired effect ; so much was the whole country dispirited, by the late severe check which the rebels and their allies had received before the town of Savannah.

Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot so effectually blocked up the port of Charlestown with the King's ships, that General Lincoln soon perceived that the saving of the place, depended entirely upon the means he could adopt, for repelling the attacks of Sir  
Henry

Henry Clinton. He therefore called a meeting of the inhabitants, and assured them, that if they should persist in the plan which they had once in agitation of evacuating the town, it must be done at the expence of their shipping, their effects, their magazines, and military stores, as the port was so completely shut up, as to render it utterly impossible to find waggons for carrying them off. This declaration stimulated the citizens to join more heartily in the defence of the place; especially, as they had assurances of having the garrison increased to ten thousand men. The enemy's naval force at Charlestown\* was commanded by Commodore Whipple, who exerted himself powerfully to prevent the British from crossing the bar and entering the harbour; but he soon found, that his force was unequal to the task.

General Lincoln bestowed great pains in strengthening and extending the works, that had been thrown up on the land side of Charlestown in spring 1779, and in raising redoubts. He continued the lines across Charlestown-neck, from Cooper to Ashley river. In the front of the lines was a strong abbatiss, and wet ditch picketted on the nearest side. Between the abbatiss and the lines, deep holes were dug at short distances from each other. The lines, on which there was eighty pieces of cannon mounted, were made particularly strong on the right and left, and were so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. In the centre was a strong work, which served by way of a citadel: and wherever it was thought possible for the British army to force a landing, some works were erected to oppose them.

While the transports from New York were rendezvousing at Tybee, and repairing the damages which they had sustained on their voyage, Sir Henry Clinton went up to the town of Savannah. There he obtained the most exact accounts, relative to the enemy's strength and situation in and about Charlestown: and by these he was enabled to concert the mode of operations, most proper to be pursued in his attack on that place.

\* See Note 169.



place. Most of the transports with the troops being arrived, General Clinton returned to Tybee on the 9th of February, and sailed next day with the fleet; having left orders with General Paterfon, who commanded at Savannah, to follow him across the country, with a battalion of the 71st regiment, Major Ferguson's corps, the cavalry and stores.

On the 11th, the fleet arrived at North Edisto: on the same day, the General, with the grenadiers and light-infantry, landed on John's island; and next day, the rest of the army disembarked and joined them. The 7th, 23d, and 33d regiments, with the yagers, occupied the important post of Stono ferry; the grenadiers were stationed at Gibb's on John's island, near to which Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis had his quarters: and the head-quarters was at Mr. Fenwick's. The army was plentifully supplied with rice and fresh provisions, and soon recovered from the fatigues of a tempestuous sea voyage, and long confinement on shipboard. The line of battle ships, being unable to enter any of the inlets on the coast, on account of the shallowness of the water, were kept cruising, or occasionally came to an anchor; but the weather was frequently so stormy, as to force them from their anchoring ground, and oblige them to put to sea. On the 18th of February, the *Defiance* of sixty-four guns was forced from her anchors; and her Captain endeavoured, contrary to the opinion of the pilot, to get her into North Edisto inlet. In this attempt, she took the ground; and every endeavour to extricate her proving ineffectual, she was wrecked: but the crew were fortunately saved, as were the guns and most of the stores. Sir Henry Clinton made a requisition to the Admiral for some heavy cannon, and a detachment of seamen from the fleet, both of which were granted. The men were put under the command of the Hon. Captain Elphinstone and Captain Evans, and joined the army immediately: and the guns were sent, as soon as the weather permitted them to be collected from the line of battle ships.

On the 24th, 25th, and 26th of February, the army, except

cept a corps which was stationed at Stono, and the 23d and 71st regiments, which remained at John's island, crossed over to James's island; and Sir Henry Clinton formed his principal magazines there, and gave orders to the engineers, immediately to erect works for their protection. On the 6th of March, the post of Fort Johnson was occupied, and a bridge laid over Wapoo-cut, near to which the General took up his quarters. The utmost dispatch was used in carrying on the necessary works on James's island: and while the troops were employed on duty, the General was busied in forming the park of artillery necessary for the siege, and in using his utmost endeavours to get a sufficient number of horses collected for remounting his cavalry. In this service, he was well seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton; who, by the time the General broke ground before the town, had formed a body of horse able to act, and join a detachment of the troops which came from Savannah.

The Vice-Admiral, (who had shifted his flag, ever since the fleet had left Tybee, from the Europe to the Roebuck,) on the 8th of March, ordered back the line of battle ships to New York, under the command of Commodore Drake in the Russell of seventy-four guns, with directions for him to take the command and charge of that port; and while the General was busied on James's island, with his preparations for the siege, the Vice-Admiral was employed in getting his squadron ready for passing over Charlestown bar, where, at high water and spring tides, there is only nineteen feet water. The guns, provisions, and water, were taken out of the Renown, Roebuck, and Romulus, to lighten them: and in this disarmed condition they continued on the open coast, in the very worst season of the year, and exposed to all the insults of the enemy, for the space of sixteen days, before the wind and tide afforded an opportunity of crossing the bar. They at last effected this, on the 20th of March, although the enemy's galleys continually attempted to prevent the boats of the squadron from founding the channel.

The enemy availed themselves of the winds, which prevented  
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ed Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot and his fleet from crossing the bar, and enabled Commodore Whipple to oppose them in this attempt, by bringing his whole force, and placing it at the narrow pass between Sullivan's island and the middle ground, in such a position, that both his ships and galleys might have raked the King's ships as they approached Fort Moultrie; but when they did cross the bar on the 20th of March, and came to an anchor in Five Fathom Hole, he perceived that it would not be in his power to prevent them from entering the harbour. He therefore changed his mode of defence, and retired first to Fort Moultrie, and soon after that to the town; and, in the channel between it and Shute's Folly, he sunk the *Briolé*, *Notre Dame*, *Queen of France*, *Truité*, and *General Moultrie* frigates, and several merchant ships, fitted with chevaux de frize on their deck. A boom composed of cables, chains, and spars, was extended from the shore to the sunk vessels; secured by the ships' masts, and defended by strong batteries at the town, formed of pimento logs, on which were mounted upwards of forty pieces of heavy cannon. The ships' guns were landed, and placed on the fortifications of Charlestown, and their officers and crews joined the garrison and manned the batteries. The enemy also moored the *Ranger*, *Boston*, and *Providence* frigates, and some galleys and small craft were stationed behind the sunk ships, and kept by the rebels in readiness for such service as might occur.

Sir Henry Clinton had now completed the works which were necessary for the protection of his magazines; and every thing was got in readiness for crossing Ashley river. For this purpose, the boats of the fleet, with the flat-boats, attended: and the army, with the artillery and stores for carrying on the siege, were embarked in these, on the 29th of March, under the direction of Captains Elphinstone and Evans of the navy, and landed, under cover of the galleys, on Charlestown-neck, with astonishing expedition, and without any molestation from the rebels. On the 30th, the army moved towards Charlestown, and on the night of the 1st of April, broke ground within eight hundred



hundred yards of the enemy's works. On his arrival before the town, Sir Henry Clinton was reinforced by the corps from Georgia under the command of Brigadier-General Paterfon, which had advanced, not unopposed, in the space of only twelve days, from Savannah to Ashley river, through a country intersected by rivers, and these rendered difficult to cross, by the heavy rains that had recently fallen.

The approaches against the town were carried on with the utmost regularity and dispatch : and, although the fortifications of the place scarcely deserved that name, being only lines strengthened with redoubts and cannon, the General determined to risk nothing, and therefore kept his men under cover as much as possible. It required great circumspection on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, to enable him at the same time to carry on the siege, to act against so great a force as was assembled against him in the town, and in its vicinity, and to attend to all their motions. To prevent the enemy from obtaining any advantage by surprise, his first care was to pitch upon and to fortify proper communications. These were established from Perreneau's landing in Stono river, across the Wappo; and by small inlets, leaving only a mile of land carriage, into the part of Ashley river opposite to the camp. Works were also raised at Stono, for the protection of the shipping and stores, others on the communication, and several redoubts and batteries on Ashley river. These labours were great, but absolutely necessary, in order to give security to the army, as well as to deposits of such importance : and so fully were the troops convinced of their utility, that, in accomplishing them, they underwent the greatest fatigues with the utmost cheerfulness.

By the 9th of April, the batteries were ready to open against the town : and the wind serving, and every thing being in readiness, about one o'clock on that day, the Vice-Admiral made the signal for the fleet to weigh, which they accordingly did, and entered the harbour in the following order, viz. the *Roe-buck*, *Richmond*, *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, and *Sandwich* armed ship, with the *Renown* bringing up the rear.

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As they sailed along, the ships kept up a well directed cannonade, which the enemy returned with great spirit from Fort Moultrie, and their batteries on Sullivan's island. In little more than two hours, the squadron anchored under James's island, having lost fewer men than could have been imagined; the killed and wounded amounting only to twenty-seven. The fore-top-mast of the Richmond was shot away, and the ships in general sustained some damage in their masts and rigging; but were not materially injured in their hulls. The Acetus transport, having on board a few naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of Sullivan's island; and received so much injury, that, to prevent her from falling into the enemy's hands, it became necessary to set her on fire.

In the station where the King's ships had come to an anchor, the enemy's engineers and artillery officers supposed, that they were within the range of the heavy cannon from the town: and, by way of experiment, fired half a dozen of shot at the Roebuck, the headmost ship of the squadron, every one of which went through both her sides. This circumstance was most carefully concealed from the rebels, by the prudence and caution of her commander, Sir Andrew Hamond, who took no notice of it, either by signal or otherwise. As the ship made no return to their fire, and as they had observed that several of their shot had struck the water, they were deceived, and concluded that the whole of them had fallen short of the ships. They accordingly desisted from a cannonade which they deemed ineffectual, and never afterwards repeated the trial. If they had persevered, the fleet must have fought their way out of the harbour, back to their former anchoring ground, which would have greatly protracted the operations of the siege.

When the King's ships had got to James's island, the enemy became extremely apprehensive, lest the Vice-Admiral should detach any of them up Cooper river, from whence they might enfilade their lines. To prevent this, they sunk eleven vessels in that channel; and stationed the Ranger frigate and two of

their galleys in such a manner, as that they might co-operate with their batteries on shore, in defending this obstruction, and be ready to attack any naval force, that might be sent to attempt getting into Cooper river by the Hog island channel. Admiral Arbuthnot, by sending armed vessels into all the creeks and inlets along the coast, invested the town by sea as completely as circumstances would admit. The communication between the town and the country, by means of Cooper river, still remained open: and by this avenue, the garrison received a reinforcement of seven hundred men from Virginia, under a Brigadier-General Woodward.

On the 9th, the Admiral and General sent a summons to General Lincoln to surrender the town. They strongly pointed out to him the fatal consequences of persevering in defending it; represented the present, as the only favourable opportunity for preserving the lives and property of its inhabitants; and warned him, that he should be responsible for all the calamities which might be the fruits of his obstinacy. To this General Lincoln replied, that the same duty and inclination, which had prevented him from abandoning Charlestown, during sixty days knowledge of their hostile intentions, operated now with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the last extremity.

The batteries opened on the 10th, and were so well managed, that they soon acquired a superiority over those of the enemy: and the works were pushed forward with great vigour and assiduity. Major Moncrieffe, the chief engineer, who had gained so much honour in the defence of Savannah, now displayed his great abilities in carrying on offensive operations, and deservedly gained the highest applause, by the very superior and masterly manner in which he conducted the siege of Charlestown.

The American General, when he drew his forces into the town, was highly sensible of the great advantages which he might reap by retaining possession of the upper part of the country: and as his corps of cavalry could afford him but little assistance



assistance in defending Charlestown, he therefore ordered them to keep the field, and to act in concert with the militia of the country. By this force he intended to cover the country, prevent the British foraging parties from obtaining supplies of provisions, and to preserve the communication between that district and the town. Soon after the place was invested, some bodies of cavalry and militia began to assemble on the higher parts of Cooper river; and, being in possession of the bridges, were in danger of becoming not only troublesome but formidable: and when the batteries opened against the town, Mr. Rutledge, the rebel Governor of the province, took post in the country, with a body of militia, between Cooper and the Santee rivers. The enemy also ordered a work to be thrown up on the Wandoo river, nine miles from Charlestown, and another at Lampriere's Point, to preserve the communication with the town by water: nor did they neglect to establish a post at a ferry over the Santee, to collect and secure boats necessary for conveying over it with dispatch the expected succours, and for effecting the retreat of the garrison, if that measure should be adopted.

The activity, however, of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, in remounting his Majesty's cavalry, was such, that by the time the army broke ground before Charlestown, Sir Henry Clinton was enabled to detach him with a body of horse into the country, where, joining a light corps under Major Ferguson, they repeatedly fell in with, routed, and dispersed, several of the enemy's detachments of cavalry and militia, taking several of their men and horses, with a very trifling loss.

The glorious harmony that subsisted between the navy and army was productive of the most salutary effects; and there was a virtuous emulation between them, which stimulated both to the most active exertions in the service of their King and country. The General wished to reinforce the corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton; and the Admiral, to enable him to make a detachment for that purpose, offered to garrison Fort Johnson. Sir Henry Clinton, in consequence of this

offer, dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Webster of the 33d regiment, with fourteen hundred men, to join Colonel Tarleton and Major Ferguson, and gave them orders to break in upon the enemy's remaining communication with the country, in which they had assembled a considerable body of regular cavalry and militia.

Lieutenant-Colonel Webster was likewise instructed to strike at this corps as speedily as possible. In accomplishing this, he had a number of difficulties to encounter, rivers to cross in presence of a superior force, and all the principal passes in the country to secure. But his persevering spirit had got the better of all the obstacles opposed to him, and he had fortunately formed a junction with the force under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton and Major Ferguson, when he received information that the enemy's cavalry, of which he was in quest, was posted at Monk's corner. The militia of the country had, on various pretences, refused to join this corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Webster had his intelligence from a negro slave, whom he gained over to his interest by a handsome present, and this information enabled him to surprise them. On the 14th of April, the negro conducted him and his corps from Goose creek, in the night, through unfrequented paths: and, although the commanding officer of the enemy's cavalry, had used the precaution to have his horses saddled and bridled, and his out-centries gave the alarm, when the British were upwards of a mile from the front of his post; yet, such was the rapidity with which they came on, that they instantly bore down their advanced guard, and began an attack upon their main body, before the men had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. Being unsupported by infantry, the enemy were presently routed: about twenty-five of them were killed or made prisoners; and the rest made a most precipitate retreat, and were obliged to conceal themselves for several days in the swamps. Lieutenant-Colonel Webster followed up his blow; and, with a great part of his detachment, fell down on the peninsula between the Cooper and the Santee rivers.

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When General Lincoln was informed of the disaster which had befallen their cavalry at Monk's corner, he called a Council of War on the 16th, in hopes that they would agree to send out a force sufficient to oppose Lieutenant-Colonel Webster. They, however, came to the following resolution: that the state of the garrison was such, as made it impossible to detach a body of troops, sufficient to attack Colonel Webster with any prospect of success.

The victory gained by Colonel Webster was fraught with the greatest advantages: and the position which he afterwards took, enabled Sir Henry Clinton, assisted by the Admiral, completely to invest the town. The surprise and defeat of the enemy's cavalry at Monk's corner, and the obtaining possession of Biggin's bridge over Cooper river, by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton and Major Ferguson, gave the entire command of the country to Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, threw into his hands a great supply of provisions, and enabled him to take post near the head of the Wandoo river, which effectually cut off the enemy's communication with the country by Cooper river.

On the 18th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a considerable reinforcement of infantry from New York, on which he immediately strengthened the corps beyond Cooper river, and requested Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis to take the command of the troops there. Upon his Lordship's assuming the command, he seized all the boats and small craft which the enemy had collected on Cooper and Wandoo rivers, and these afterwards proved of great service.

The reinforcement which joined the army came seasonably to Sir Henry Clinton, for strengthening his posts; and rendered the enemy's scheme of retreating by the right of the town utterly impracticable. Earl Cornwallis, by establishing a post on Haddrell's Point, obliged them to abandon one which they had on Lampriere Point.

The Admiral, who had made repeated attempts to pass a naval force into Cooper river, finding it impracticable by the main channel, endeavoured to effect it by Hog's island. He



therefore gave orders, that small vessels should be fitted for carrying heavy guns on that service ; but as it was soon discovered that the rebels, suspecting this design, had sunk vessels in that channel also, and as its entrance was defended by the works on Sullivan's Island and Mount Pleasant, a plan was formed for dispossessing them of the latter, by the seamen of the fleet. Orders were given, in the mean time, to arm the small vessels which Lord Cornwallis had taken in the Wandoo river.

On the 23d of April, General Clinton began his third parallel, from eighty to one hundred and fifty yards from the enemy's lines ; and on the 24th, a sally was made from the town, consisting of two hundred men, under a Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson. They made a few workmen prisoners, but being immediately attacked by the nearest troops, they retreated much faster than they had advanced, and never again sallied forth during the siege ; from which it was conjectured, that their loss must have been considerable.

On the 29th of April, the Vice-Admiral put his design against Mount Pleasant in execution ; and for this service, a brigade of five hundred seamen and marines was formed from the squadron, and put under the command of Captains Hudson, Orde, and Gambier. With this force, they landed at day-break, near Mount Pleasant, where the enemy had a post and battery, which by that time they had abandoned ; and here they received advice, that the rebels were abandoning their redoubt at Lampriere's Point, an advantageous post on Cooper river. The Captains immediately marched with a view of cutting off their rear ; but on a nearer approach, they found that the garrison had made their escape to Charlestown. The sudden appearance of this corps was attended with good effects, as it prevented the enemy from carrying off their cannon and stores, or from destroying the works. Part of this garrison, consisting of a Major, a Captain, and some other inferior officers, with about eighty men, in rowing to the town, were  
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intercepted and made prisoners, by the guard-boats of his Majesty's squadron.

Captain Hudson was relieved from the post at Lampriere's Point by Colonel Ferguson, on which he returned with his corps to Mount Pleasant. As this place lay in the vicinity of Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's island, deserters came daily from the rebels, who gave Captain Hudson such favourable information concerning its garrison, that upon reporting it to the Vice-Admiral, a plan was immediately formed for attacking that fort, which, if it should succeed, could not fail to accelerate the surrender of the town, to which the besiegers were then drawing very close.

By the information received, it was discovered, that the attention of the enemy at Fort Moultrie, had been principally directed to the south and east sides of the fort, which were most exposed to an attack; but the west face and north-west bastion had been neglected. The Vice-Admiral therefore determined to attempt the place by storm, under cover of the ships of the squadron. The Captains Hudson and Gambier, and Captain Knowles, agent of transports, with two hundred seamen and marines, embarked in a division of the boats of the fleet, late at night on the 4th of May; and passing by the fort unobserved, landed before day-light, and took possession of a redoubt on the east end of the island; whilst another division of boats were preparing to carry over a detachment of the same strength and corps from Mount Pleasant, under the command of Captain Orde. Every thing being in readiness, and the ships only waiting for the tide serving to begin the attack, Captain Hudson summoned the place to surrender, and pointed out their danger, from the force coming against them, in such strong terms, that after a little consideration, the garrison capitulated, and became prisoners of war.

On the 6th of May, the third parallel was completed close to the edge of the enemy's canal, and a sap was carried to the dam which confined its water on the right, by which means a great part of it was drained to the bottom.

Every thing seemed at present conspiring to bring about the speedy reduction of Charlestown. By the surrender of Fort Moultrie, it might be said to have lost its principal outwork on that side; and being so closely hemmed in by the besiegers, every hope of a body of troops arriving in time to aid the besieged was precluded. Even supposing that an army could have been collected in the neighbouring provinces, sufficient to have obliged Sir Henry Clinton to raise the siege, it would have found the approaches to the town impracticable; for Earl Cornwallis had not only made himself master of all the principal ferries and fords across the rivers, but had seized on all the boats and vessels which were to have transported their expected reinforcements. The besieged continued, however, to hold out, making as yet no offers that could possibly be accepted.

Earl Cornwallis continued to be very successful in the country, and entirely ruined the enemy's cavalry, which they had with much difficulty collected. They were commanded by a Colonel Anthony White, who had crossed the Santee on the 6th of May, and made prisoners a small party of the King's troops. He gave directions, that this party should be conducted to Lanneau's ferry, where he had ordered his forces to assemble; but the militia, being intimidated, did not turn out, Earl Cornwallis having got early intelligence of his expedition, and of his situation, immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton to the ferry, which he reached a few minutes after Colonel White and his party had arrived at that place. He instantly attacked them with so much spirit, that they were soon routed and fled. One of their Colonels, named Washington, and a few of their men escaped, by swimming across the river; others reached the swamps, from which they would find it very difficult to extricate themselves. Fifty or sixty men were killed or taken, together with every horse of the corps, with their arms and appointments. At the very moment of attack, the British prisoners, who were in a boat crossing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, rose on their guard, and released themselves.



On the 8th, the General and Vice-Admiral renewed their summons to General Lincoln, in hopes that by listening to their proposals, he would avert all the horrors of a storm. In this, however, they were disappointed; the enemy not chusing to abate much of the very high demands which they had formerly made.\*

The batteries of the third parallel soon obtained a great superiority of fire over that of the rebels. And besides the cannon and mortars that played on the garrison, at less than one hundred yards distance, the corps of Yagers acted as marksmen with such effect, that very few escaped who showed themselves above the parapet. The besiegers, having gained the counterscarp of the outwork which flanked the canal, immediately passed it; and began works, which they extended towards the ditch of the place. Preparations were also making, for a general assault by sea and land.

The inhabitants, now sensible of the danger to which their ineffectual efforts exposed them; and assured by their engineers, that their works could not be defended many days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by assault in ten minutes, besought their Lieutenant-Governor and Council, to desire General Lincoln to propose such terms of capitulation as would be granted by the British General and Admiral. General Lincoln, in consequence of this resolution, wrote on the 11th to the British Commanders, that he would agree to the terms which they had offered him on the eighth instant. General Clinton answered with humanity, that "Whatever severe justice might dictate on such an occasion, the Admiral and he resolved not to press to unconditional submission a reduced army, whom they hoped clemency might reconcile to them."

The articles of capitulation were signed: and by these it was stipulated, that the rebel troops and sailors should remain prisoners of war until exchanged, and that all the ships, stores, guns,

\* See Note 170.

guns, magazines, &c. should be immediately delivered up.†

Major-General Leslie took possession of Charlestown on the 12th. Seven General Officers, a Commodore, ten continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, together with the town and country militia, French, and seamen, making in all about six thousand men in arms, surrendered with the town. The titular Deputy Governor, Council, and civil officers, were made prisoners.

The General and Vice-Admiral expressed the greatest satisfaction with the behaviour of the officers and men, under their respective commands. The former says, in his public letter, “I have yet to add to this letter, the expressions of gratitude I owe to the army, whose courage and toil has given me this success.

“I have most warmly to thank Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis; Major-Generals Leslie, Huynes, and Kosborth, and Brigadier-General Paterson, for their animated assistance.

“I trust, that I do not flatter myself vainly, that the good services during the siege, of the officers and soldiers of the royal artillery, of Captain Elphinstone and the officers and seamen of the royal navy, serving with us on shore, of the corps of engineers, of the officers and soldiers of every corps, British and Hessian, and particularly the Yager detachment, will receive his Majesty’s most gracious approbation.

“I have especially to express my obligations to Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, and the corps which acted under him. And I have to give the greatest praise to Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton and the cavalry, for their conduct, bravery, and eminent services.

“But to Major Moncrieffe, the commanding engineer, who planned, and, with the assistance of such capable officers under him, conducted the siege with so much judgment, intrepidity,

† A full account of the terms of capitulation, the strength of the garrison, the numbers of ships, guns, &c. delivered to the British, will be found in the Appendix. (Note 171.)

“ pidity, and laborious attention, I wish to render a tribute of  
“ the highest applaus, and most permanent gratitude ; per-  
“ suaded, that far more flattering commendations than I can  
“ bestow, will not fail to crown such rare merit.

“ Your Lordship has seen, how great a share Admiral Ar-  
“ buthnot and the fleet have had in every measure. I can add,  
“ that had we been necessitated to make an assault, I am per-  
“ suaded, a very conspicuous part would have been taken by  
“ the ships, to favour that important crisis.”

Admiral Arbuthnot, in his public letter, says of the officers and men under his command :—“ The conduct of Sir Andrew  
“ Hamond of the Roebuck, who bears this dispatch to you,  
“ deserves particular mention : whether in the great line of  
“ service, or in the detail of duty, he has been ever ready, for-  
“ ward, and animated. The Captains Hudson, Orde, Gam-  
“ bier, Elphinstone, and Evans, have distinguished themselves  
“ particularly on shore ; and the officers and seamen, who have  
“ served with them on this occasion, have observed the most  
“ perfect discipline.

“ Our whole loss in the ships and gallies, and in the batteries  
“ on shore, is twenty-three seamen killed, and twenty-eight  
“ wounded ; among the latter is Lieutenant Bowers of the  
“ Europe, but in a fair way of recovery.

“ The fleet has endeavoured most heartily and effectually to  
“ co-operate with the army in every possible instance ; and the  
“ most perfect harmony has subsisted between us.

“ I just add, that rebel privateering has received a severe  
“ check ; the Iris and Galatea having lately, in the space of  
“ ten days, taken nine privateers, two of which were ships of  
“ twenty guns, and none less than sixteen, and eight hundred  
“ men.”

Such of the enemy's ships as were fit for service were pur-  
chased, and added to the Royal Navy. These the Admiral  
put in commission ; by which means, he had an opportunity of  
promoting several officers of great merit and long service.\*

Sir

\* See Note 172.



Sir Henry Clinton intrusted his dispatches to his aid-de-camp, the Earl of Lincoln; and the Admiral intrusted his to Sir Andrew Hamond: and both met a most gracious reception from his Majesty.

Sir Henry Clinton conferred the government of Charlestown, and the command of the troops necessary to be left in South Carolina, on Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis; and about the beginning of June, sailed with the remainder of the army, and Admiral Arbuthnot, for New York.

No sooner had Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton sailed from Sandy Hook, than winter set in with uncommon severity. There was a heavy fall of snow, accompanied with so violent a frost, that the port of New York was no longer accessible for ice. The intense cold continued increasing with the new year; so that by the middle of January, all the communications with the city of New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones opened upon the ice. The several islands which compose the harbour had lost all the benefit they derived from their insular situation; and even the island on which the city stands might have been said to be joined to the continent.

The passage to Paulus Hook, across the north river, (two thousand yards) was about the 9th practicable for the heaviest cannon. So keen a frost had not been remembered by the oldest people. Provisions were conveyed into the city on sledges, and detachments of cavalry marched on the ice to Staten Island, eleven miles distant. The ice also formed a bridge on the east river as far as Brooklyn, for many days.

Thus circumstanced, the city was laid open to an attack from the enemy: and this was the more to be dreaded, because it was the only mode of enterprise, which they could hope to attempt with the greatest prospect of success, during so rigorous a winter. The British Generals, aware of what might happen, used every precaution to prevent their being surpris'd: and the security of the place was greatly increased, by an address of almost all the inhabitants to Major-General Pattison,

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the Commandant of the city, in which they offered to put themselves in military array. This offer was cheerfully accepted; and the various corps of which the volunteer militia was composed, amounted to near six thousand men.\* If there had been occasion to have put them to a trial, it is not doubted, but that they would have acquitted themselves with great honour.

Reports were designedly spread by the enemy, that General Washington was assembling a great force to attack New York, and the posts in its environs; and that he was prompted to this measure, by the absence of the Commander in Chief with so great a part of his army, and by the continuance of the frost, which prevented the British forces from deriving assistance from their fleet. This report was repeated so often, and with such confidence, that it would have been imprudent to have treated it with contempt: and it was attended with this good effect, that it served to make the garrison alert, and to familiarize many of them to a mode of life, which till then they had never experienced.

The military, while thus deprived of aid from his Majesty's ships at New York, received very powerful assistance from their officers and crews, who, with their usual zeal and ardour for the service of their King and country, offered to General Patifon to act on shore, in whatever manner they could be rendered most useful. Captain Howe of the Thames, as commander of the whole, presented to the General this spirited request.† This seasonable proffer was most gratefully embraced; and a circular redoubt near the east river, with eight twelve pounders and one nine pounder, was given them in charge: and as a compliment due to their merit, was immediately called the Royal Navy Redoubt. This animated conduct of the seamen of the royal navy, soon infused itself into the sailors appertaining to the transports, victuallers, and merchant ships, who, in like manner, made a tender of their services;

\* See Note 173.

† The Captains of his Majesty's navy, then at New York with their ships, were Howe, Edgar, Brenton, Osborne, Ardechoise, and Aplin.

services, which was also gladly accepted. They were armed with pikes, and put under the direction of Captain Laird, the agent of transports: and the post assigned them was, to protect the whole chain of wharfs and shipping, from the shipyard to the lower battery, at the other extremity of the town.

This laudable spirit and ardour being happily raised, quickly spread among all orders of men. Those in the several public departments vied with each other, who should be most forward in offering the Commandant their services as volunteers upon this emergency; and almost all of them appeared in uniform at their own expence. This display of loyalty and firmness had the best effects, and induced the enemy to give over all thoughts of attacking the city of New York, if ever they seriously intended such an enterprize, and to remain at Morristown, where the rebel army was huttred.

The vicinity of Staten Island to their army, and the easy communication with it by means of the ice, made the rebels entertain hopes of carrying it by surprise, or by a *coup de main*. On the 30th of January, a detachment, under the command of Lord Stirling, consisting of two thousand seven hundred men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horse, made a descent on that island, where Brigadier-General Stirling commanded about eighteen hundred men, who were pretty well intrenched. They landed early in the morning; and on their approach, the outposts retired. They formed their line, and having made some movements in the course of the day, withdrew in the night, after having burnt one house, pillaged some others, and carried off about two hundred head of cattle. General Knyphausen, having got early intelligence of the invasion of Staten Island, embarked, on that very day, about six hundred men in transports, with orders to proceed directly to the assistance of General Stirling. This they attempted; but the floating ice prevented them from reaching their destination, and they were forced to return. The appearance of the transports, however, with the troops on board, which the enemy could not fail to observe towards the close of the day, was supposed



posed to have operated powerfully in inducing them to make a sudden retreat, in which several of their detachment were made prisoners.

A few days after this, a detachment from New York and Paulus Hook, under the command of Major Lunan, surprised an advanced post which the enemy had at Newark: and the same day, Brigadier-General Stirling sent another detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Beskirk, which surprised a piquet guard of the enemy's at Elizabeth-town, and made two Majors, two Captains, and forty-seven men prisoners. Both these enterprises were effected without any loss on the side of the British.

In the night of the 22d of March, one of the rebels' posts in the Jerseys, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, was partly surprised; but of these only sixty-five were made prisoners, owing to two embarkations, viz. one from New York, under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Pherson, and another from King's Bridge, under Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, not arriving at the appointed time. In this enterprise only one officer was wounded.

General Knyphausen resolved to make an irruption into the Jerseys, in order to beat up some of the enemy's quarters, as well as to endeavour to obtain a supply of cattle. For this purpose, he sent a considerable detachment of troops from New York to Staten Island; from which, in the night of the 6th of June, he passed over with about five thousand men, accompanied by Generals Robertson, Tryon, and Stirling, to Elizabeth-town Point, near which the enemy had a considerable body of militia. They fired on the troops immediately on their landing, by which means General Stirling was wounded in the thigh. The militia, however, were speedily repulsed; and the troops continued their march, and arrived at Elizabeth-town early in the morning of the 7th. After a few hours halt, they marched on to Connecticut farms, about five miles distant; and, after setting them on fire, advanced toward Springfield. The alarm occasioned by these movements had

now become general, and all the troops which the enemy could muster, were assembling as fast as possible. General Knyphausen therefore drew back to Elizabeth-town, and remained there, when Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot arrived at Sandy Hook from Charlestown. The Commander in Chief, resolved to improve on the original design, not only reinforced the detachment at Elizabeth-town, so as to enable it to act with effect, but made preparations for an expedition up the north river. This last threat put General Washington and his army in motion, in order to protect the posts which he had at West Point and the Highlands. He left General Green, with a considerable body of infantry and all his cavalry, to watch the motions of General Knyphausen, who, on the 23d of June, as soon as the reinforcements joined him, moved towards the enemy, then posted in the neighbourhood of Springfield, in hopes of getting at their magazines. General Green, who had the fullest intelligence of the motions and intentions of the British army, posted the troops under his command, on the most advantageous ground for opposing the advance of General Knyphausen. Before the British troops could reach Springfield, they had to pass two bridges, both of which the rebels had seized, and for the defence of each they had posted a strong body of troops. This did not intimidate the King's forces, who marched boldly up to the bridge, which the enemy continued to defend : but the river being fordable, General Knyphausen detached across it a corps, which coming round on the enemy's rear, compelled them to abandon the bridge, and to retreat to their main body. At the same instant, another column of the British army attacked the second bridge ; from whence, after a considerable resistance, they drove the enemy. The bridges being carried, General Green retired with his troops, and took post on a range of hills, from which he had the mortification to see the town of Springfield set on fire, without his being able to prevent it. The strong position which the rebels had taken, so effectually covered their magazines, that any attempt to have forced them, must have been attended

attended with great hazard and loss of men. General Knyp-hausen therefore returned to Elizabeth-town, which he reached about sunset, halted there a few hours, marched to the Point, and crossed over to Staten Island; and soon after that, most of the troops returned to New York. Sir Henry Clinton had pushed on a large corps some miles beyond King's Bridge; and in this situation things were, when the face of affairs changed.

The Minister for the American Department had given Sir Henry Clinton reason to expect a French armament on the coast of North America. This intelligence he immediately communicated to the Admiral, who stationed frigates so as to bring him the earliest possible notice of their approach. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, he received advice, that a French fleet had been seen off Cape Henry on the 5th: and that by the course which they steered, it was conjectured that Rhode Island was the port for which they were bound. Their force was so superior to his, that he was obliged to remain where he was.\* Intelligence arrived on the 18th, that the French fleet had entered the harbour of Newport, Rhode Island, on the 10th, and had disembarked there about six thousand regular troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Comte de Rochambeau; who, in his address to Congress, had given them to understand, that he came only with the van-guard of the troops with which his master designed to assist them. Admiral Graves, with six sail of the line and a frigate, came to Sandy Hook on the 13th of July. He had, on his voyage, taken a French East India ship called the *Farges*; and this very valuable prize arrived there about eight days after him.

Admiral Arbuthnot, having been joined, on the 3d of July, by the *Robust* and *Pearl* from Halifax, which added considerably to his strength, made a disposition of the ships which he had with him to oppose the French, if they should make an attempt on the port and city of New York. At the same time, he made preparations, in the event of his being speedily joined



by the reinforcements expected under Rear-Admiral Graves, to have every thing in readiness to sail and pursue the enemy. This junction, as was observed before, took place on the 13th of July. The sick of Admiral Graves's fleet being immediately landed, their numbers were replaced by volunteers from the ships in the port; and the water of the squadron being completed, the Admiral passed the bar with the Europe, Robust, Raisable, and Renown, on the 17th. Having received intelligence that the enemy were arrived at Rhode Island, he put to sea immediately, arrived off that place on the 22d, and stood very close to the entrance of the harbour. He then discovered that the enemy had several very considerable encampments on the coast, and that the French Admiral had moored his ships and frigates in a line, extending from Rose island to the Connanicut shore.

As he knew that the General wished to attack the French before they could get themselves firmly established at Newport, or be reinforced by their American allies, and that he had for this purpose, a large body of men in readiness to embark, if he should see any probability of success, he communicated to him the observations which he had been able to make. Many unforeseen causes however arose, which retarded the arrival of the transports at Frog's-neck, where General Clinton intended to embark his troops; but he was at last able to effect this on the 17th. So much time having been wasted, he perceived, with infinite regret, that his design of a *coup de main* would be impracticable. As soon as the troops were embarked, they were joined by the Amphitrite and Camilla, which took them under their convoy, and the whole sailed to Huntingdon bay; where Sir Henry Clinton received such accounts of the enemy's position, and of the attention which they had paid to fortifying and rendering themselves secure, as obliged him to abandon his design of making an attack on the French solely with the land-forces. On the 31st, he therefore returned with the troops to Whitstone, where they were disembarked and encamped. He likewise kept the transports, that he might have it in his power to re-embark

embark them at a moment's warning; and remained there, that if any favourable event should take place, he might be at hand to avail himself of it.

The motions of the Commander in Chief never failed to be speedily communicated to General Washington, who, when he learnt that a large body of troops had been embarked, and, with the General, had proceeded down the Sound, made a rapid movement with his army, amounting to fifteen thousand men, crossed the north river, and marched towards King's Bridge. The militia of Massachusetts's Bay and Connecticut were ordered to assemble with the utmost dispatch, and to march towards Providence, Rhode Island, to be ready to join the French troops at Newport in case of need.

If General Clinton had persisted in his plan of attacking the French, General Washington, judging that the flower of the army, and almost all the naval force of the British, would be employed in that service, certainly meant to have made an attempt on New York. Finding that General Clinton did not proceed to Newport, he re-crossed the north river, and marched with his army to Orange-town; having first strongly reinforced his post at West Point, and given the command of it to Major-General Arnold.

Admiral Arbuthnot, with the fleet, anchored for some days off Block island; but being informed that General Clinton had disembarked the troops at Whitstone, he proceeded to Gardiner's Bay at the east end of Long Island. This situation had a great number of advantages, over almost every other to be found in North America, for effectually watching the French at Rhode Island; and the Admiral availed himself of these, by stationing a great many frigates to observe their motions.

While actual hostilities remained at a stand, another scene was acting behind the curtain, which at first seemed to promise success; but closed in a most tragical end to Major André, the Adjutant-General of the British forces at New York.

Major-General Arnold, who has been frequently mentioned in the course of these Memoirs, as a very active and brave

officer, was much displeased with the behaviour of Congress towards him. They had indeed been highly satisfied with his conduct as a soldier: his bravery had deservedly rendered him extremely popular with his countrymen; and he had reluctantly retired from the camp, and moved to the southward, for the recovery of his health and the cure of his wounds. His cure was but just completed, when the British army evacuated Philadelphia; and, in consideration of his services, he had the government of that city conferred on him by Congress. But his conduct in this department did not please, and complaints to Congress were made against him. He was charged with oppression and extortion, with exorbitant charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money to his own private use. The Commissioners appointed to inspect his accounts, struck off above one-half of their amount. He appealed from their decision to Congress: and they appointed a Committee of their own body, to revise the report of the Commissioners; but their report was still more unfavourable to Mr. Arnold—their opinion being, that he had been allowed more than he had a right to demand. With both decisions, the General was extremely dissatisfied; and could not forbear using such asperity of language against both, that he was ordered to be tried by a Court-martial, upon several charges of malversation in office, exhibited against him by the Executive Government of Philadelphia; and to these, several other crimes were added besides those already mentioned. The Court found, that his conduct had been highly reprehensible; and ordered that he should be reprimanded by General Washington. This sentence was displeasing to both parties. The accusers alledged, that the judges were partial, and from a consideration of the General's former services in the field, had not punished him according to his demerits: on the contrary, Mr. Arnold said, that his judges were resolved to find him guilty, and that they were obliged to do it by a general censure, as they could not fix on any thing particular in his conduct, that was reprehensible. The General possessed too much spirit tamely to submit, when

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he thought himself ill used. He complained loudly, both against his judges and his countrymen ; and affirmed, that the Congress had deviated from their original declarations and designs. By these considerations, his heart became estranged to the American cause ; especially, since they had called the French to their assistance. Among the few friends who remained fixed to Arnold was General Washington, who, knowing his merits as a military man, and not suspecting any change in his sentiments, determined not only to employ him, but to intrust him with a very important command in his army, which at that time was posted on both sides of the north river in the highlands. General Arnold's head-quarters was at Robinson's house in the highlands ; but in addition to his command on the east side of the river, he had charge of the post at West Point on the opposite side.

How, or on what occasion, a correspondence had first commenced between Sir Henry Clinton and General Arnold, has never come to the knowledge of the public : nor does it matter much ; but certain it is, that a negociation had been going on between them for some time, and that it was supposed to relate to Mr. Arnold's quitting the American cause. It appears likewise, that a correspondence had been carried on by other means between Arnold and Major André, under the assumed names of Gustavus and Anderson. There is little doubt, but that General Arnold had intimated to the British Commander in Chief, his design of returning to his allegiance ; and that as a proof of his sincerity, he had sent him some important information, of which he was to make such use as he might think proper. The terms on which General Arnold was to be received, would surely constitute a part of this correspondence. But that Sir Henry Clinton might receive the most complete information, how the plan proposed by General Arnold could be carried into effect, it was judged proper, that Major André should have an interview with that officer. Twice was this successfully repeated : but the third attempt, which was to have been the last, did not turn out so fortunate as the others had done.

In order to have more time to concert measures with Major André, General Arnold availed himself of the absence of his Commander in Chief, who was gone with his suite to meet the Comte de Rochambeau and M. de Ternay,\* at Hartford in Connecticut. The meeting took place on the 21st of September: and having settled a plan for the operations of next campaign, which was to be transmitted to France, General Washington set out on his return on the 23d, but did not reach Robinson's house in the highlands before the 25th; where, missing General Arnold, he supposed him gone to West Point, and immediately set out for that place.

We must now return to the motions of the unfortunate André. To bring his negotiations to a speedy issue, he was embarked on board the Vulture sloop of war, which sailed up the north river, and was stationed at some distance from Arnold's posts, so as not to raise suspicion in the enemy, that he came there for any clandestine purpose. All this was done with the privacy of Arnold and some confidential friends. In the night of the 21st of September, Major André was landed without the American posts, by a boat from the shore, where he found Arnold waiting for him. The latter conveyed him into camp; where he continued with him, during that night and the following day. The mysterious part of this unfortunate transaction now follows. Instead of re-conducting Major André on board of the Vulture sloop, a measure which had been agreed upon before he landed, he was now informed, that from some alteration of circumstances, which do not clearly appear, General Arnold could not fulfil his promise, of sending him back by the way he came; and that in order to get safe to New York, it was necessary for him to change his dress from the British uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a furtout coat, for some more common apparel, so that being in disguise, he might the more easily get within the British lines. The change of garb was much against Major André's opinion, and was certainly a very ill advised step. The second night, he was

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\* The French General and Admiral.

conducted through a remote part of the camp, and then left to pursue a journey of some length to New York, for which he was furnished with a horse, and with passports from Arnold. Being now clear of the different guards and outposts of the enemy's camp, all of which he had passed under the name of Anderson, he began to think his dangers over. But a sad reverse of fortune awaited him. The next day, passing near to Tarrytown, he was met by three of the New York militia belonging to the enemy, who stopped him. Not producing his pass readily, they either had, or began to entertain suspicions of him; and on searching him, they found some papers, on which they resolved to conduct him to their commanding officer. On this, Major André offered them his purse and his gold watch, provided they would let him pass: or if they would accompany him to New York, he promised them permanent provision, and even of future promotion. They were proof against all the offers he made them: and he was accordingly conducted to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who had for some time been suspicious of General Arnold's behaviour. Before him André still continued to use the name of Anderson, nobly choosing to hazard every danger, rather than make any discovery which could involve General Arnold, before he had time to provide for his safety. With a view to effectuate this, he requested that a line might be written to General Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention; and Colonel Jameson, not knowing who he had in his custody, acquiesced in his request. He wrote, at the same time, to General Washington, informing him that a party of his had intercepted one Anderson, who, from the papers found in his boots, he had every reason to believe was a spy. General Washington was on his return from Hartford; and the messenger, whom Colonel Jameson had sent with the letters, missed him, by taking a route different from that which the General had done. Owing to this accident, and to the man's being obliged to make a circuit, the letter to General Arnold, informing him of Anderson's detention, reached him some hours before General Washington got to his head-



quarters. General Arnold lost not a moment in putting himself beyond the reach of his enraged countrymen; he instantly got into a boat, was rowed on board of the Vulture sloop, and soon after reached New York.

Major André was brought before General Washington, to whom he had previously written a letter, more in vindication of his own honour, than with a view to preserve his life. This letter, in which he avowed his real name and character, together with the whole of his deportment in his unfortunate circumstances, were so many proofs of an exalted mind, that we are at a loss for words sufficiently strong, either to give the reader a proper idea of it, or to represent it in the glowing colours which it so well merits.

As many of the circumstances in Major André's case were new, and admitted of great alleviation, General Washington did not chuse to decide upon it himself. He therefore ordered a Board, consisting of fourteen General Officers, (two of whom were foreigners) with the assistance of Mr. Lawrence, the Judge Advocate General, to examine into and to report a precise state of Major André's case; to determine in what light he was to be considered, and to what punishment he was liable.

This Board met on the 29th of September: and before it, Major André displayed such magnanimity and fortitude, as quite astonished all present. His manly candour pleased them, and they gave evident signs how much they felt for his situation. Not a single evidence was examined; and their opinion was founded entirely on Major André's own confession. In their report, after the recital of a few of the principal facts, particularly his passing under a feigned name and in a disguised habit, their works at Stony and Verplank's Points, on the evening of the 22d, they gave it as their opinion—that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeable to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death.

Sir Henry Clinton tried every method in his power to prevent this fatal sentence from being put in execution: but, all his

his endeavours to soften General Washington proving ineffectual, the unfortunate André met his tragical fate on the 2d of October, with the most undaunted composure, and died an honour to his country. He seemed to regret only, the mode of his death; and had accordingly written to General Washington a most pathetic letter, fraught with every sentiment that could dignify human nature, requesting a mitigation in this respect; but that favour was denied.

General Washington immediately took every precaution in his power, to prevent any bad consequences from General Arnold's defection. These were almost needless; it being soon discovered that very few were concerned in his designs, and those so insignificant, that no mischief was to be dreaded from them.

Soon after his arrival at New York, General Arnold was made a Brigadier-General in America, and appointed to raise a corps, which was to consist partly of cavalry and partly of infantry, to act under his own separate command; and he published an address to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, in hopes of prevailing upon them to follow his example.

We shall now take a short survey of what was going on in the Carolinas, where his Majesty's forces were left to the command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, who remained at Charlestown, settling all the affairs of the province, with the greatest assiduity and success. He had detached Lieutenant-Colonels Lord Rawdon and Tarleton into the country, with separate corps. These had several severe conflicts with the enemy's troops, over whom they repeatedly gained complete victories. In the course of a week, they drove them entirely out of the province; on which numbers of the inhabitants submitted, and took the oaths of allegiance. This greatly alarmed the Congress, who appointed General Gates to command their troops in South Carolina, and ordered a large body of forces, to act under his orders, to proceed immediately to that province, and to endeavour to stop the progress of the British arms.

Brigadier-

Brigadier-General de Kalbe, and the detachment under him, was ordered to join General Gates, who, as he advanced to the southward, was farther reinforced by the corps under various General Officers who had been driven out of South Carolina. By these means, General Gates was advancing in great force towards Camden, where Lord Rawdon had taken post. As the enemy advanced, the inhabitants, unmindful of the oaths they had sworn, once more took up arms in the rebel cause. A corps of militia which Lord Cornwallis had established in the Cheraw district, and officered with firm loyalists, on the approach of General Gates, seized their officers, and went over to the enemy, carrying with them a hundred of our sick. On the 9th of August, Earl Cornwallis received advice at Charlestown, that General Gates was advancing towards Lynch's creek with six thousand men, after having detached Brigadier-General Sumpter, with one thousand men, round to the left of the British troops, to occupy the west bank of the Wateree and seize the fords. This he accomplished, made some prisoners, and was on the point of cutting off the communication between our army at Camden, and the Congaree river and Charlestown. The expresses also brought intelligence, that the disaffected country between Pedee and Black river had revolted; and that Lord Rawdon was contracting his posts and assembling his army at Camden. Such was the dismal prospect of the British affairs in Carolina.

Although Earl Cornwallis could be very ill spared from Charlestown, he set out next day in the evening, and reached Camden in the night between the 13th and 14th, where he found Lord Rawdon, with about fourteen hundred regulars and provincials, and five hundred militia and North Carolina refugees. The enemy were in high spirits. General Gates was advancing in front with upwards of five thousand men, and only twelve miles distant. Sumpter was on his left with a strong detachment, endeavouring to cut off the communication with Charlestown. In the present posture of affairs, if Lord Cornwallis had retreated, South Carolina and Georgia were lost,



lost, which would have irretrievably hurt the interest of Britain in these provinces, as it must have exposed all the loyalists to the oppressions and resentment of their most violent enemies. On the other hand, the rebels were three times his numbers. In this trying and critical situation, his Lordship, without hesitating, resolved not to retreat, and on this occasion acted with his usual abilities and vigour. Fortunately, he received from the loyalists of the province who were then with him, such a minute description of the country, and of the motions of General Gates, as enabled him to take his measures with some prospect of success. Both armies, as if by mutual consent, were put in motion at ten o'clock at night on the 15th, and advanced towards each other. Gates was determined to fight, and gave his orders and made his disposition accordingly; and Earl Cornwallis was equally determined not to disappoint him. Lieutenant-Colonel Webster commanded the right wing, and Lord Rawdon the left, with which there were four pieces of field artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, was in the rear, ready to act as occasion might require. When the British had marched about nine miles, the advanced guards of both armies met, and a brisk firing of musquetry commenced, which lasted for some time, when the enemy's troops rejoined their army. The loyalists informed Lord Cornwallis, that the ground which he then occupied, was the most favourable that he could wish for deciding the fortune of the day. It was so narrowed by swamps on each side for a considerable distance, that both his flanks and rear were secured, and the clear space between admitted only of his Lordship's drawing up his forces opposite to the enemy. This was just done, when day appearing, opened to their view the enemy's army drawn up in great force opposite to them. General Gates, at that instant, was making some alteration in the disposition of his left wing, which Lord Cornwallis prevented his completing, by sending orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Webster to begin the attack immediately. These orders were obeyed with the greatest alacrity. After a few fires the enemy gave

gave way; and notwithstanding the efforts of their officers, were completely routed. Wherever they attempted to make a stand, the British bayonets forced them to follow their companions. The left wing of the British, being opposed to Gates's best troops, found more resistance than the other; but the confusion into which the enemy's left wing was thrown, giving room for Colonel Tarleton to act with his cavalry, the route soon became general, and the enemy was pursued with great slaughter. Near a thousand of their men were killed or wounded, and as many made prisoners. Among the last was Major-General de Kalbe, who died of his wounds; General Rutherford was also wounded and taken, and General Gregory killed on the spot. The loss of the British was only seventy killed, and two hundred and twenty wounded. To do justice on this occasion to the merits of Lord Cornwallis, and the officers who acted under his orders, far surpasses our powers. They displayed such conduct and courage as seldom have been equalled, and never can be excelled. The excessive heat of the weather, the number of sick, and the scarcity of provisions, proved great impediments to his Lordship's progress; and prevented him from reaping all the advantages which he had reason to hope from his victory.\*

In order to oblige Congress to recal some of their troops, which they had sent to the southward to oppose Earl Cornwallis, Sir Henry Clinton resolved to detach Major-General Leslie, with nearly three thousand men, to Virginia.† General Leslie accordingly sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 16th of October, and in a few days after that landed in Virginia, and took

\* We must here make an apology to our readers, for deviating so far from our plan; for certainly the irruptions into the interior parts of Carolina, cannot be called conjunct expeditions. In excuse for this irregular proceeding, it can only be said, that, where so much military merit was exhibited, it is difficult to restrain the pen. Perhaps a little of this narrative was proper, in order to shew how necessary it was, for Sir Henry Clinton to detach Major-General Leslie with a corps to Virginia, in order to make a powerful diversion in his Lordship's favour.

† See Note 175.

took post at Portsmouth, near the mouth of James's river, where he threw up some works. From this post, he frequently detached parties to different places, where he learned the rebels had stores or tobacco, which he took or destroyed. The ships of war employed to escort General Leslie's corps took many valuable prizes. The great design of this expedition being to assist Lord Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, had by this time reached the confines of Virginia, General Leslie was instructed to act agreeably to such orders as he should receive from his Lordship; but it was some time before he could learn what his commands were. They at last arrived, and he received orders to embark his troops and sail to Charlestown, his numbers being too small, and Lord Cornwallis at too great a distance, for him to force his way by land to form a junction with his Lordship. He left Virginia in the end of November, and reached Charlestown on the 13th of December, where he disembarked his corps; and on the 19th, marched with about two thousand men, to join Lord Cornwallis on the frontiers of North Carolina.

When Sir Henry Clinton found that General Leslie had received orders to proceed to the southward, he determined to make a second irruption into Virginia, and for that purpose, embarked about sixteen hundred men, the command of which was given to Brigadier-General Arnold, who had under him two most excellent officers, viz. Lieutenant-Colonels Dundas and Simcoe.\* They sailed from New York about the 20th of December, and arrived in the Chesapeake on the 27th. But the operations of this detachment will fall of course to be detailed in the narrative of affairs for 1781.

Whether it was by orders from home; by solicitations from Admiral Arbuthnot; or for the purpose of greater security to the fleet under his command, during the hurricane months in the West Indies, we cannot take upon us to determine; but on the 13th of September, Admiral Rodney, with ten sail of the line and a frigate, arrived from the Leeward Islands at Sandy Hook.

\* See Note 176.



Hook.\* No junction was formed by the two fleets, as Admiral Arbuthnot continued at Gardiner's Bay, at the east end of Long Island, watching the French fleet at Rhode Island; and Admiral Rodney remained at New York. This appeared to be a proper time for attacking the French at Rhode Island; but perhaps the season was too far advanced, for the troops to co-operate with any prospect of success. While here, Sir George Rodney brought Captain Bateman, late of the Yarmouth, to a Court-martial, of which Sir Chaloner Ogle was President: but the proceedings of this Court will be afterwards related. He likewise dispatched the Yarmouth to England from this place: and having reinforced Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet with the Culloden, sailed again for the West Indies. During his stay at New York, he purchased a prize-vessel which mounted twenty-six guns, had her made a post-ship in the navy by the name of the Shark, and gave the command of her to Captain Howel Lloyd. She sailed along with the Admiral for the West Indies: but on the voyage thither, encountered a violent storm, in which she foundered, and all on board perished.

On the 7th of June, his Majesty's ship *Iris* of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain James Hawker, being on a cruise, gave chase to two vessels which were conjectured to be privateers belonging to the enemy. When in chase, a ship was discovered on the beam of the *Iris*, on the opposite tack, the weather being then extremely hazy. Captain Hawker instantly wore his ship and stood towards her. When she was distant about a musquet-shot, she hoisted French colours. The two ships passed very close to each other, and exchanged broadsides; and directly after both ships wore, and met going large. The *Iris* continued a close action under top-sails, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, when the French frigate made sail from her, by setting her courses, and very soon after her top-gallant-sails. Captain Hawker made after her with every sail he could possibly set; but the *Iris* being very much damaged in

\* See Note 172.

in her rigging and sails, and most of her studding-sail booms being shot away, he found it impossible to come up with her. The chase was continued about three quarters of an hour, with top-gallant-sails set, when a strange sail was seen ahead. It being still extremely hazy, the enemy's frigate soon after that fired a gun and stood toward her; from which circumstance, Captain Hawker concluded, that it was a private signal to the stranger, which he supposed was her consort. He therefore hauled upon a wind and drew off: but in doing this, his fore-top-sail-yard came down; and, as his main-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit were severely wounded, they would inevitably have gone also, if the water had not been extremely smooth. The *Iris* had seven men killed and nine wounded: and Lieutenant Bourne of the marines, one of the wounded, died soon after the action.\*

Captain Dawson, when he commanded the *Iris*, gave chase to a large sail, with which he came up. She submitted without resistance, and proved to be a rebel privateer, called the *Buckskin Hero*: she was pierced for thirty-two guns, all of which she had been obliged in a severe storm to throw over board. She was bound from St. Eustatia to Philadelphia, and had a valuable cargo of cloathing and military stores on board.

The *Pearl*, commanded by Captain George Montagu, being

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\* The frigate, which engaged the *Iris*, was the *Hermione* of thirty-six guns, commanded by M. de la Touche, who, when he was at Boston in the beginning of summer, made a very pompous address to the State of Massachusetts Bay, offering his services to clear their coast of the British frigates. His services were accepted, and he failed accordingly. He had not been long out, when he fell in with the *Iris* of thirty-two guns, from which, although of inferior force, he was glad to escape into Boston. Mortified to find that his blustering had ended so disgracefully, like a true bully, when safe in port, he wrote a very insolent letter to Captain Hawker, complaining, that in the accounts of the action published at New York, he was represented to have run away; which, he said, he never had done from an enemy of equal force, and never would do. Captain Hawker treated his letter with proper contempt, inclosed to him the account of the action which he gave to his Admiral, (as above,) published the correspondence in the *New York Gazette*, and assured M. de la Touche, that if ever the *Hermione* should fall in with the *Iris* again, he would not find any deficiency of spirit.

on a cruize off the Bermuda islands, on the 30th of September, fell in with a French ship which engaged her close for two hours, and maintained a running fight for two hours and a half more, when she struck. This vessel was the *L'Esperance*, from Cape François bound to Bourdeaux, a frigate belonging to the King, but loaded by the merchants, and having only a letter of marque. She mounted twenty-six twelve pounders on her main-deck, and two six pounders on her quarter-deck; and had one hundred and twenty-three men; of whom twenty were killed, and twenty-four wounded. The *Pearl* had six men killed and ten wounded. Among the former was First Lieutenant Foulke of the marines; and among the latter, Mr. Dunbar, the Master. Captain Montagu gave great praises to his officers and ship's company, for their gallant behaviour on this occasion: *L'Esperance* was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the *Clinton*.

Admiral Arbuthnot, while on a cruize with the fleet, gave chase to a sail, which, after a pursuit of six hours, was taken by the *Culloden*. Her name was the *Washington*. She was a privateer, of twenty six pounders, and one hundred and twenty men, and belonged to Boston.

### MOBILE.

THE Spaniards early this year set on foot an expedition against Mobile, the nearest British settlement to them on the coast of Florida. It was conducted by Don Bernard de Galvez, the Governor of Louisiana, an active and enterprising officer. He embarked his troops at New Orleans on the 11th of January, and proceeded down the river. What their exact number were is not said; but it appears from his journal, published by authority, that his land-forces did not exceed two thousand men, attended by a small train of artillery. This armament was escorted by a frigate and some armed vessels; and it was concerted, that strong reinforcements should join it from the Havannah. In the prosecution of this enterprise, the



the Spaniards, from the badness of the weather and the unskilfulness of their pilots, met with several severe disasters; in overcoming of which, Don Bernard de Galvez displayed great prudence and perseverance.

On the 10th of February, the *Volante* frigate and some other vessels attacked a large merchant ship, mounting twenty guns, at the entrance of the Bay of Mobile. The ship run ashore on a bank, where soon after her the *Volante* also grounded; and the weather becoming extremely tempestuous in the night, several vessels, with troops on board, drove on the bank, where they were all wrecked. Eight hundred soldiers were almost naked, having been able to save nothing but their persons. In this storm a great deal of their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, were lost. While Don Bernard was replacing things in the best order which his circumstances would permit, that he might proceed to accomplish the object of his expedition, he ordered scaling ladders to be made from the materials of the wrecked vessels; for having learned that there was but a weak garrison in the fort at Mobile, he had thoughts of trying to become master of it by escalade. On the 20th he was joined by the reinforcements from the Havannah; but the weather was still so violent, that he could not proceed up the bay. On the 22d, another storm overtook him, and several of his vessels were driven ashore and wrecked, but others with much labour and fatigue were got off. It required some days to repair the damages done in this second gale, and it was the 24th before the fleet could proceed up the bay. The General, having reconnoitred the shore, landed his troops on the 25th, marched and invested the place, and took measures for securing his camp, for landing provisions and artillery, and for erecting batteries. On the first of March, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Don Francisco de Boligny, with a flag of truce into the fort, with a summons to surrender. Captain Durnford, of the corps of engineers, who commanded in the place, returned an answer,\* the purport of which was, that he would defend the

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\* See Note 178.

fort as long as he was able. On receipt of this answer, batteries were ordered to be erected immediately.

Don Bernard de Galvez, in his Journal, says, "The 5th continued to bring artillery, and began to make fascines. This day, in order to give leave for some persons who had sheltered themselves in the castle to bring refreshments to their families, the English Governor and I had reciprocally a regale of wines, fowls, confections, and tobacco: at the same time, we treated on the means of preventing the total desolation of some of the first people, who had gone to the defence of the fort, and had already burnt many of their houses. We thought it unreasonable, that some wretched inhabitants, who had taken no part in the war, should be subjected to cruelty and slaughter. On my part, I assured him, that my prisoners should be treated as mildly as was in my power, with every respect due to humanity; and promised that my scouting parties should not do the least damage to the dwelling that had been fitted up in the woods and shrubberies, for the reception of sick and wounded. The English Governor, in acknowledgment of my proposals, declared, he would not suffer any more devastation than was necessary for his defence, and that the greatest part of the houses that had been burnt, was contrary to his positive orders."

It was the 12th before the enemy's batteries opened. While they were erecting them, the fort kept up an incessant fire of cannon, grape-shot, and musquetry; but the enemy's shot being heavy did great damage. General Campbell marched from Pensacola with what troops could be spared, in hopes of obliging the enemy to raise the siege. This he attempted on the 13th; but found that his force was so small, and that the enemy were so strongly posted, that he was unable to effect his purpose. He therefore returned.

A breach having been made in the walls, Captain Durnford was obliged to offer proposals for surrendering: and on the evening of the 13th, the capitulation was adjusted, and signed

on the morning of the 14th.\* The garrison amounted in all to two hundred and eighty-four persons.

### NEWFOUNDLAND STATION.

REAR-ADMIRAL EDWARDS commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station:† and besides affording very ample protection to the trade, gave great annoyance to the enemy's cruizers. On the 3d of July he took the *Pallas*, an American brig, letter of marque, of fourteen guns and fifty men, laden with bark, indigo, furs, cochineal, and a quantity of dye goods. His cruizers were the happy means of saving several of the Quebec fleet, which had unfortunately separated from their convoy near the banks. They conducted them to the harbour of St. John's; and the Admiral immediately afforded them a convoy, which escorted them safe to the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. His Majesty's cutter *Coureur* was unfortunately taken, on the 21st of June, by two of the enemy's privateers of fourteen guns each: but the day following, the *Fairy*, Captain Berkeley, took one of the privateers, called the *Griffin*. She mounted fourteen guns, and had sixty-five men on board, together with a Lieutenant Major, and thirty of the *Coureur's* crew. While on the same cruize, the *Fairy* took one of the enemy's privateers called the *Wilkes*, of fourteen guns and seventy-five men. The *Cygnets* took, in one cruize, two of the enemy's privateers, viz. the *Spitfire* of twelve guns and fifty-three men, and the *Tiger* of twelve guns and thirty-six men: and in company with the *Maidstone*, she also took another of their privateers called the *Saratoga*, of twelve guns and forty-one men. The *Hinde* frigate was sent from Quebec, in consequence of the *Wolfe* armed ship having been wrecked on the south-west part of the island of Newfoundland. On her way thither, she took two of the enemy's privateers, one called the *Harlequin* of sixteen guns, and the other the *Macaroni* of fourteen guns; and after saving every thing out

\* See Note 179, † See Note 186.



of the wrecked ship, proceeded again to Quebec, on the 6th of August, from the harbour of St. Peter's. The Harlequin was purchased into the service, and named the Oporto.

On the 10th of September, Captain Keppel in the Vestal, and Captain Berkeley in the Fairy, took the Phoenix privateer of sixteen guns and sixty-two men; and also, the Mercury packet from Philadelphia, on board of which was Henry Laurens, Esq; late President of the Congress, and then bound, as their Ambassador, to Holland. This last capture was replete with the most important consequences. When the King's ships first discovered the Mercury, she was lying to. Captain Keppel made the signal to chase: and they crowded all the sail they possibly could set, and soon came up with her. She then endeavoured to make off. As the Vestal was coming up upon her quarter, one of the sailors on the fore-castle discovered something floating upon the sea, at a little distance from the Vestal, upon her bow; and immediately going upon the quarter-deck, he pointed it out to the Captain, who instantly gave orders that the jolly-boat should be hoisted out, and sent to pick it up. It proved to be a large leather bag, containing a trunk of papers, which, upon examination, were found to have belonged to Mr. Laurens. Admiral Edwards immediately dispatched Captain Keppel to England with his prisoner Mr. Laurens. He was brought to London on the 5th of October, and carried to the Admiralty, where he was treated with great politeness. He was next day carried before the three Secretaries of State, and that evening committed prisoner to the Tower of London, by a warrant signed by all the three. The warrant of commitment expressed, that "he was committed on suspicion of high treason, and was to be kept safe until delivered by due course of law."

Among Mr. Laurens's papers, some were found to be of great consequence; particularly, a Treaty of Commerce between the Congress and the Magistracy of Amsterdam, an account of which will be afterwards given.

## WEST INDIES.—LEEWARD ISLAND STATION.

REAR-ADMIRAL HYDE PARKER commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station, until the arrival of Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, and was extremely active in the public service. At the beginning of this year, the fleet under his command\* was fortunately superior to the French fleet in these seas, commanded by M. de la Motte Piquet: who, in a dark night, slipped out of Fort Royal Bay in the island of Martinico, with seven sail of the line and a frigate. Rear-Admiral Parker had placed his cruizers so judiciously, that he received advice of this motion of the enemy early the next morning. He was then lying at anchor in Gros Islet Bay, in the island of St. Lucia; but immediately put to sea with his fleet, which he divided, putting nine ships under the command of Commodore Collingwood, and reserving a like number to himself. The two divisions, steering different courses, went in pursuit of the enemy. On the 8th of February, the division under Commodore Collingwood got sight of them. Chace was immediately given to them, and they would certainly have been brought to action, if they had not taken shelter under the fort and batteries at Basseterre in the island of Guadaloupe. Here M. de la Motte was blocked up for a considerable time: and was prevented from prosecuting his voyage to St. Domingo, until Rear-Admiral Parker was necessitated to order the Commodore to join him at St. Lucia, with the force under his command, having received information that a strong squadron was every day expected at Martinico from France, under the command of the Comte de Guichen. This junction was not long effected, before M. de Guichen arrived (March 22d) with so superior a force, that he soon after blocked up the British fleet in Gros Islet Bay in the island of St. Lucia. The enemy threatened to attack the island: but Rear-Admiral Parker and Major-General Vaughan had taken such excellent measures for the preservation of it, that they never presumed to put their threats in execution.

cution. The French were not allowed to remain long before the island, as very fortunately, Sir George Rodney arrived at Barbadoes with his fleet from England; and having learned that the enemy's fleet was before St. Lucia, he immediately steered for that island, where he arrived the 27th of March. The Comte de Guichen did not wait for Sir George Rodney forming a junction with Rear-Admiral Parker, having, the moment he got sight of his fleet, made off with the squadron under his command, and come to anchor under the guns of Fort Royal in the island of Martinico. The greatest dispatch was used in wooding and watering the British fleet; insomuch, that Sir George Rodney was able to put to sea on the 2d of April,\* and to stand over to Fort Royal Bay, which he entered, keeping so near the enemy's ships, that he could plainly count their guns. Finding all his endeavours to provoke them to come out and give him battle ineffectual, after cruizing two days before the bay, he judged it best for his Majesty's service, to leave some of his copper-bottomed ships to watch their motions, and to return with the remainder of the squadron to Gros Islet Bay, where he could receive the earliest notice of their movements, and be ready to follow them, if they should put to sea.

The Marquis de Bouillé, Governor of Martinico, who was an excellent and enterprising officer, entertained hopes, that if it were possible for the fleet to elude the vigilance of the British ships cruizing before Fort Royal Bay, a successful attempt could be made on some of the British islands; and that, from the intelligence he had of their state of defence, they might be reduced before Sir George Rodney could come to their assistance. With this intention, he embarked with a considerable body of land-forces on board of the Comte de Guichen's squadron, taking with him some of his best officers, and in the night of the 15th of April, slipped out of the bay of Fort Royal and got to sea. Of this Admiral Rodney received immediate advice, and without losing a moment, followed him with his whole squadron,

\* See Note 182.



iron.\* He immediately reconnoitred the Bay of Fort Royal and the road of St. Pierre; but not finding them at either of these places, he steered a course the most likely to fall in with them. Accordingly, on the 16th, he got sight of the enemy's fleet, about eight leagues to leeward of the Pearl Rock, and immediately made the signal for a general chase to the north-west. By five in the evening, he had neared them so much, that he could plainly discover their force, which consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, one of fifty guns, three frigates, a lugger, and a cutter.† A little before sun-set, he formed his fleet in a line of battle ahead, and ordered the Venus and Greyhound frigates to keep between the British and the French fleets during the night, and to observe the motions of the enemy, which service Captain Ferguson performed much to the Admiral's satisfaction.

By the enemy's manœuvres during the night, Sir George Rodney was convinced, that their intentions were to avoid coming to action; but to this he was determined to force them, notwithstanding of their superior force, and therefore took the proper measures to counteract all their motions.

In the morning of the 17th, at day-break, Admiral Rodney formed his fleet in a line of battle ahead, at two cables length asunder; at which time, the enemy were perceived to be employed in forming their line upon the same tack. The British fleet had the wind, and could therefore chuse the time and mode of attack. Sir George Rodney resolved that he would fall upon the enemy's rear, and communicated his purpose to the Captains of his fleet by signal before six o'clock. His line appearing to be too much extended, he lessened the distance at which the ships were to sail from each other, to one cable's length; and the moment appearing favourable at half an hour past eight, he made the signal for a line of battle, each ship bearing from the other N. by W. and S. by E. in order to approach the enemy and to begin the attack. But Admiral Comte de Guichen, having observed that his rear was to be the object

\* See Note 183.

† See Note 184.

of attack, wore his fleet, and changed to the larboard tack; by this evolution, leaving Admiral Rodney no alternative in coming to action at that moment, but by engaging upon contrary tacks. The British fleet immediately hauled the wind by signal, resuming their former position of the line of battle ahead upon the starboard tack; with this difference only, that the ships were again extended to the distance of two cables from each other, in order to give proper room for the evolutions which were to follow, and which were requisite to bring on such an action as might be decisive.

As soon as possible after the ships had hauled the wind, Sir George Rodney gave the necessary directions by signals, and his whole fleet wore together: again threatening the enemy with an attack, which (it appears from his public letter) was still intended to be made upon the rear of the enemy.

The hostile fleets being now on the same tack, and the British line completely formed, about eleven o'clock Admiral Rodney signified his intentions of coming to action, by making the signal to prepare for battle: and a little before twelve, he made the signal for every ship to bear down, and steer for her opposite in the enemy's line, agreeably (as he says in his letter) to the twenty-first article of the Additional Fighting Instructions. The signal for battle, and also that for close action very soon followed. But there was a difference of opinion among the British sea-officers, as to the manner of obeying this signal for bearing down to the attack; and this was the cause of some confusion during the action. The principal circumstances of the battle shall therefore be related as they occurred, and the reader's attention shall be afterwards called to a short investigation of these words of the instructions, and to the signals that appear to have been the original causes of the misunderstanding, which defeated Admiral Rodney's intentions of rendering the action decisive.

At the moment of bearing down to make the attack, it appears, that the two fleets were parallel to each other, but a short,

short distance afunder, and nearly abreast of one another. The Sandwich, which bore the Admiral's flag, with the greatest part of the centre division, stood for, and engaged the ships which were opposed to them in the enemy's line. This brought Admiral Rodney's own ship to action with the ships a little astern of the French Commander in Chief, who, as well as the British Admiral, occupied the centre place in his line. Rear-Admiral Rowley, who commanded the rear division, and the ships which were astern of the Sandwich, attacked those ships which were most directly opposite to them: and the action was in general close with the centre and rear divisions of the two fleets. But some of the Captains of the van division, commanded by Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker, and led by Captain Carkett in the Stirling Castle, conceived it to be their duty to bring the headmost ships of the enemy to battle. This rendered it necessary for the leading ship, and those which followed her, to stretch forward to those of the French, which were extended beyond the headmost ship, and thereby operated to the disadvantage of the British, by separating in some measure the ships of the van, from those of the centre and rear. This difference of opinion, with respect to the mode of attack, not only disjoined the parts of the fleet, but was the cause of considerable confusion, owing to the derangement produced by some of the ships in the line of battle steering two different courses: whereas, during the continuance of an action, the utmost regularity is necessary to preserve such a degree of order, as may bring the ships of the same fleet to support each other, and prevent the enemy from bringing their disengaged ships to the assistance of those in battle.

When Admiral Rodney perceived the movements of the ships ahead of the Sandwich, he did every thing in his power to keep the fleet connected: but unfortunately, his means were not equal to the end; and he found, that from his endeavours to correct the error produced by separating the two parts of the fleet, confusion and still more fatal mistakes were likely to ensue.

Thus were the best intentions of the Commander in Chief  
misunder-



misunderstood, and a degree of irregularity produced, which diminished the effect of the fire of the British fleet; and caused some disagreeable reflections to be cast upon the Captains, already perplexed and embarrassed by the ambiguity of the words of the orders under which they acted, at the moment when clearness and precision were absolutely necessary to success. The action continued, without any certain marks of victory on either side, till about four o'clock, when the French fleet bore away before the wind, and the British not being in a condition to pursue it, the firing ceased.

In presenting the Public with the best accounts which the writer of these Memoirs could collect, of the naval actions between fleets during this war, his principal aim has been, to point out the true causes of the want of success when it might have been reasonably expected; to remove the unjust aspersions which have been indiscriminately cast upon individuals; and, at the same time, to lay open for correction, those errors which were imputable solely to the want of precision or of perspicuity in the orders, under which subordinate commanders were to act, or to the confusion and defective state of the signals which were to communicate those orders to the different officers. The present case will afford a new instance of the importance of distinct, comprehensive, and explicit orders, when they are to regulate movements which do not admit of new modifications, and which must absolutely decide the fate of a battle.

It has been observed, that Admiral Rodney intended to attack the rear of the enemy's fleet with his whole force in the morning; and that he indicated such intention by signal. The French Admiral, however, having counteracted this measure, the British fleet was obliged to assume new positions, and the action, by the different evolutions of the two fleets, was delayed from six in the morning until twelve at noon. When Admiral Rodney a second time threatened the French fleet, he did not think it necessary, again to make the signal to his ships, that he intended to attack the rear of the enemy. But it appears, that many of the British Captains, judging from the changes

changes in the positions of the two fleets, were of opinion, that the signal which had been made in the morning, for falling upon the enemy's rear, was not in force at twelve o'clock; and that a new situation required new instructions, if such were the Admiral's intentions. In this opinion they were confirmed by observing, that the words of the order contained in the signal-book, had nothing in them which indicated a continuance of its force, beyond the duration of that relative position of the two fleets, which might have suggested the idea of such an attack to the Admiral.

By the words of his public letter, however, which contains this remarkable expression, "That he gave notice by public signal, that his intention was to attack the enemy's rear with his whole force, *which signal was answered by every ship in the fleet,*" we are given to understand, that he considered it as binding at noon as well as in the morning. The words of the order, as contained in the signal-book delivered to the ships under Admiral Rodney's command, in the action with the Spanish fleet near Gibraltar, and which were probably the same with those used in the West Indies, are: "When the Commander in Chief means to make an attack upon the enemy's rear, he will hoist a flag half blue half yellow, at the main-top-gallant-mast head, with a white pendant over it." To this signal is annexed no reference, or explanation, by which the time of its continuing in force can be ascertained, nor is any mode pointed out, by which the whole strength of the fleet is to be brought upon the particular part of the enemy's position, which is to be attacked. These are circumstances, which might reasonably produce some doubt in the mind of the Commander in Chief, whether this order was sufficiently clear, and whether it would appear to the Captains to be binding at twelve o'clock. Those who did not regard that signal as a rule to determine the mode of attack at noon, must at least appear excusable; when it is considered, that the two fleets had completely changed their positions since the signal had been made, and that no means had been intimated, by which the whole force

force was to be brought against the rear of the enemy. The truth seems to be, that Admiral Rodney, in writing his letter, perceived and felt with uneasiness the want of unity, and consequently the want of force, in the attack which he made upon the French; and he saw his own intentions too clearly to doubt of their being intelligibly communicated: but unfortunately, he did not perceive the difficulty of understanding indistinct and indefinite orders, nor could he see, that the Captains who were not possessed of his ideas, must be at a loss to discover them; otherwise he must have observed, that to this cause alone, might be justly attributed, the ineffectual attack which was made by the British fleet.

The next signal of importance, upon which the conduct of some of the Captains may have been censured, is that which was made about twelve o'clock, for the ships to bear down and attack the enemy. The words of the twenty-first article of the Additional Fighting Instructions, to which Admiral Rodney refers in his letter, are: "If the squadron should be sailing  
" in a line of battle ahead to windward of the enemy, and the  
" Commander in Chief would have the course altered in order  
" to lead down to them, he will hoist *an Union Flag at the*  
" *main-top-gallant-mast head, and fire a gun.* Whereupon,  
" every ship in the squadron is to steer for the ship of the  
" enemy, which, from the disposition of the two squadrons,  
" it may be her lot to engage, notwithstanding the signal for  
" the line ahead is kept flying; making or shortening sail in  
" such proportion as to preserve the distance assigned by the  
" signal for the line, in order that the whole squadron may,  
" as near as possible, come to action at the same time." At the time when this signal was made, the two fleets were nearly abreast of each other; that is to say, the rear ship of the British was opposite to the rear ship of the French: but as the latter exceeded the former in point of numbers, the three ships by which they were superior, were extended beyond the leading ship of the British fleet. The words of the Instruction, "*to*  
" *steer for the ship of the enemy, which, from the disposition of the*  
" *two*



*“two squadrons it may be her lot to engage,”* were understood by Captain Carkett to mean, that as the Stirling Castle was the leading ship of the British, he was to engage the leading ship of the enemy. Nor is it any wonder that he should so understand this order; because the nineteenth article of the Fighting Instructions directs, *“That if the Admiral and his fleet have the wind of the enemy, and they have stretched themselves in a line of battle, the van of the Admiral’s fleet is to steer with the van of the enemies, and there to engage them.”* This is one of the original Fighting Instructions then in force, which has no signal to announce it, and appears therefore to be binding in all cases, except those in which it is particularly otherwise directed. It was no doubt this instruction which led Captain Carkett, and the other Captains who were of his opinion, to suppose, that the Admiral meant that he should bring the van ship of the enemy to action. Nor could the error be easily corrected, if the ships were to follow and be guided by their leaders, as has been generally understood to be the rule in a line of battle ahead. When Admiral Rodney perceived the intentions of his van, he made such signals to particular ships as he conceived were likely to remedy the disorder, but his attempts were ineffectual; for the van was considerably disjoined from the centre, without a possibility of recovery: and the whole of the enemy’s force was brought to act against the British, who were not only too widely extended, but deranged by the different opinions entertained, and by the means used to rectify the error. It was from the want of clearness as to duration in the signal for attacking the enemy’s rear, and from the defects and inaccuracy in the words of the nineteenth article of the Fighting Instructions, and the twenty-first article of the Additional Fighting Instructions, that the errors of the 17th of April, 1780, proceeded; and by no means from want of skill or courage in the Captains who conducted the ships.

If the naval force of Britain be expected to act with effect, it must possess the certain means of acting with unity. By the original misconception of the orders issued by the Commander  
in

in Chief the whole disorder in this battle was produced : and some pains have been taken to trace the error to this source, because the most gross calumnies were, upon this occasion, ignorantly and illiberally cast upon officers of the most distinguished reputation, both for naval skill and undaunted courage. A very slight knowledge of the situation of ships in a close line of battle ahead, (that is to say, every ship directly ahead of another) is sufficient for conceiving the derangement which must ensue from the courses, or rates of sailing of the leading ships, differing from those which are to follow ; and how short a time, in such a situation, must necessarily produce a degree of disorder, which, immediately to windward of a well formed enemy, it is impossible to correct. It was in this manner that the derangement took place in Admiral Rodney's fleet : and it is difficult to conceive the means of rectifying it, even upon a deliberate review of the whole action.

In no sea-fight was the insufficiency of the present system of naval signals more conspicuous than in this : and it is to be hoped, that, if ever a new code be adopted for the use of the Royal Navy, it may be so clear and comprehensive, that such fatal errors as those which have been here pointed out, will in future be prevented. It appears not only proper, that every subordinate commander should make known that he has seen the signal made by the Commander in Chief ; but it is absolutely necessary, that he should be in possession of means to express that he comprehends his intention. Until such a system be established, it will be in vain for an officer vested with the chief command, to form any particular mode of attack, or to execute with effect any grand design that he may have planned.

In this battle, the Comte de Guichen and most of the French Commanders behaved with great courage. The enemy had mounted ninety guns in the Couronne, M. de Guichen's ship.

Rear-Admiral Parker, in the Princess Royal, obliged the ship with which he was engaged to quit the line ; as did Rear-Admiral Rowley in the Conqueror, who attacked the enemy's rear division : but the vacancy so occasioned, was immediately filled

filled up by their ships astern, which obliged Rear-Admiral Rodney to engage two of their principal ships at once, and for a considerable time. The *Intrepid* was very much damaged, and became so leaky from the shot which she had received between wind and water, that she was compelled to make the signal of distress. Some confusion at the same time ensued, which being observed by Captain Ferguson of the *Venus*, he in a great measure rectified it, by instantly coming to her assistance, and sending on board of her fifty men and an officer.

All the British ships which had been engaged were very much crippled, and none more so than the *Sandwich*. She was with difficulty kept from sinking for twenty-four hours after the action. The Admiral at that time shifted his flag to the *Montague*, where it remained until the *Sandwich* was refitted. The situation of the British fleet being such as precluded all hopes of success from a pursuit of the enemy, the Admiral immediately set about having their damages repaired, in the best manner that circumstances would permit.

The enemy's fleet had also suffered very much in this action, and made every possible effort to regain Fort Royal Bay in the island of Martinico, which was the only place in this part of the West Indies, where they could get their squadron properly repaired; but Admiral Rodney successfully counteracted these endeavours. The loss of officers and men by the British in this action was very considerable.\* The Hon. Captain John St. John of the *Intrepid*, and three of his Lieutenants, were killed; and also, a Lieutenant of the *Sandwich*, and another of the *Medway*. Among the wounded were Captain Houlton of the *Montague*, Captain Newnham of the *Grafton*, and three Lieutenants. One hundred and twenty men were killed, and three hundred and fifty-three men wounded. That Sir George Rodney was not well pleased with the behaviour of several of his Captains, is very evident, from such parts of his public letter as appeared in the London Gazette, although no names were mentioned there; and of this Captain Carkett afterwards wrote

\* See Note 185.



wrote to the Admiral and complained. He answered his letter with candour and firmness.\* The behaviour of Captain Bateman of the Yarmouth in this action was such, as met the Admiral's highest displeasure: and when Sir George Rodney proceeded to New York at the end of the season, he there had him brought to a Court-martial, of which Sir Chaloner Ogle was President. The Captain was tried for not doing his duty properly on the 17th of April, in an action with a French fleet in the West Indies. The charge against him being proved, he was by their sentence dismissed the service; but at the same time, he was strongly and unanimously recommended by his judges to his Majesty's clemency. Many favourable circumstances are said to have appeared for him on the trial. It was proved, that he fought his ship gallantly while in action, and that his withdrawing from it, was owing to the exaggerated reports of the ship's damages brought to him by his officers.

The damages sustained by the British fleet were so well repaired by the 20th of April, that on getting sight of the French squadron that day, Admiral Rodney made the signal for a general chase, in which he persevered for the three following days; but as the enemy's ships sailed much better than his Majesty's, it was without effect. The French endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid an action, and to make good their retreat to Fort Royal Bay: but as the British fleet cut them off from this, they sought shelter under the cannon of the fort and batteries of Basseterre in the island of Guadaloupe. The Admiral finding that the Comte de Guichen's sole view was to regain Fort Royal Bay in Martinico, thought that the best method to prevent it, and to bring him to action, was to get off that island with his squadron. He accordingly steered for it, having previously dispatched frigates in every direction, from which he could derive any intelligence of the enemy's motions. In the mean time, he intrusted his dispatches, giving an account of the battle, to Captains Uvedale of the Ajax and Bazely of the Pegasus, (the former being obliged to return home on account

\* The reader will find a copy of his answer in the Appendix. (See No. 186.)

count of his bad state of health), and they both met a most gracious reception from his Majesty.

The sight of the King's fleet off Martinico was quite unexpected, and alarmed the inhabitants very much; as from the accounts that had been sent to them of the late sea-fight, by their Governor and the French Admiral, they understood that the fleet of Britain had been defeated. They were now convinced of the contrary, and their commerce suffered considerably from the squadron; but the lee currents and the bad condition of some of his ships, obliged Sir George Rodney to quit his station off Fort Royal Bay, and anchor in Choque Bay in the island of St. Lucia, in order to get a supply of water and other necessaries, to land his sick and wounded, and to refit his squadron. He, however, stationed several frigates, to give him early notice of the enemy's approach: and such diligence was used in watering and refitting the fleet, that he put to sea again on the 6th of May, with nineteen sail of the line, two ships of fifty guns, and several frigates.\* Having received intelligence, that the French fleet was making for the island of Martinico, he continued turning to windward, between it and the island of St. Lucia, from the 6th to the 10th of May, when he got sight of the French fleet, about three leagues to windward, Point Saline on the island of Martinico then bearing N. N. E. distant five leagues. Captain Philip Affleck, in the *Triumph* of seventy-four guns, joined the fleet the same day.

The enemy's force consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, seven frigates, two sloops, a cutter, and a lugger. Whether it was owing to the aid of the American sailors, of which the enemy had a great many on board, or to the great attention which of late years the French had paid to the education of their naval officers, and to the discipline of their marine; it is certain, that they manœuvred with their fleet, in stile of seamanship, very superior to what they had ever before exhibited, in any war in which they had been engaged. As they were to windward of the British, they had it daily in their power to

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\* See Note 187.

have come to a general engagement, if they had pleased. It may therefore be presumed, that the Count de Guichen, had orders to the contrary. Although he sometimes approached very near to the British fleet, and gave every indication of a resolution to fight, when almost within gun-shot, he hauled his wind, and as his fleet sailed much faster than the British, he could with ease gain what distance he pleased to windward. Conscious of the superior sailing of his fleet, in his various manœuvres, he approached nearer to his opponents, than he otherwise would have chosen to do. Having for several days, about two o'clock in the afternoon, bore down in a line of battle abreast until almost within random shot distance, and then hauled his wind and made off, Admiral Rodney resolved, when he should again repeat the same experiment, to endeavour to draw him on by feigning to retire, in hopes that a favourable breeze of wind might spring up, which would enable him to gain the weather-gage, and force him to action.

With this view, on the 15th of May, Admiral Rodney ordered his fleet to make a great deal of sail upon the wind. M. de Guichen fell into the snare: and, supposing that the British fleet was making off, pursued them, and approached nearer to them than usual. He was allowed to enjoy the deception, until his van ship had got abreast of the British centre. At that instant, a lucky change of wind took place, by means of which, Admiral Rodney perceived, that he could weather the French fleet. He therefore immediately made the signal for Rear-Admiral Rowley, whose division composed the van, to tack with his squadron, and to gain the wind of the enemy. The enemy's fleet instantly wore, and retired with a press of sail.

Admiral Rodney, having by this manœuvre gained the wind, directly gave chase to the enemy, whom he would have forced to battle, if the wind had not changed at once six points, when he was almost up with them. By these means, they once more recovered the weather-gage, though not in so great degree, but that the van of the British fleet, led by that good and gallant



lant officer Captain Bowyer, about seven in the evening, reached their centre, and was followed by Rear-Admiral Rowley's division, (who then led the van,) the centre and rear of his Majesty's fleet following in order.

As the enemy's fleet were under a press of sail, none but the van of the British fleet could come in for any share of the action, and engage with any effect: but the enemy were not equally attentive to this point, as they expended an incredible quantity of powder and shot to no manner of purpose. The Albion, Captain Bowyer, and the Conqueror, Rear-Admiral Rowley, were the ships that suffered most in this conflict; such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged, kept up a much brisker fire than those of the enemy.

The two hostile fleets kept manœuvring in sight of each other; but nothing material happened until the 19th, when the Count de Guichen had an opportunity of returning in some measure the deception that had been practised on him on the 15th, and finally of obtaining his point, and reaching Fort Royal Bay in Martinico. Both fleets being formed in lines of battle on opposite tacks, the French approached very near the British fleet, which was then led by Commodore Hotham, and began a warm cannonade. Admiral Rodney flattered himself that the enemy meant to risk a general action; but M. de Guichen had no such intentions: for when the headmost ship of the French van reached the centre division of the British, she suddenly hauled her wind, and was followed in regular succession by the whole of the enemy's fleet. The van division of the British fleet suffered most severely, and from the method in which the enemy managed this rencounter, it could receive but little assistance from the centre and rear divisions. The Albion and Conqueror were much damaged, as were several other ships, and the loss of men was considerable.\*

In consequence of pursuing and keeping sight of the French fleet, Admiral Rodney, after this last action, found himself forty leagues to windward of Martinico. The enemy now

flood to the northward with all the sail they could crowd. They were out of sight on the 21st of May: and the condition of the British squadron was found to be such, as would not admit of its following them any longer. Admiral Rodney therefore dispatched the Conqueror, Cornwall, and Boyne to St. Lucia, and stood with the remainder of his fleet towards Barbadoes, in order to put the sick and wounded on shore, and to repair the squadron. They arrived there on the 22d of May. The Count de Guichen bent his course with his squadron for Martinico, which he reached without farther molestation.

Just as Admiral Rodney was coming to anchor with his fleet in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, he was joined by the Cerberus frigate, Captain Man, who brought him a piece of intelligence of the greatest importance. Captain Man being on a cruize off Cadiz, on the 2d of May, got sight of a very large fleet, which he followed for several days: and as he approached to reconnoitre them, was chased by ships of such superior force, that he was obliged to keep at a due distance. On the 4th, he had nearly cut off one of the convoy; but a large frigate coming to her aid, he desisted. From the view which he had of the fleet, and of the course which it steered, he was convinced, that it was a large fleet of Spanish merchant ships, escorted by a strong squadron of ships of war, and bound for the West Indies. To give Admiral Rodney notice of the approach of such a force, before they could possibly form a junction with the French fleet under M. de Guichen, was doing his country such an essential service, as would fully justify him for proceeding to the West Indies without orders. He accordingly steered across the Atlantic Ocean, and arrived on the 22d of May at Barbadoes, where he met with Sir George Rodney. This was the first intelligence the Admiral had received of the Spanish armament: and highly approved of Captain Man's conduct, for shewing such alacrity in the service of the public. In order to profit as much as possible by the intelligence brought him, he gave orders for watering and refitting the squadron with the utmost diligence. While this was going  
on,

on, he was joined by the Brilliant frigate and Rattlesnake sloop of war, Captain M'Laurin, sent on purpose by Commodore Johnstone from Lisbon,† with the same intelligence which he had received by the Cerberus. Soon after that, the Sylph sloop also joined him from England, with advice that Don Joseph Solano, with twelve sail of the line, three frigates, and two sloops, and a fleet of merchant ships, on board of which was a large body of infantry, had sailed from Cadiz on the 28th of April, and were bound to the West Indies.\* By the advices which the Admiral had received, he was informed of the rendezvous appointed for the Spanish fleet. The utmost exertions were used in refitting the British fleet: and the Admiral, having dispatched back the ships that came express from Europe, put to sea with the fleet, and got to the windward of Martinico, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish squadron. He certainly must have succeeded in this attempt, if Don Joseph Solano had continued directly to prosecute his voyage; but that officer proceeded no farther south than Guadaloupe, until he was joined by the Count de Guichen, on the 10th of June, with nineteen sail of the line; and on the same day, the combined fleets put into Prince Rupert's Bay in the island of Dominica. Here the Spanish Admiral dispatched his trading ships under convoy to leeward, landed a very great number of sick, and remained until the 19th, when the combined fleets proceeded to Fort Royal Bay in Martinico. In this harbour, the enemy mustered thirty-six ships of the line; but fortunately, as so superior a force must have swept all before it, both the Spanish sailors and soldiers were so very sickly, that they were in no condition for enterprise.

As soon as Admiral Rodney heard of the junction of the two fleets, he repaired with his whole force to Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia, where he fortified Pigeon Island, and placed his squadron

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† This was the second time, that Captain M'Laurin had brought advice of great importance from Captain Johnstone to Admiral Rodney, who promoted Captain M'Laurin to the rank of Post-Captain.

\* See Note 189.



dron in such a manner, that the enemy would have found it a very difficult task to have forced him thence. But they made no attempts on any of the British possessions: and on the 5th of July, the combined fleets left Martinico and proceeded to sea, the Spanish to the Havannah, and the French to Cape François.

On the 12th of July, Commodore Walsingham and his long expected fleet joined Admiral Rodney, who, having now no enemy to contend with in these seas, dispatched Rear-Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham, with ten sail of the line to Jamaica, sent home the trade for Europe, escorted by Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker in the Medway, and proceeded with ten sail of the line and a frigate to New York, where he arrived on the 22d of September.

When Admiral Rodney sailed for North America, the command of what ships and vessels remained on this station devolved on Commodore Hotham: and the season for acting being over, his attention was principally directed to the safety of his Majesty's ships. For this purpose, he ordered them to such places as were judged most secure against the tempests so prevalent at this time of the year: and this necessary arrangement was not completely accomplished, when the whole of the West Indies experienced one of the most dreadful hurricanes ever remembered, and in which the Royal Navy sustained very great loss. Sensible that any description I could give, would prove inadequate to convey to the reader a proper idea of the horrors of this awful scene, exhibited both by sea and land—I shall, therefore, subjoin the public letters written to his Majesty's Ministers, which give a most ample account of the misfortunes which that part of the West Indies underwent.

*“ Vengeance, Carenage, St. Lucia, Oct. 23, 1780.*

“ On the 10th in the morning, the *Blanche*, which was  
“ charged with my letter to you of that date, sailed with the  
“ *Alcmene*, for Antigua; a short time made a great change in  
“ our

“ our situation ; for on the night following, (viz. the 10th)  
“ there arose a hurricane at N. E. which increased by the  
“ morning to a degree of violence that is not to be described.  
“ The Ajax, Montagu, and Egmont, which had been anchor-  
“ ed before the entrance of the harbour, were, before day-  
“ light, all forced to sea, as was the Amazon soon after ; and  
“ the Deal Castle and Camelion, which had been stationed in  
“ Gros Illet Bay, for the protection of the hospitals, shared  
“ the same fate : the Vengeance, with the Etna and Vesuvius  
“ bombs, and the San Vincente snow, were moored within  
“ the Carenage, and prepared with every caution that could  
“ be taken to withstand the tempest, which had already put  
“ several transports on shore, and by this time blew with irre-  
“ sistible fury, attended with an incessant flood of rain. A  
“ little after twelve o'clock, the Vengeance parted her cable,  
“ and tailed upon the rocks. It now became absolutely requi-  
“ site to cut away her masts, the loss of which, with the help  
“ of a number of guns that were got forward, eased consider-  
“ ably the force with which she struck ; and by the wind for-  
“ tunately shifting two or three points farther to the eastward,  
“ her stern swung off the rocks, and she was, beyond every  
“ expectation, saved ; for it now blew, if possible, with re-  
“ doubled violence, and nothing was to be seen or expected,  
“ but ruin, desolation, and destruction in every part. The  
“ San Vincente snow, with many of the transports, victuallers,  
“ and traders, were dismasted, and mostly all on shore ; in  
“ short, no representation can equal the scene of distress that  
“ appeared before us.

“ The storm continued with incredible vehemence during  
“ the whole day ; but the weather about midnight became  
“ more moderate, and by the next morning the wind was  
“ totally abated. The direction of it was from N. N. E. to  
“ E. S. E. of twenty-nine hours duration.

“ On the 13th, the Montagu anchored before the harbour,  
“ without a mast or bowsprit standing, eight feet water in her  
“ hold, and all her powder damaged : every assistance was

“ given her to get her into Carenage, where she is now secured  
 “ in safety. The Ajax returned to this anchorage on the 21st,  
 “ with the loss of her main-yard, main-top-mast, and mizen-  
 “ mast. The Beaver’s prize, being on her passage to Barba-  
 “ does, was unfortunately wrecked on the back of this island,  
 “ near Vieux fort; and it gives me pain to add, that all her  
 “ officers and crew, except seventeen men, perished.

“ The preservation of the Amazon is so singular and extra-  
 “ ordinary, that I herewith transmit a copy of the account given  
 “ of it by Captain Finch.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. HOTHAM.”

“ *Amazon, English Harbour, Oct. 17, 1780.*

“ SIR,

“ I am at a loss whether to express, in the strongest terms,  
 “ my regret for the misfortunes that have happened to his  
 “ Majesty’s ship under my command, or my satisfaction in  
 “ having got her in safety to this port.

“ I flatter myself, you saw the necessity we were under of  
 “ putting to sea the morning after the commencement of the  
 “ gale. We then stood under our storm-stay-sails W. by N.  
 “ from the Carenage; it was but for a short time the canvas  
 “ held; after that the ship behaved perfectly well, and ap-  
 “ peared to every person on board as capable of standing the  
 “ gale that ensued, as was possible for any ship. About seven  
 “ o’clock at night, the gale increased to a degree that can better  
 “ be conceived from the consequences, than any description I  
 “ can give. There was an evident necessity of doing some-  
 “ thing to relieve the ship, but I was unwilling to cut away  
 “ the lower masts till the last extremity, and accordingly order-  
 “ ed the people up to cut away the main-top-mast; my orders  
 “ were attempted to be put in execution with the utmost ala-  
 “ crity, but before it could be accomplished, I found it neces-  
 “ sary to call them down to cut away the main-mast. Whilst

“ I was



“ I was waiting for the men to come down, a sudden gust  
“ overfet the ship; most of the officers, with myself, and a  
“ number of the ship’s company, got upon the side of the  
“ ship; the wheel on the quarter-deck was then under water.  
“ In that situation, I could perceive the ship settle bodily some  
“ feet, until the water was up to the after part of the sides of  
“ the carronades on the weather side. Notwithstanding the  
“ ship was so far gone, upon the masts, bowsprit, &c. going  
“ away, she righted as far as to bring the lee gunwale even  
“ with the water’s edge. By the exertions of all the officers  
“ and men, we soon got the lee quarter-deck guns and car-  
“ ronades overboard, and soon after one of the fore-castle guns  
“ and sheet anchor cut away, which had so good an effect,  
“ that we were enabled to get to the pumps and lee guns on  
“ the main-deck; the throwing them overboard was, in our  
“ situation, a work of great difficulty, and I could perceive the  
“ ship was going down by the stern: this arduous task was ac-  
“ complished under the direction of Lieutenant Pakenham,  
“ whose great experience and determined perseverance marked  
“ him out as, perhaps, the only individual to whom (amidst  
“ such great exertions) a pre-eminence could be given; and I  
“ do not think it possible for greater exertions to be made.  
“ The water was above the cables on the orlop-deck, with a  
“ vast quantity between decks; and the stump of the main-  
“ mast falling out of the step, occasioned one of the chain  
“ pumps to be rendered useless, as was the other soon after;  
“ by the great activity of the two carpenter’s mates, they were  
“ alternately cleared: upon my representing this to Commis-  
“ sioner Laforey, he has appointed them both to act as car-  
“ penters, (one in the Amazon, the other in the Antigua,) till  
“ your pleasure is known. Besides the loss of our masts, &c.  
“ the ship has suffered considerable damages, the particulars of  
“ which I cannot send, until a survey has been held upon the  
“ ship. The books and papers are totally destroyed, so that it  
“ is not in my power particularly to ascertain the loss we have  
“ suffered in men; I believe twenty drowned, besides a num-  
“ ber

“ber wounded. For further particulars, I refer you to the gentleman who will deliver this letter to you.

“The carpenter was the only officer lost upon this occasion.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“WM CLEMENT FINCH.”

“*To Commodore Hotbam.*”

“*Ajax, Carenage, St. Lucia, Nov. 5, 1780.*

“SIR,

“It is with the deepest concern, that to my account of the 23d of October, I am now obliged to add a still more melancholy one, of the effects of the late dreadful hurricane, the force of which, it appears, was not to be withstood.

“Upon the 25th, the Governor of Martinique sent me over, in a flag of truce, thirty-one men of the crews of the Andromeda and Laurel; the former overfet and foundered about six leagues to windward of that island: and by the account which the pilot of her gives, who was one of the people saved, there is little expectation that the Endymion can have escaped; as he says, from her situation when he last saw her, and the direction of the wind at that time, it was impossible for her to have cleared the island upon either tack: the Laurel was driven on shore and very soon went to pieces. The Marquis de Bouillé could not consider men, who had only the force of the elements to cope with, in the light of enemies; but that having in common with themselves, partaken of the danger, were in like manner intitled to every comfort and relief that could be given, in a time of such universal calamity and distress. He laments only, that their numbers were so few, and that among them no officer was saved. In his way of acting he has shown himself equally humane and generous; and I should be wanting in those sentiments myself, if I omitted to point out to their Lordships his conduct upon this unhappy occasion.

“A French

“ A French convoy of about sixty sail, under two frigates,  
 “ intended for Martinique, have been totally dispersed, many  
 “ of them lost, and some taken. One of the frigates named  
 “ the Inconstant, got into Fort Royal dismasted ; but the other  
 “ I have not heard of. The Experiment was driven on shore  
 “ at Guadaloupe ; the Juno was cast away at St. Vincent ;  
 “ and a brig with one hundred and sixty men on board, troops  
 “ and others, foundered at the same place, and all perished.  
 “ The hurricane, by every account, has been more fatal to the  
 “ French islands than to ours. It was felt at Tobago, but not  
 “ in such a degree as to do any mischief.

“ By the Vigilant, that anchored here to-day, I am inform-  
 “ ed by Commissioner Laforey, that the Venus is arrived at  
 “ English Harbour, with the loss of her fore-mast and bow-  
 “ sprit : and the trade at St. Kitt’s put to sea on the approach  
 “ of the gale ; but the greatest part are since returned.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. HOTHAM.”

“ *Carcass at Antigua, Nov. 10, 1780.*

“ As Commodore Hotham’s letters will contain every ma-  
 “ terial communication to the time of their date, I have only  
 “ left to add, that I am sorry to inform you, none of the ships  
 “ missed since the late hurricane have arrived, or been heard of  
 “ here, to this time.

“ I am, &c.

“ JOHN LAFOREY.”

#### LIST OF SHIPS MISSING.

Egmont, seventy-four guns, Captain Houlton.\*

Endymion, forty-four guns, Captain Carteret.

Deal Castle, twenty-four guns, Captain Hawkins.

Camelion, twenty-four guns, Captain Johnstone.

*Copy*

\* This is a mistake, as Captain Fanshaw was Captain of the Egmont.



*Copy of a letter from Major-General Vaughan, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the Leeward Islands, to Lord George Germain, dated Barbadoes, Oct. 30, 1780.*

“ MY LORD,

“ I am much concerned to inform your Lordship, that this  
 “ island was almost entirely destroyed by a most violent hurri-  
 “ cane, which began on Tuesday the 10th instant, and con-  
 “ tinued almost without intermission for near forty-eight hours.  
 “ It is impossible for me to attempt a description of the storm ;  
 “ suffice it to say, that few families have escaped the general  
 “ ruin, and I do not believe that ten houses are saved in the  
 “ whole island ; scarce a house is standing in Bridgetown ;  
 “ whole families were buried in the ruins of their habitations,  
 “ and many in attempting to escape, were maimed and dis-  
 “ abled ; a general convulsion of nature seemed to take place,  
 “ and an universal destruction ensued. The strongest colours  
 “ could not paint to your Lordship the miseries of the inha-  
 “ bitants—on the one hand, the ground covered with the  
 “ mangled bodies of their friends and relations ; and, on the  
 “ other, reputable families wandering through the ruins, seek-  
 “ ing for food and shelter : in short, imagination can form but  
 “ a faint idea of the horrors of this dreadful scene.

“ Every plantation and building, great and small, are thrown  
 “ to the ground ; the cattle and stock belonging to them are  
 “ almost all destroyed ; the produce of the earth torn up by  
 “ the roots, and not a trace left behind ; so that there is but too  
 “ much reason to fear, that a famine must inevitably ensue,  
 “ unless some effectual means are used to prevent it.

“ Fortunately, the stores and provisions belonging to the  
 “ army and navy, (the latter of which are very considerable)  
 “ have been with great difficulty nearly all saved ; although the  
 “ whole was a continual scene of rapine and confusion, and the  
 “ negroes, (who are extremely numerous in this island) instead  
 “ of attempting to save the effects of the unhappy sufferers,  
 “ were plundering in every part of the town.

“ Every

“ Every ship which was in Carlisle Bay, amongst which  
 “ were one army and two navy victuallers, and one ordnance  
 “ ship, were driven to sea ; and I much fear, that most of  
 “ them have perished, or are carried so far to leeward, as to  
 “ render it impossible for them to regain this port.

“ I must beg leave to refer your Lordship to his Excellency  
 “ the Governor’s letter, for a more minute description of this  
 “ destructive tempest : and I am confident your Lordship must  
 “ sensibly feel for the miserable calamities, that have befallen  
 “ the inhabitants of this ruined country.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

J. VAUGHAN.”

*Extract of a letter from Major-General Cuningham, Governor of  
 the Island of Barbadoes, to Lord George Germain, dated Bar-  
 badoes, Oct. 20, 1780.*

“ THE inclosed journal, which I have the honour to send  
 “ your Lordship, will, in feeble colours, present to your view  
 “ the almost total destruction of this once beautiful island,  
 “ which many years cannot repair ; and I too much fear, that  
 “ the present proprietors of the soil will be unable to erect  
 “ buildings, so deeply are they indebted to the English mer-  
 “ chants, unless from great indulgence.

“ The chief employment now going on is, to secure cover-  
 “ ing for their negroes and inhabitants, and planting provi-  
 “ sions : and here I must recal your Lordship’s particular  
 “ attention to the speedy supplying this island with provisions  
 “ from England and Ireland, which they have no doubt, but  
 “ that the bounty and generosity of the best of Kings will  
 “ amply provide, otherwise they will run a risk of starving.

“ The first object of my attention was to send speedy notice  
 “ to Commodore Hotham of our disaster, that he might fur-  
 “ nish a frigate to go to England ; and I have also written  
 “ circular letters to the Governors in North America, to en-  
 “ courage lumber and provisions to be sent out to us.

“ Your

“ Your Lordship will receive inclosed, the Address of the  
 “ Council of this Island to the Throne ; and I must do them  
 “ the justice to say, that I have found them ready to co-operate  
 “ in every measure proposed for the good of the island and his  
 “ Majesty’s service.

“ It is fortunate that General Vaughan resided in this island.  
 “ His authority, joined to the activity of the officers and troops  
 “ under his command, contributed greatly to preserve order in  
 “ the town, preventing rapine and plunder from the prisoners  
 “ and negroes.

“ The Spaniards, under the direction of Don Pedro St.  
 “ Jago, Captain in the regiment of Arragon, conducted them-  
 “ selves more like friends than enemies : I therefore mean to  
 “ show them every indulgence in my power.

“ I have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship, that  
 “ the records of the island are preserved.”

*Extract of two letters from William Matthew Burt, Esq; Govern-  
 nor of the Leeward Islands, to Lord George Germain, dated  
 Antigua, November the 1st and 4th, 1780.*

“ IT is with infinite concern I acquaint your Lordship, that  
 “ since I closed my letter of the 25th of October, I have re-  
 “ ceived the following account of the truly severe hurricane  
 “ which happened in the middle of last month amongst the  
 “ southern islands, and of which, thank God, except a violent  
 “ surge in the Government, which at St. Christopher’s threw  
 “ many vessels on shore, we felt no bad effects. At St. Lucia,  
 “ all the barracks and huts for his Majesty’s troops, and other  
 “ buildings in the island, are blown down ; the ships were drove  
 “ to sea, his Majesty’s ship the Amazon, Captain Finch, most  
 “ miraculously escaped foundering ; she was on her beam ends  
 “ for many hours ; she lay down so far that her windward guns  
 “ were in the water ; had many men washed overboard, others  
 “ drowned on her decks ; was obliged to cut away all her masts  
 “ and bowsprit, but under jury-masts, thank God, safely ar-  
 “ rived



“ rived at English Harbour; Captain Finch perfectly well.  
“ The Albemarle blew out of Barbadoes, cut away her masts,  
“ also put into English Harbour. The Venus cut away her  
“ fore-mast, lost her bowsprit, and is arrived at English Harbour.  
“ The Blanche was seen by the Alcmena in great distress, and  
“ has never been since heard of; we hope she is gone to  
“ Jamaica. The Ajax, Egmont, and Montagu, blew out of  
“ St. Lucia, and here we have not heard of them: every build-  
“ ing in St. Vincent, we are told, blown down and the town  
“ destroyed. The Juno, a new French frigate of forty guns,  
“ drove on shore, and dashed all to pieces: at Grenada great  
“ devastation; nineteen sail of loaded Dutch ships stranded  
“ and beat to pieces. Sixty-two sail of merchant ships with  
“ stores, and two thousand five hundred troops on board, was  
“ the reinforcement expected under four frigates, arrived in the  
“ morning at Martinique: they landed one hundred of the  
“ troops, the remainder, with the whole convoy, were blown  
“ to sea; we do not hear that any are again returned. Several  
“ wrecks have been seen and met with at sea: a ship blown out  
“ of St. Christopher’s took two with troops on board; one she  
“ sent to Jamaica, the other to St. Christopher’s. Report,  
“ but I have not yet any authentic account, says, one  
“ thousand French troops are sent into St. Christopher’s. At  
“ Martinique, the beautiful town of St. Pierre, which is built  
“ upon the shore, is said to be entirely washed away. At  
“ Guadaloupe, the town of Basseterre, also built on the lee  
“ shore, is said to be destroyed: and the Experiment, French  
“ frigate, blown on shore and lost. Two frigates are also said  
“ to be thrown on the Saints, and to have perished. We have  
“ yet not any accounts from Barbadoes, where, it is apprehend-  
“ ed, the gale was very severe: at Dominica they have also  
“ greatly suffered. The Dutch at St. Eustatia’s have also suf-  
“ fered: many houses on the bay washed into the sea: their  
“ damage is computed at one hundred and fifty thousand  
“ pounds sterling. I have directed a general thanksgiving  
“ through this Government on Sunday, to return God thanks  
“ for

“ for his protection and mercy, extended to us during the great  
 “ and tremendous late hurricane.

“ I have laid an embargo on lumber in this Government, and  
 “ intend sending what can be got, as fast as possible, to St.  
 “ Lucia and Barbadoes. The houses and every thing in Gre-  
 “ nada, I hear, is levelled with the ground. The same at St.  
 “ Vincent's, where the town is washed away; besides the  
 “ frigates which I mentioned, said to be thrown on shore on the  
 “ Saints, his Majesty's ship the Beaver's prize, Captain Drum-  
 “ mond, is also stranded, and the whole crew, except about  
 “ thirty men, perished. Captain Drummond is greatly la-  
 “ mented.

“ Governor Cuninghame and Brigadier-General St. Leger  
 “ write me, that they much apprehend a famine in St. Lucia  
 “ and Barbadoes. There were undisposed of in this island,  
 “ near one thousand five hundred barrels of flour, which his  
 “ Majesty was graciously pleased to send for the relief of this  
 “ island. I have already sent General St. Leger near one  
 “ thousand barrels, and propose sending him three hundred bar-  
 “ rels, if not the whole remaining quantity.”

From these letters, the reader will form a clear idea what the  
 islands and the fleet stationed here suffered. When we come  
 to speak of the like misfortunes which were experienced by the  
 island of Jamaica and his Majesty's squadron there, we shall  
 mention the generosity of the British Parliament, which in the  
 midst of an expensive, bloody, and unsuccessful war, nobly  
 contributed to the relief of their West India colonies.

The following is a list of the ships of war on this station,  
 which either suffered damage or were wrecked in the great hur-  
 ricane in October this year :

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	
Vengeance,	74	{ Sustained great damage in the harbour of St. Lucia.
Ajax,	74	{ Forced to sea and received great damage, since returned to St. Lucia.
Montagu,	74	

*Ships.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>			
Egmont,	74	{	{	
Endymion,	44			
		{ On a cruize to windward of		
		{ Martinico,		
Venus,	36	Dismasted, reached Antigua.		
Alcmene,	32	Ditto. Ditto.		
Albemarle,	24	Forced to sea from Barbadoes, ditto.		
Blanche,	32	{	{	
Camelion,	14			
		Foundered at sea, and all on board perished.		
Andromeda,	28	{	{	
Laurel,	28			
Beaver's Prize,	18	{ Wrecked on the island of		
		{ Martinico,		
		{ Ditto. do. St. Lucia,		
		{ from each ship.		
Deal Castle,	24	{	{	
		Ditto. do. Porto Rico, and only two men drowned, October 18th.		
St. Vincente,	14	{	{	
		Drove ashore in the harbour of St. Lucia, but got off again damaged.		

Commodore Hotham collected his shattered squadron, and had them repaired in the best manner possible. While this was going on, a squadron of four sail of the line and some frigates from Martinico, commanded by M. de Montiel, frequently paraded by the harbour's mouth of St. Lucia; but the Commodore being fortunately joined by the Alfred and Monarch from England, once more became superior in naval force in these seas: and the French squadron then kept close, in the harbour of Fort Royal, Martinico. Sir George Rodney and his fleet from North America arrived at Barbadoes on the 25th of November.

The next part of their plan was a conjunct attack on the island of Jamaica; the fall of which they represented as certain. This being accomplished, M. de Guichen, with all the force he could muster, was to have proceeded to North America, there to have formed a junction with the fleet under M. de Ternay, and then in conjunction with their American allies, to have bent their whole strength against New York. This serves to account for the great flow of spirits which was visible among the American insurgents at this time; and for the unusual exertions they made, to second the vast objects that were in contemplation.



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templation. General Washington's army was recruited with the greatest diligence, and was said to exceed twenty thousand men: the militia of the northern provinces were in readiness to march at a moment's warning: and all these were to be farther reinforced, by the military of every denomination, that could be spared from other services. Of the fall of New York, which was not doubted, the crushing of Lord Cornwallis's army was considered as a certain consequence. But their schemes went still farther; for they meditated the invasion of Canada during the winter, with a considerable body of forces, and for it had made every preparation. The command of this expedition was to be given to the Marquis de la Fayette, who, in order to pave his way to a successful exploit, addressed a most artful memorial to the French Canadians, calling upon them by the ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and love of their country, as well as by the natural and fervent desire of recovering their own freedom, to make every preparation to aid, join, and co-operate with him on his arrival. At the same time, the Marquis informed the Canadians, that if any amongst them, blindly perverse to their own interests, and forgetful of all those ties and duties, should in any manner oppose the arms, or impede the generous designs of their deliverers, they should experience all the severities of war, and be subjected to military execution. Conjoint expeditions are of all others the most liable to miscarriage. They are, in their nature, so exceedingly complex, that it frequently happens, that the failure of one part causes the ruin of the whole. The overcrowding of the Spanish troops in their transports, together with the length of their voyage, the warmth of the climate, their change of diet, and above all their natural indolence and want of cleanliness, combined to generate among them a contagious disorder, which carried off numbers of them. This disorder soon spread from their transports to their war ships, and from these to the French fleet: and although its ravages were not so great among the latter as among the former, they were fully sufficient to damp all spirit of enterprise, and to make the separation of the two fleets an event

event ardently desired by both. This was what put it out of their power to act in concert, or even attempt the execution of the vast designs, which they vainly imagined they could speedily accomplish. The same causes which disconcerted their grand plan of operations, saved the Canadians from all the horrors with which they were threatened; and obliged their pretended deliverers to remain at home. M. de Guichen seems to have kept the knowledge of the real state of the fleet under his command a secret to the last: and so little did Admiral Rodney entertain any suspicions of it, that when the French Admiral left Cape François, he concluded that he was gone for North America, and immediately went thither, with the greatest part of the fleet under his command.

M. de Guichen, no doubt, regretted the steps which he was compelled by necessity to pursue; but the bad state of his ships, occasioned by the severe actions which they had sustained in the West Indies, and the unhealthiness of their crews, determined him to return to Europe. It was generally supposed, that he intended only to escort the great number of merchant ships which he brought from Martinico, and those which joined him from St. Domingo, till he should think them beyond the reach of the British cruizers; and that, after leaving a few ships for their protection on their voyage to Europe, he would then separate from them, and proceed with the remainder of his squadron to Rhode Island. Instead of this, he steered directly for Europe, and reached the port of Cadiz in such a disabled state, as fully justified his conduct. Here, he found a strong squadron of French ships, under the command of the Count d'Estaing.

No disappointment, which the revolted colonists had experienced since the commencement of hostilities with the mother-country, ever galled them so much as the failure of this grand and deep laid scheme. If their sanguine hopes of its success, animated them to the most active exertions; its discomfiture, had an equally visible effect on their future operations in this campaign, by rendering them exceedingly languid.

Sir Peter Parker detached a considerable part of his squadron, under Rear-Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham, to see the second fleet of merchant ships bound for Europe, safely through the Gulph. The two fleets separated on the 24th of September, in lat.  $33^{\circ}$  N. when agreeably to his orders, Rear-Admiral Rowley in the *Grafton* proceeded to cruize of Cape François: but in his way thither, in company with his Majesty's ships the *Thunderer*, *Hector*, *Berwick*, *Ruby*, *Trident*, *Stirling Castle*, and *Bristol*, on the 5th of October, in lat.  $28^{\circ} 33'$  N. long.  $72^{\circ} 30'$  W. he was overtaken by a dreadful hurricane. In the afternoon of that day, a great number of water-spouts were observed, several of which broke very near some of the squadron. The clouds then looked exceedingly black, and about six in the evening it began to blow very hard, and kept increasing until twelve, when it became a perfect tempest. The *Thunderer* then disappeared, and was seen no more: the main, fore and mizen-top-masts of the *Grafton* were also then blown away; and these disasters were soon followed by her main and mizen-masts breaking a few feet above the deck. The sea ran so exceedingly high, as to cause the wreck of the masts to beat with such violence against the ship, that it was expected her sides would be stove in. To increase this misfortune, the tiller at the same time broke in two, and five of the upper deck guns (eighteen pounders) broke loose, three of which forced their way through the main-gratings into the hold. Such was the fury with which the sea broke on the ship, that the water made its way into the hold, through the openings made by the guns when they fell. At this instant, it fortunately occurred to Captain Affleck, to order the hatchways to be covered with tarpaulins; and to this the saving of the ship is to be attributed. There was at that time, upwards of ten feet water in the hold, and not one of the chain pumps would work, so that they had reason every moment to dread that the ship would founder. To prevent this, the guns on the quarter-deck and forecastle were thrown overboard, which gave great relief. The Captain now calling out for volunteers to cut  
away



away the wreck of the mast, still dashing against the sides, twenty-five of the most active of the crew presented themselves, and were presently over the side of the vessel, hanging by one hand, and with a hatchet in the other striking at the wreck. So high did the sea continue, that these brave fellows, while on this dangerous service, were frequently dipped for a minute in the body of a large wave : but notwithstanding these obstructions, they happily accomplished their work, without receiving any hurt. While this was going on, the ship was driving at the mercy of the wind ; but the crew, by bailing with buckets, had gained considerably on the water in the hold ; and by five in the morning, having got some of the pumps repaired, they had their assistance. Another tiller was then fixed, and they once more got the command of the ship. At day-break on the 6th, not one of the squadron was to be seen from the Admiral's ship, on board of which all the provisions except the beef, pork, and butter, were destroyed. Soon after that the gale abated, and they were enabled to get up jury-masts. A few days afterwards, the Admiral fell in with the Trident, Ruby, and Bristol, which had suffered very severely in the storm, and had not a mast or bowsprit left standing. Soon after that he was also joined by the Hector, which was in a worse plight than any of the rest of the ships. She had been obliged to throw overboard all her guns, her provisions and bread were greatly damaged, and her crew were so exhausted with fatigue, that it was found necessary to have a guard of marines, under orders to fire on such as refused to work at the pumps. Such was the deplorable state of this vessel and her crew when she luckily rejoined the Admiral, who administered to their wants all that was in his power. This unfortunate squadron encountered another gale on the 16th, but not so violent as the one on the 5th and 6th : when, after suffering very much, reached Port Royal harbour in Jamaica on the 26th. Besides the great damages which the ships sustained, many of their crews were very much hurt by bruises which they had received during the storm, and several of them had their legs  
broken,

broken. The Berwick was so much damaged, that Captain Stewart found it absolutely necessary to bear away for England. The Thunderer foundered, and all on board perished. About the end of December, a schooner with a flag of truce arrived at Jamaica from Hispaniola : and in her came a midshipman and four seamen who had belonged to the Stirling Castle, and brought the melancholy news of the loss of that ship on the Silver Keys, a cluster of rocks almost under water, a little to the northward of old Cape François in Hispaniola, on which she had struck, and soon went to pieces on the night of the 5th of October. The part of the wreck, from which these unfortunate people were taken, was driven to sea with near twenty persons on it, without a drop of water, or any provisions, excepting a few pieces of pork, which were washed overboard soon after they were adrift. In this deplorable situation they were tossed about for several days, many of them dying raving mad : and those who survived, were reduced to the dreadful necessity of sucking the blood of their dead companions, as the only means left to support a miserable existence, until they were picked up by a small vessel, which carried them to Cape François.

On the 26th of October, the Ulysses arrived at Jamaica without main or mizen-masts, and had been obliged to throw all her upper-deck guns overboard. The Pomona, which returned on the 24th, had also suffered in the storm, having had her bowsprit and fore-mast sprung, and her mizen-mast carried away. Nor were these dreadful misfortunes, the only ones that befel his Majesty's squadron on this station during this tempest: for on the 4th of October, about five o'clock in the morning, the Phoenix frigate was wrecked on the island of Cuba, three leagues from Cape Cruz ; and if she had not drove ashore, she must have foundered. All her crew were saved, except about twenty, some of whom were forced into the sea by the main-mast when it fell, and others were washed overboard. As soon as possible, her Captain, Sir Hyde Parker, had one of the ship's boats fitted, in which he dispatched his First Lieutenant,  
Mr.

Mr. Archer, to Montego Bay in the island of Jamaica for assistance; in consequence of which, the Porcupine sloop and three shallops were immediately sent to his aid, and brought off what remained of the officers and crew. The Scarborough frigate, the Barbadoes and Victor sloops of war, foundered, and all their crews perished. It appears that the hurricane run in veins, as the Pallas, Diamond, Lowestoffe, and Pelican, were at sea during the storm, and all returned to Port Royal without any damage whatever.

The Egmont, Captain Fanshaw, had been driven from the island of St. Lucia on the 10th of October, and reached Port Royal harbour on the 28th, totally dismasted and her frame much shaken. On the following day, the Endymion, which had been on a cruize to windward of Martinico, arrived also, with only her fore-mast standing. She brought in with her two French ships, named the Marquis de Brancas and l'Eole, which she took on her way to Jamaica. The former was laden with provisions: and the latter had one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, part of the regiment of Touraine, commanded by Captain de Marcy. These two ships were, on the 11th of October, forced, with many others, out of St. Pierre's road, Martinico, by the violence of the storm.

We cannot so well convey to our readers, so just a description of the calamities which befel the island of Jamaica, in the hurricane of the 2d of October this year, as by giving a copy of the public letter, written by his Majesty's Governor of that island on this melancholy occasion.

*Copy of a letter from Major-General Dalling, Governor of the Island of Jamaica, to Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, received by his Majesty's ship Alert, Captain Vashon.*

*" Jamaica, October 20, 1780.*

*" MY LORD,*

*" I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing your Lordship, of one of the most dreadful calamities*



“ that has happened to the colony, within the memory of the  
“ oldest inhabitant.

“ On Monday the 2d instant, the weather being very close,  
“ the sky on a sudden became very much overcast, and an un-  
“ common elevation of the sea immediately followed. Whilst  
“ the unhappy settlers at Savannah la Mar were observing this  
“ extraordinary phenomenon, the sea broke suddenly in upon  
“ the town, and on its retreat swept every thing away with it,  
“ so as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or house  
“ behind.

“ This most dreadful catastrophe was succeeded by the most  
“ terrible hurricane that ever was felt in this country, with  
“ repeated shocks of an earthquake, which has almost totally  
“ demolished every building in the parishes of Westmoreland,  
“ Hanover, part of St. James’s, and some part of Elizabeth’s,  
“ and killed numbers of the white inhabitants as well as of the  
“ negroes. The wretched inhabitants are in a truly wretched  
“ situation, not a house standing to shelter them from the incle-  
“ mency of the weather, nor cloaths to cover them, every thing  
“ being lost in the general wreck, and, what is still more dread-  
“ ful, famine staring them full in the face.

“ To obviate, in some degree, the consequences of this most  
“ dreadful calamity, I have called a meeting of the Kingston  
“ merchants, who have generously sent down to the unhappy  
“ sufferers 10,000*l.* value in different kinds of provisions,  
“ cloathing, &c. which will be a temporary relief, until their  
“ distresses can be more effectually relieved, either from home,  
“ or from America, whether I am sending some vessels in quest  
“ of rice, or such other provisions as can be procured. In the  
“ parish of Westmoreland, the damage, by the report of the  
“ Committee appointed to take into consideration the amount  
“ of their losses, amounts to 950,000*l.* this currency : in that  
“ of Hanover, one-fourth of the absolute property is lost for  
“ ever : in that of St. James’s, the ravage, though very great,  
“ yet has not been so fatal as in the other two. In short, my  
“ Lord, the devastation is immense. The inclosed paper may  
“ give

“ give your Lordship some faint idea of the distress of the poor  
“ inhabitants, who look up to their most gracious Sovereign,  
“ in their truly calamitous situation, for some alleviation of  
“ their very great sufferings.

“ The Monarch transport, having the Spanish prisoners from  
“ St. John's on board, sailed from Savannah la Mar, on her  
“ way to Kingston, on the first of October; but not having  
“ been heard of since, it is much feared, that she also has ex-  
“ perience the dreadful effects of the late hurricane, and that  
“ every soul on board perished.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ JOHN DALLING.”

The truly deplorable state to which the inhabitants of these unhappy islands were now reduced, rendered it necessary for them to make application to the British Parliament for assistance and relief. Accordingly, a petition was presented by Lord North, January 23d, 1781, from the planters, merchants, and other persons, interested in the island of Jamaica; in which it was stated, that the parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover in that island had been laid waste by the late hurricanes, earthquakes, and inundations. After enumerating the immense losses in property which they had sustained, and showing the necessity they were under of applying for the immediate aid of Parliament, the petitioners solicited the House to take the case of the sufferers into consideration, and to grant them such relief as to the House should seem meet.

A petition was also presented by Mr. Estwick, agent for Barbadoes, from the planters, merchants, and others, resident in England, and interested in that island, in which it was stated, that the violence of the late hurricanes had extended over the whole island, affecting almost every individual; that of nearly four hundred plantations, scarcely one had escaped the general calamity; and that almost all the buildings, nearly one-half of the cattle, and many of the slaves, had been destroyed. From these causes, the inhabitants, to the number of above  
twenty

twenty thousand whites, had been left almost destitute of habitations, food, and raiment.

The petitioners therefore solicited the House, to grant the sufferers a speedy and effectual relief. A petition was also presented from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, recommending the distressed inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes to the attention and generosity of Parliament: and they prayed not in vain; for the generosity of the parent state, on this occasion, is not to be paralleled, and ought ever to be held in grateful remembrance by these islands.

Lord North informed the House, that his Majesty, having been acquainted with the contents of these petitions, had recommended them to the consideration of Parliament. The following day, the business was more particularly discussed; when his Lordship observed, that if an estimate were to be made of the commercial value to this country, of the two parishes, on which the hurricane in Jamaica fell, and if it were compared with the commercial value to this country of Barbadoes, perhaps those two parishes were more than equivalent, in the scale, to the whole of that island. If, therefore, a calculation were to be made, of the quantum of relief that ought to be sent to each island, from the greatness of the loss sustained by each, the greatest sum would be sent to Jamaica. But Parliament would be too just to make this the rule of their charity, which should be regulated, not by the measure of their loss, but by the urgency of their wants. The hurricane had fallen only on a part of Jamaica, but had ravaged and laid waste the whole of Barbadoes. In the latter island all were sufferers. In Jamaica, the greater part of the island, though indeed the least fertile, had escaped the general visitation; whence it might be presumed, that the necessaries of life might be purchased by the poor amongst the sufferers, which, as he understood, were not very many in those two parishes, for money. Money, therefore, was the principal thing of which they would stand in need. But in Barbadoes, where the effects



effects of the hurricane were general, the number of poor white people was great, and they would stand in need of many of the necessaries of life, of bulky commodities, which could not be transmitted, like a credit on the Bank of England, without any expence, but which would occasion a considerable deduction, from the sum that should be voted for their relief, for freight, insurance, and such incidents. He had conversed on this subject with several West India merchants, and from all that he could learn, on the question to which of the islands we ought to give the most assistance, the painful preference was due to Barbadoes. The House concurred in opinion with the Minister; and, after a short debate, agreed to three resolutions: one, to grant 80,000*l.* for the relief of Barbadoes; another, to grant 40,000*l.* for the relief of Jamaica; and a third, that these sums should be paid for the use of the sufferers, without any deduction.

The loss sustained by his Majesty's squadron on this station, by the hurricane, was very great; the following is a pretty exact statement of it:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	
Grafton,	74	} Part of Rear-Admiral Rowley's squadron that returned to Jamaica, all of them dismasted, and otherwise much damaged.
Hector,	74	
Ruby,	64	
Trident,	64	
Bristol,	50	
Berwick,	74	} Belonged to Rear-Admiral Rowley's squadron, dismasted, and so much disabled, as to be obliged to bear away for England.
Thunderer,	74	
		} Commodore Walsingham,* belonged to Rear-Admiral Rowley's squadron, is supposed to have foundered, being never more heard of.
Stirling Castle,	64	
		} Belonged to Rear-Admiral Rowley's fleet, struck on the Silver Keys, near the island of Hispaniola, and only a few seamen saved.

*Ships.*

\* The Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham, son to the Earl of Shannon of the kingdom of Ireland, was Member of Parliament for Knareborough in Yorkshire, and a Colonel of Marines.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	
Phoenix,	44	{ Wrecked on the island of Cuba, and twenty men drowned.
Ulysses,	44	
Pomona,	28	{ Returned to Port Royal, Jamaica, dis- masted.
Scarborough,	24	
Victor,	14	{ Supposed to have foundered, being never more heard of.
Barbadoes,	14	

The two French prizes, taken by the *Endymion* on her way to Jamaica, happened by mere chance to be quite close to her when the weather cleared up, and within reach of her guns. This accounts for their being taken; for if they had been a little farther off, they must have escaped, as she was not in a condition to make sail after them.

### A F R I C A.

HIS Majesty's sloop *Zephyr* of fourteen guns, commanded by Captain John Inglis, was stationed on the coast of Africa to protect the trade. On the 31st of October, returning from a cruize, he arrived off Goree, and anchoring in the road, received information from the Governor, that a French frigate of twenty-four guns was in the river Gambia, and that she had taken two transports and two sloops there, which were wooding and watering for the garrison of the island. Captain Inglis failed immediately in quest of the enemy, taking with him the *Polly*, letter of marque, which mounted sixteen short four pounders, and had thirty men.

On the 2d of November, by eleven in the forenoon, he got off the entrance of the river, and observed four sail at anchor off Barra Point, which he found to be one of the transports and two sloops, and a French frigate. At twelve, the enemy set fire to the transport and two sloops: the other transport they had burnt on the preceding day. At one o'clock, the frigate being under way, the *Zephyr* got within pistol-shot of her; and a warm action ensued which lasted till four, when both the *Zephyr* and frigate grounded. Being still very close to each other, the action continued with great violence till six, when

when the enemy struck. During the greatest part of the action, the letter of marque was anchored three quarters of a mile astern of the Zephyr. On boarding the frigate, they found her to be the Senegal, belonging to the King. She mounted eighteen six pounders, and had one hundred and twenty-six men, but fought the Zephyr with twenty-two guns, owing to transporting them from the off side. She was formerly his Majesty's sloop the Racehorse, and lately the Senegal. In this action, she had twelve men killed and twenty-eight wounded. The Zephyr had two men killed and four wounded, her bowsprit, main-top-mast, and main-yard, shot away; and her hull, masts, sails, yards, and rigging, were so much damaged, that it was with great difficulty that she and her prize reached Goree. During the action, the Zephyr was in continual danger from fire-rafts, both under the bows and stern; but through the good conduct of Captain Inglis, these destructive engines proved ineffectual.

The Captain arrived on the 12th at Goree, and the Governor immediately sent him further information of two French vessels that were off Senegal bar, taking in gum. Notwithstanding the shattered condition in which his ship then was, he proceeded to sea; and after beating about with a contrary wind for five days in quest of the enemy, was obliged to return, to refit her for a further pursuit.

On the 22d of November, when the ship Senegal, which had a very valuable cargo on board, was just about to be condemned, owing to some unhappy but unknown cause she blew up: and by this accident, Lieutenant George Crofts, and twenty-two others, officers and seamen, were unfortunately killed.

Captain Inglis, in writing to the Admiralty, humanely recommends the relations of those brave but unlucky men, to their benevolence so far as they may judge it expedient.

The conduct of Captain John Inglis, on this occasion, was so deservedly approved of, that immediately on his arrival in  
England,



England, he was appointed to the command of the Pandora of twenty-eight guns.

### EAST INDIES.

ON the 17th of October, Sir Edward Hughes, with the squadron\* under his command, left Madras road, intending to proceed to Tillicherry on the coast of Malabar, which was then closely invested by the Nairs and a detachment of Hyder Ali's troops, and from thence to Bombay to clean and refit the ships.

He arrived in Tillicherry road on the 27th of November, where he found two of the East India Company's armed snows, and a transport ship, which had brought stores and ammunition to the garrison a few days before. In the mean time, the armed boats of the ships in Callicut road, cut out and brought away one of Hyder Ali's ships, and forced the other on shore: but in the course of their operations, the Sartine frigate, being warped into shoal water to cannonade the enemy's ships, struck on the rocks at low water and filled, so that she was totally lost; a part of her sails, top-masts, booms, and some other stores, being all that could be saved out of her.

After leaving at Tillicherry, a Captain of marines, four officers, and one hundred and eight rank and file, with one hundred barrels of gunpowder, for its defence, until a reinforcement should arrive from Bombay, Sir Edward sailed with the squadron on the 5th of December, and steered toward Bombay.

On the 8th of December, being off Mangalore, the principal seaport of Hyder Ali on the Malabar coast, he saw two ships, a large snow, three ketches, and many smaller vessels, at anchor in the road, with Hyder Ali's colours flying on board of them. On which he stood with his squadron close into that road, and found them to be vessels of force, all armed for war. He therefore anchored as near them as he possibly could,

\* See Note 190.

could, consistently with the safety of his fleet, and ordered the armed boats of the squadron to attack and destroy them, under cover of the fire from the Company's two armed snows, and the prize-ship cut out of Callicut road, which were anchored in shoal water, and close to the enemy's ships. This service was conducted on the part of the boats, with a spirit and activity that did much honour to the officers and men employed in them; for, in two hours, they took and burned the two ships, one of twenty-eight and the other of twenty-six guns; one ketch of twelve guns was blown up by the enemy, at the instant in which the boats were boarding her; another of ten guns, which cut her cables, and endeavoured to put to sea, was taken; and the third ketch, with the smaller vessels, were all forced on shore. The snow only escaped into the harbour, after having thrown every thing overboard to lighten her. In this action, Lieutenant Gomm of the Burford, and ten men were killed: Lieutenant Sutton of the Superb, and Lieutenant Maclellan of the Eagle, and thirty-two men were wounded, and many of the latter died. This service being performed, Sir Edward Hughes sailed for Bombay, where he arrived on the 20th of December, and immediately set about docking and refitting the squadron.

#### WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

His Majesty's ships and vessels on this station,\* remained under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker. The Honourable Captain Cornwallis, of the Lion, being sent out on a cruize with a small squadron,† off Monti Christi, on the 20th of March, fell in with four sail of French ships of the line, a frigate, and a number of ships under convoy.‡ When he perceived that the enemy were giving chase to him, he formed his

\* See Note 191. † See Note 192.

‡ The French ships were the Hannibal and Diadem of seventy-four guns each, the *Refleché* of sixty-four, *Amphion* of fifty-six guns, and *Amphytrite* of thirty-two guns, commanded by M. de la Motte Piquet.

his squadron into a line of battle ahead. They came up with him about five in the evening; after which a running fight was maintained during the whole night, as the enemy chose to keep astern, although they had it in their power to come alongside of the British ships. The morning of the 21st was calm: and the Janus was near to the French Commodore, who kept up a constant and well directed fire on her, which obliged her to take advantage of a light breeze, by sheering off with the loss of her mizen-top-mast, and fore-top-gallant-mast. The Lion and Bristol were towed by their boats to the assistance of the Janus, and this brought on a general cannonading for two or three hours. The remainder of the day was employed by the enemy in repairing their damages; and just before sun-set, they made again towards the British ships, but did not come within gun-shot during the whole night. Soon after day-light on the 22d, three sail hove in sight, which Captain Cornwallis conjectured, and afterwards found to be his Majesty's ship Ruby, and the Niger and Pomona frigates. As soon as the enemy discovered what they were, immediately they hauled their wind; on which Captain Cornwallis gave them chase for five hours: but notwithstanding their superior force, they declined the combat, and made after their convoy with all the sail they could crowd. The enemy aimed chiefly at the rigging of the British ships, and it suffered very much; but fortunately, there were only twelve men killed and wounded.

Sir Peter Parker expressed, in the strongest terms, his approbation of the marked good conduct and intrepidity of Captain Cornwallis, and all the officers and men under his command. Captain Glover of the Janus, who was very ill when the action began, died on the 21st in the morning.

Governor Dalling of Jamaica, having received information of the weak state of Fort Juan, which is situated on the Spanish Main, and defends the entrance of the great Lake Nicaragua, thought that the place might be taken, by sending a detachment of troops, under the command of Captain Polson of the 60th regiment, then at the Bay of Honduras, to act in conjunction with



with the Mosquito Indians, who had always been friendly to the British, but the very reverse to the Spanish nation. By taking this fort, all the interior parts of the Spanish American provinces, bordering on the lake, would be laid open to the incursions of the British troops. Captain Polson accordingly received his orders, and proceeded to Cape Gracios à Dios, in hopes of finding a great number of Mosquito Indians ready to join him; but some people there, had artfully persuaded them, that the British troops came to enslave and send them to Jamaica. It was, therefore, some time before any of them ventured to come in. But the Captain, learning that an Indian came frequently to watch his motions, sent him some small presents; on which the Indian spoke to a Mr. Campbell, who undeceived him as to the evil reports raised, and conducted him to Captain Polson. This interview had the desired effect: and most of the Indian tribes came in very soon afterwards. Captain Polson met with great delays at the Cape, and other places between that and the harbour of St. John, which greatly retarded his intended operations. These delays seem to have arisen, partly from a great want of small craft, and partly from the Indians not turning out in the numbers expected to second the enterprize. The Superintendent of Indian affairs appears to have been greatly deceived by the Indians, with respect to these important particulars, the number of small craft, the number of men, and in point of time. It was the 3d of March, before any of the Black river craft arrived, and these, when they came, were found inadequate to the service.

The Indian Governor, who had promised to Captain Polson a great many of them, only deceived him with words: for he found on his arrival, that there was not one ready; and those which he procured at last, were got with great difficulty. On the 20th of March, he entered the harbour of St. John, and proceeded up the river fifty miles to the fort, which is situated forty miles from the mouth of the lake. Here he was joined by Captain Nelson of his Majesty's ship *Hinchinbroke*, who brought with him thirty-four seamen, a sergeant and twelve

marines. This powerful reinforcement enabled him to become master of the place: Captain Polson makes the most honourable mention of the great services performed by Captain Nelson and Lieutenant Despard, whom he says, even pointed most of the guns that were fired.

Captain Polson's operations were much retarded from a scarcity of ammunition; for he says, "had our shot held out, we should have had the place a week sooner." The garrison consisted of the Governor, one Lieutenant, two Sub-lieutenants, one Captain of Engineers, one Chaplain, one Surgeon, and two hundred and twenty-eight men. They surrendered prisoners of war, by capitulation, on the 29th of April.\* His loss, during the siege, was nine rank and file killed; one sergeant and five rank and file wounded.

Any information with which the public were favoured concerning this enterprise, appears to be imperfect. The only naval force attending it was the Hinchinbroke frigate: and she in the end lost all her men by disease; inasmuch, that Sir Peter Parker was obliged to send men from Jamaica to bring her to Port Royal. The season of the year seems to have been improper for this expedition, for in a few months, most of the military died; and their numbers were so much reduced, that in January, 1781, the few that remained abandoned the fort, and retired down the river to the ships.

Captain Cornwallis, having been detached with a part of the squadron, to see the convoy and the homeward-bound trade through the Gulph of Florida,† had got as far to the northward as lat.  $21^{\circ} 30'$ , when Captain Inglis of the Salisbury made the signal to separate. Captain Cornwallis, with the ships under his command, then proceeded to cruise off Monti Christi. On the 20th of June, being in the lat.  $30^{\circ} 18'$  north long. made from Cape Florida,  $12^{\circ} 47'$  east, the wind at S. S. E. standing to the eastward, at one in the afternoon the Niger ahead made the signal for seeing four sail in the N. E. Captain Cornwallis immediately made the signal for a general chase, and it was soon perceived, that they were

\* See Note 193.

† See Note 194.

were a French convoy standing across the squadron to the N. N. W. which, on discerning the British ships, hauled up towards them. About half past four the two fleets were pretty near: the enemy's force consisted of seven two-decked ships; some other line of battle ships and frigates being with the convoy. He then made the signal for the line on the starboard tack, the enemy being on the larboard tack, their convoy about two or three miles upon their starboard quarter, and some two-decked ships and frigates carrying a press of sail to join the other seven. The Ruby was, at this time, so far to leeward, that the enemy might have weathered her: and she was therefore obliged to tack. He then made the signal to wear, and form the line upon the starboard tack, the same the enemy were upon, and to edge down to support the Ruby, and prevent their weathermost ships from getting between her and the British squadron.

The enemy kept edging off, and forming their line; but did not fire, although within gun-shot. About half past five o'clock, Captain Cornwallis perceiving, that he had pushed the French ships sufficiently to leeward to enable the Ruby, which was then on the lee bow of the British squadron, to rejoin it, made the signal to tack. The enemy then hoisted their colours and began to fire: their leading ship had a broad pendant, and their third ship, which commanded, had a flag at the mizen-mast head: all the other ships hoisted common white pendants. As soon as the Ruby had passed into the British line and tacked, the enemy's headmost ship tacked also, and the rest in succession followed her example, keeping their line, and those leading the starboard, that led before, upon the larboard tack; they fired as they passed the British ships, but at too great a distance to do any execution. The two squadrons lost sight of each other in the night. A random shot killed the cockswain and wounded a marine on board the Lion. One man was killed on board the Bristol. The Ruby, although more exposed than any of the other ships, had only one man killed, and three wounded: her jib-boom was shot away, and a shot passed

G 2

through



through the flings of her fore-yard. These were the only damages of consequence that the ships received.

On the 15th of March, the *Pallas* sent into Port Royal a Spanish storeship of twenty guns, laden with two thousand one hundred quintals of gunpowder and some ordnance, intended for the garrisons on the Spanish Main.

We have already mentioned, that when M. de Guichen and Don Joseph Solano left Martinico, with the respective squadrons under their command, Admiral Rodney detached Rear-Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham, with ten sail of the line, to reinforce the island of Jamaica, where they arrived in safety. This naval force, with the military lately sent there, rendered that island perfectly secure: for at this time, neither the French nor Spanish fleets were in a condition to act upon the offensive. The crews of the latter were so far from having received any benefit from the air and refreshments which they had procured at the French islands, that the sickness continued to rage among them with the greatest violence, and seemed to resemble a pestilence rather than the disorders to which this climate is liable. To such an extent did it prevail, that when they arrived at the Havannah, their numbers were computed at five thousand less than when they sailed from Cadiz. The French squadron, although less sickly, were in other respects as unfit for active service. Their seamen were greatly reduced in numbers; and their ships were in so bad a condition, owing to their frequent battles in the West Indies, and to the want of the necessary repairs, that they were under the necessity of returning to Europe, to prevent them from total destruction.

The mortality which raged on board of these fleets, contributed in no small degree to frustrate the grand plan, which the French and their allies had concerted for the operations of this campaign, both in the West Indies and in North America. That the French would boast to their American friends, that Spain would co-operate in all their measures, is not to be doubted:

doubted: and it soon appeared, that their plan was, when the junction of M. de Guichen's and Don Joseph Solano's fleets was effected at Martinico, to attack all the British islands in that part of the West Indies. These, they hesitated not to say, must in a very short time be subdued, by the great naval and military force, which would be assembled in that part of the world.

### MEDITERRANEAN.

IN the narrative of last year's transactions, no mention was made of the blockade of Gibraltar, few particulars having then occurred, to render it necessary: but as the blockade and siege of that fortress began to attract the notice of all Europe, it will now be requisite to take a view of the proceedings there, from the 21st of June, 1779, the time when the Spanish General Mendoza, who commanded at St. Roque, or the Spanish lines, wrote to General Elliot, informing him, that he had received orders from his Court to cut off all communication by sea and land, between Spain and the British garrison. The next day, after this letter was written, all the British in the neighbourhood of St. Roque, the sick not excepted, were sent into Gibraltar.

At this time, its garrison consisted of the following regiments, viz. the 12th, 39th, 56th, 58th, and 72d, or Royal Manchester Volunteers, three companies of artillery, British; and three battalions of Hanoverians. The whole were under the command of General George Augustus Elliot, the Governor; who had under him, Lieutenant-General Robert Boyd, Lieutenant-Governor; and the Hanoverian Major-General de la Mothe.

Vice-Admiral Duff commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station. They consisted only of the Panther of sixty guns, three frigates, and a sloop.

On the 7th of July, 1779, his Majesty's frigate Enterprize

arrived at Gibraltar. On her passage from Tetuan, she had been chased by a Spanish ship of war. The Governor, by the advice of Vice-Admiral Duff, issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Spaniards, to some privateers then in port, which immediately put to sea, and captured several small vessels. On the 11th, Don Antonio Barcelo, (who was appointed to command the blockade by sea), with four xebecques, escorting about forty settees, appeared to the eastward of the rock. The Childers sloop engaged one of the settees; and the Panther and Enterprize got under way, and went to her assistance: the xebecques got into Ceuta, but many of their convoy, laden with wine, brandy, molasses, and other articles, were taken, and their crews were sent into Spain.

The Spanish troops before Gibraltar were reinforced: and on the 26th of July, they encamped about two miles in a straight line from the works. The Illerim, a Swedish frigate, was making for Gibraltar; but was warned against entering the port, by a xebecque of Don Barcelo's squadron. The commander of the frigate answered, that his orders were to put into Gibraltar, and he could not deviate from them. Upon which, a Spanish frigate stood toward her, and fired two shot, which she returned, and then anchored under the guns of the fortrefs. She sailed the next day for Malaga, and was followed by three Spanish vessels. On the 2d of August, a Dutch ship, ignorant of the blockade, put in for water. She had seven hundred quintals of rice on board, which the Governor purchased for the garrison.

The enemy after this, kept so sharp a look-out, that scarcely any thing escaped them. They had fifteen cruizers at the entrance of the Bay, which, on mere suspicion, seized without distinction upon Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Venetian vessels, and carried them into Algeiras.

On the 16th of September, the working parties of the enemy having come too near the fortrefs, the Governor ordered the batteries to fire upon them, on which they retired in great confusion.



confusion. A thirteen inch shell from Willis's battery, fell within a few paces of the enemy's park of artillery, which disconcerted them a good deal, as they supposed that it was beyond the reach of shells from the garrison. The Governor continued occasionally to fire on the Spanish works, and frequently compelled them to desist; and while they appeared to be busy in preparing batteries, he employed the garrison in raising traverses on the esplanade, and across the street and line wall, as far as the grand parade, for protection from their shot.

The garrison, after great toil, made a road; and on the 5th of October dragged up a twenty-four pounder to the summit of the rock, one thousand three hundred and fifty feet perpendicular above the isthmus, and there placed it in the battery. On the 7th of November, the Peace and Plenty privateer of twenty guns, Captain Mackenzie, from Leghorn and Minorca for Gibraltar, was forced ashore by the enemy's xebèques, a little beyond the Devil's Tower. The crew got ashore on Gibraltar, with the assistance of the boats sent round to them by Vice-Admiral Duff. One sailor was killed. The enemy set fire to the privateer.

On the 14th of November, the garrison beheld with great pleasure, the bravery and masterly manoeuvres of a British cutter in the Gut. About eight o'clock in the morning, signals were made at the Spanish watch-towers, of an enemy appearing from the west; upon which two large xebèques and several gallies got under way, as did Don Barcelo in the St. Jean de Baptist of seventy guns, accompanied with another ship of the line and a frigate. The cutter soon after made her appearance off Cabrita Point, steering for the Bay, wind at N. W. A large xebèque having got near her, fired a shot; the cutter then hauled her wind, and stood to the southward: the xebèque and several other of the enemy's vessels did the same: the wind increasing, the cutter got well ahead, and the Spaniards dropped to leeward. As soon as the cutter ran close up with the Barbary shore, she tacked and stood for Gibraltar,

and received the fire of the xebèques to leeward. A Spanish two-decked ship and a frigate, perceiving that the xebèques were not likely to get to windward of the cutter, stretched across from Cabrita Point, to intercept her; but they also dropped to leeward, while she by good management kept well to windward. The Spanish Commodore, in order to keep the weather-gage, brought to off Cabrita Point; but the cutter pushed boldly on, and shot ahead of him with surprising velocity. As she passed, Don Barcelo gave her a broadside, as did the two-decked ship then off Europa Point, which the cutter returned; and slipping in between the two ships, anchored safely in the Bay. There were not less than twenty sail in chase of the cutter, which proved to be the *Buck of Folkestone*, Captain Fag.

At the close of the year 1779, the price of provisions and other necessaries of life, in the garrison of Gibraltar, rose to an alarming height.

Firewood was four shillings and threepence per quintal.

Flour, in the baker's hands, not sufficient for thirty days consumption, sold at this time at one shilling per pound, which is near fourteen guineas the barrel.

No fresh meat, except an old cow now and then, which was sold at two shillings the pound.

Pork, at two shillings and sixpence the pound.

A fowl, fourteen shillings.

A goose, a guinea and a half.

A turkey, two guineas.

Eggs, four shillings and sixpence per dozen; and every other thing in proportion.

About the end of December, there was much rain and cold weather: and it was observable, that the troops in the enemy's camp found themselves very uncomfortably situated, many of their tents having been blown away, and others torn in pieces. This compelled them to erect thatched huts for their accommodation, each hut capable of containing two or three companies.

January

January 7th, 1780, the wind blew excessively hard from the S. S. E. without abating in the least the whole day. This was the more remarkable, that a wind from the same point had not blown there, for upwards of an hour's continuance, ever since the year 1740: nor had that place experienced so much easterly wind since the year 1749. Some small vessels arrived with provisions, and their cargoes sold at the most extravagant prices. On the 15th of January, an ordnance ship arrived, and brought the agreeable tidings, that the fleet from England, with supplies for the garrison, were on their way, and might be daily expected. This news was received with great joy: and in the night another vessel, with a cargo of flour, got safe in. She confirmed the accounts which the ordnance ship had brought: and in addition to these, gave the agreeable intelligence, of Admiral Rodney's having taken the Caracca fleet and a sixty-four gun ship. This made the garrison completely forget all their hardships, and inspired them with life and spirit. On the 18th, the Apollo frigate arrived in the Bay; and conveyed to them the still more satisfactory information, that Admiral Rodney had defeated a Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Juan de Langara.

The cruising ships of the enemy forsook the entrance of the Bay, and retired to Algeiras, where Don Antonio Barcelo, with his line of battle ships and frigates, hauled as close to the shore, within the island, as the depth of water would permit; and laid a boom across the entrance of the harbour, for the greater security of the ships and vessels under his command. On the 22d, part of the British fleet, with some of the convoy, arrived in the Bay.

Admiral Rodney, as was formerly observed, sailed from England on the twenty-seventh of December.— On the seventh of January, he detached the trade for the West Indies, under convoy of the Hector, Phoenix, Andromeda, and Greyhound. At day-break on the 8th, about one hundred leagues E. N. E. of Cape Finesterre, the signal was made for seeing a fleet of twenty-one sail in the north-east quarter;

on



on which, the Admiral made the signal for a general chase, and in a few hours his squadron came up with them and took the whole. The *Bienfaisant* came first up with their Commadore, in the *Guipuscoano* of sixty-four guns, which surrendered without resistance. She was only six months old, and completely fitted for war. The Admiral gave her the name of the Prince William, in respect to his Royal Highness, in whose presence she was taken. This little fleet proved to be a Spanish convoy, which sailed from St. Sebastian's on the 1st of January, and were under the protection of seven war ships and vessels belonging to the Royal Company of Caraccas.\* Part of the merchant ships were loaded with naval stores and provisions for the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and the rest with bale goods belonging to the Royal Caracca Company. These last, together with such as were laden with naval stores, the Admiral immediately dispatched to England, under convoy of the *America* and *Pearl*; but those which were loaded with provisions he took with him to Gibraltar. Sir George Rodney, having received repeated intelligence, that a Spanish squadron, said to consist of fourteen sail of the line, was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, when he drew near that promontory, he gave notice to all his Captains to prepare for battle. On the 16th in the morning, he passed that Cape with his whole fleet. About one in the afternoon, Cape St. Vincent bearing north, distant four leagues, the *Bedford* made the signal for seeing a fleet in the south-east quarter. The Admiral made the signal for the line of battle abreast; but as he drew nearer, and could perceive the motions of the enemy more distinctly, he observed that they were making more sail, and intended to make off and avoid an action. Admiral Rodney therefore ordered, at two o'clock, the signal for the line to be hauled down, and at the same time made the signal for a general chase. The weather was very hazy, the wind westerly, and a fresh gale. The Spanish fleet having lost some time in consultation or deliberation, and were not very alert in crowding sail, the British ships had:

\* See Note 195.

had approached them very considerably, from the time that they had been first seen. Very soon after that the signal was made for a general chase, signals were also made for the ships to engage as they got up with the enemy, and for the British to engage to leeward, in order to get between the enemy and their own coast, or that of Portugal, toward which they seemed inclined to steer. Notwithstanding the shortness of the day, and the late hour at which the Spanish fleet was seen, the British ships, and especially those which were coppered, came up so fast with them, that the action was begun before dark. About four o'clock, the Admiral made the signal to engage close: and very soon after, the Defence, Bedford, Resolution, and Edgar, which were all sheathed with copper, began to fire upon the enemy; the other ships also engaging as they came up. The Spaniards returned the fire with courage; but were apparently in confusion and unable to support each other, their precipitate flight having disjoined their squadron. A little before five, the Bienfaisant had nearly got up with a Spanish ship, which suddenly blew up with a dreadful explosion. The sea was agitated by the shock, and some pieces of the wreck were even thrown on board the Bienfaisant. None of the unhappy sufferers could at that time be observed by any of the British ships; but the Pegasus frigate, which had been left to accompany the storeships, next morning took up a single man floating upon a piece of the wreck: he was so miserably scorched that he died before the fleet reached Gibraltar. The action and pursuit were continued during a dark and squally night: the different ships of the British fleet engaging, pushing on, and securing the enemy's ships, with more activity and greater success than could have been expected under such circumstances. The lights which were shown by every ship of the British fleet to make them known to each other, and to distinguish them from that of Spain, were successfully managed, and were never attempted to be imitated by the enemy. It may be also mentioned, as a proof of judicious management, that during nine hours of battle and pursuit in a dark and blowing

blowing night, no damage was done to each other by any of the British ships. When Admiral Rodney perceived that all firing had ceased, he concluded that the enemy's ships must all have yielded; and therefore, at two o'clock in the morning, made the signal for the fleet to bring to upon the larboard tack. The wind had continued to increase during the whole of the night: and when the action ended it was with difficulty that boats could pass from one ship to another. This rendered the necessary operations of shifting the prisoners, and taking possession of the Spanish ships which had struck, a very difficult task. It was, however, carried on by the different ships as fast as possible: and the Phoenix of eighty guns, on (board of which was Admiral Langara,) the Monarca, Diligente, Princessa, St. Julian, and St. Eugenio, of seventy guns each, were taken and boarded. The St. Domingo of seventy guns was the ship which blew up during the action: the St. Laurenzo and St. Augustine made their escape: and thus it appears, that seven out of nine ships of the line, which were together at the beginning of the pursuit, were either taken or destroyed. It is also believed, that the two which escaped had also surrendered, but were not taken possession of. The fleet under Admiral Don Juan Langara y Huarte, consisted of eleven ships of the line and two frigates: \* two of the line of battle ships were out of sight of their Admiral when they were first descried by the British, and the two frigates made their escape.

In this action and pursuit, equal courage was shown by the British and by the Spaniards. The latter continued to defend their ships, when indeed they were no longer able to make any resistance; and seemed determined not to yield, though incapable of further exertion. But the superior naval skill of the British was never more apparent; and from the beginning of the action the fire of the great guns of their ships far surpassed that of the Spaniards: it has been affirmed, that if there had been no other means of marking the distinction, a British ship could have been known from a Spanish ship, by the superior discharge

\* See Note 196.



discharge of the artillery alone. It is true, that the Spanish ships kept up a good fire of musquetry; but in such an action, or even in any sea-battle, the effect of small arms is inconsiderable.

The state of the weather was favourable to the British. It is in such circumstances, that the inclemency of their climate, and their tempestuous seas, render them superior to their more southern neighbours: and till nature itself undergoes some change, it is an advantage which they must enjoy.

When the *Bienfaisant* brought to the Spanish Admiral's ship after she had struck, some transactions happened between Admiral Langara and Captain Macbride, which do honour to both; but which not coming within the plan of this work, are therefore placed among other papers appertaining to this action in the Appendix.\*

In the morning after the action, the *Royal George* and *Prince George* made signals to the Admiral, that they had foundered and were in shoal water; and as the gale had not abated, considerable danger was to be apprehended, from the risk of driving towards the bay, which is formed near the entrance of Cadiz. An immediate necessity appeared for changing the tack, and laying the ships' heads from the coast of Spain, which was accordingly done. The Admiral also found himself obliged to make sail with the fleet, in order to avoid a dangerous coast. These movements were absolutely necessary; but it was unfortunate that they became requisite, because two of the Spanish prizes, the *St. Julian* and *St. Eugenio*, were so materially damaged in their masts that it was impossible for them to carry sail. The preservation of the fleet, however, compelled Admiral Rodney to quit those two ships, which had only a few British sailors in each, their Captains and principal officers having been put on board the victorious fleet, when possession was taken of them; but the weather had proved so very tempestuous, that only a Lieutenant, some petty officers, and about fifty seamen could be sent on board of each. These,  
indeed,

\* See Note 197.

indeed, used the utmost endeavours to keep up with the fleet, of which their crippled state would admit : but notwithstanding all their exertions, they drove so near the coast of Spain, that they were compelled to make for the harbour of Cadiz, near the entrance of which the *St. Eugenio* was wrecked. The *St. Julian* got in, and was retaken by the Spaniards.

Sir George Rodney was highly pleased with the great bravery shown by the Admirals, Captains, officers, and seamen, under his command. In his public letter he says, “ they seemed “ actuated with the same spirit, and were anxiously eager to “ exert themselves with the utmost zeal, to serve his Majesty “ and to humble the pride of his enemies.” The British fleet, in this action, had thirty-two men killed, and one hundred and two wounded.

The loss of the enemy was far greater. Don Juan de Larraga and the Marquis de Medina were both wounded: and from the numbers of killed and wounded found on board the prizes, it was supposed, that the loss of men in each Spanish ship, was nearly equal to that sustained by the whole British fleet.

On the 19th, Admiral Rodney ordered Rear-Admiral Digby to lead the fleet into Gibraltar Bay, and sent two frigates ahead, to give notice of their approach. The weather proved very bad, and the current so strong, that most of the fleet were drove to the back or eastward of the rock ; from whence they beat up and entered the Bay : but before the Admiral and all the fleet got in, nearly a week had elapsed. On the appearance of the British fleet under Admiral Rodney, the Spanish squadron, under Admiral Barcelo, consisting of four or five ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of galleys and gun-boats, retired under the protection of their strong fortifications at Algeiras, on the opposite side of the Bay of Gibraltar. Near to these, they had erected a number of batteries of heavy cannon, from which they never failed to fire, if any movement was made among the British ships, or if they supposed any of them within reach of their guns. The greatest dispatch was used in unloading the transports with stores and provisions. A regiment of infantry

fantry also reinforced the garrison. The wind continuing strong westerly, the Admiral detached the storeships and victuallers for the island of Minorca, under the escort of the Marlborough, Invincible, Defence, and Triton frigate : and while the transports were unloading at the quay, he was employed in repairing the fleet, and in making the Spanish ships of war which he had taken, fit to take their station in the line of battle. As Don Juan de Langara, and the other Spanish officers who were prisoners, expressed a great desire to have liberty to go to Spain on their parole of honour, a correspondence took place between the Spanish Admiral and Sir George Rodney, copies of which the reader will find in the Appendix.\*

Sir George Rodney having but a scanty supply of coals for the garrison, General Elliot remedied the defect, by purchasing the prize-vessels as soon as they were emptied, and converting them to firewood. Along with the other supplies, Admiral Rodney brought out a reinforcement of troops, consisting of the second battalion of the 73d, or Lord Macleod's highland regiment of foot, some companies of the royal regiment of artillery, and a company of artificers; so that when the Admiral took his departure for the West Indies, the strength of the garrison consisted of three Generals, four Colonels, nine Lieutenant-Colonels, seven Majors, fifty-six Captains, ninety-nine Lieutenants, fifty-four Ensigns, three hundred and thirty-seven sergeants, one hundred and seventy-three drummers, and five thousand sixty-eight effective rank and file ; artillery corps, officers included, five hundred and sixty-eight ; artificers' company, with ditto, one hundred and fourteen. In all, six thousand five hundred and twelve. The inhabitants amounted to more than three thousand ; but when the town was laid in ruins by the enemy's shot and shells, they forsook the place, and embarked in neutral and other vessels, in the best manner they could, to seek an asylum in countries blessed with peace.

Vice-Admiral Duff came home passenger from Gibraltar in the Prince George, with Rear-Admiral Digby : and Sir George Rodney

\* See Note 198.



Rodney directed Captain Elliot to remain with the *Edgar* and *Porcupine* at Gibraltar for some time, and then to return to England, and bring with him such storeships and victuallers as were not ready to sail along with Rear-Admiral Digby.

The Spanish ships of war taken by Sir George Rodney were all purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy. The *Phoenix* was named the *Gibraltar*, and *Guipuscoano* the *Prince William*; the *San Vicenté* and the *San Firmin* were also purchased, and made sloops in the navy of Britain. The purchasing and commissioning so many ships, enabled Sir George Rodney to promote some very deserving officers.

Admiral Rodney, after completely fulfilling his instructions, by throwing in ample supplies of stores and provisions to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Mahon, lost no time in proceeding for his command in the West Indies. He accordingly, on the 14th of February, put to sea with the whole squadron, except the *Edgar*, *Enterprize*, *Porcupine*, and *St. Firmin*: taking with him the *Sandwich*, *Ajax*, *Montagu*, and *Terrible*, with the *Convert* and *Pegasus* frigates, and *San Vicenté* sloop. The remainder of the fleet, with the Spanish prizes, under the command of Rear-Admiral Digby, soon after parted company and returned to England. Their success will be afterwards related. On the day on which the Admiral left Gibraltar Bay, he was joined by the ships he had detached to escort the storeships and victuallers to the island of Minorca, which, in their voyage up and down the Mediterranean, had neither heard of or met with any of the enemy's ships or cruizers. The Captain of the *Triton* frigate reported to the Admiral, that he had conveyed the money with which he was charged, safe into the port of Mahon, where he had remained two days, when he failed, in order to rejoin the fleet, bringing with him Governor Murray's dispatches. On the 18th, Sir George Rodney made the signal for the two fleets to separate, and proceeded to the West Indies. The public were much pleased with the conduct of Sir George Rodney; the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted

to him, and the city of London voted him the freedom of the city, to be presented in a gold box.

The supply of provisions, brought to Gibraltar at this time was rather small, not being sufficient for six months. Fortunately, however, a pretty good stock when these arrived still remained in the magazines, owing to a very wise measure adopted by the Governor, who gave orders for supplying the troops with fresh meat, (when it arrived from Barbary) instead of salted provisions. This excellent plan was carried into effect, by the spirited exertions of Mr. William Davies, the garrison agent victualler.

On the 14th of April, the *Hyæna* frigate arrived from England in twelve days with dispatches: she had exchanged some shot with two or three of the enemy's xebèques, before she could get into the Bay.

After all the storeships and victuallers were unladen, Commodore Elliot in the *Edgar*, accompanied by the *Hyæna* frigate, sailed with them for England on the 20th of April, leaving the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels which remained at Gibraltar, to Captain John Harvey of the *Panther*, who used every possible precaution for protecting the shipping against the designs of the Spaniards. For this purpose, he placed the *Enterprize* frigate to the northward of the New Mole, where he directed Captain Leslie to moor his ship, to guard such vessels as were there. About one in the morning of the 7th of June, the *Enterprize* made the signal for an enemy's approach. Seven ships or vessels were immediately perceived to be set on fire, and coming towards the New Mole. Some of those fireships drove; others were grappled by the boats of the *Enterprize*, *St. Firmin*, and ordnance transports: and all of them were towed (by two o'clock) to the southward of the New Mole. The largest went ashore in *Rosia* Bay. Four of them drifting towards the *Panther*, lying off *Rosia*, her boats were sent to grapple them, which they soon effected, and towed them ashore. At half past two o'clock, two vessels were discovered making for the *Panther*; and several guns,

with round and grape shot, were fired at them, on which the enemy set them on fire. The boats without difficulty towed them clear. One of them, a brig, got on shore at Europa Point; the other, a ship, drove to sea. Although the wind and weather were as favourable as the enemy could have wished for effecting their purpose, yet through their mismanagement on the one hand, and the alertness and bravery of the British seamen on the other, their plan entirely miscarried: no damage was sustained by the shipping, and the British had not a man hurt. These fireships had been attended across the Bay by the enemy's galleys and boats, on which the garrison and ships kept up an incessant fire; but the darkness of the night was such, as prevented them from perceiving what execution was done. By inspecting the remains of some of the fireships, and the species of stores and combustibles unconsumed, it appeared that the enemy had spared no labour or expence in their equipment. The largest ship was about one hundred and seventeen feet in the keel, had two tier of ports, and was about the size of a fifty gun ship. One ship appeared to be about three hundred tons, another about two hundred; the others were four brigs and two small vessels.

The Spaniards had entertained hopes, that to avoid the fireships, his Majesty's ships and vessels would have immediately cut their cables and put to sea: and in order to intercept them, Rear-Admiral Barcelo had quitted his anchorage at Algeiras with his squadron. The flames of the fireships, discovered the Spanish fleet standing across the Bay: and at day-break of the 8th, he was seen returning to that place in a ship of the line, attended by several frigates and xebèques. Captain Harvey, in his public letter, expressed in the strongest terms, his approbation of the bravery and vigilance of Captains Leslie and Faulknor, and the other officers and men of his Majesty's squadron then at Gibraltar; and also highly commended the masters and crews of the Dutton, Nottingham, Friendship, and Union, ordnance transports, for keeping up a smart fire



on the enemy's gallies and boats, and also for their activity, in assisting to tow off the fireships.

Sir Charles Knowles, of his Majesty's ship *Porcupine* of twenty guns, being on a cruize off the coast of Valentia, at four o'clock in the morning of the 22d of July, about three leagues from the Colobres rocks, got sight of two sail, which he supposed to be enemy's ships of superior force. He therefore tacked, stood from them, and prepared for action. As the day advanced, he found that they were two large Spanish xebèques, polacre rigged. Finding that they greatly outsailed the *Porcupine*, he determined to put the best face on matters that he could, and shortened sail. At six o'clock, the headmost of the two came very close, and he poured a broadside into her. The action immediately commenced, and continued until twenty minutes past seven; when the enemy's two ships, the largest of which carried twenty-six or twenty-eight nine pounders, and the smallest twenty-two or twenty-four, sheered off. A third vessel now appeared, and was endeavouring to join the other two; but Sir Charles made sail from them, the Colobres being then within half a mile of him. The enemy's vessels shortly after wore, and followed the *Porcupine*. She kept firing her stern, and they their bow chace guns, as they approached: and about ten o'clock, the two largest were once more quite close, and the action was renewed. The vessel which had joined, being of small force, kept to windward during the engagement, which lasted until half past eleven, when the enemy's ships again sheered off. The *Porcupine* stood on as before; the xebèques following at some distance under an easy sail until two o'clock, when they altered their course and left her. The enemy had pointed their guns very ill, for in these two actions, the *Porcupine* sustained very little damage, and had only four men wounded.

The *Porcupine*, in company with the *Minorca* sloop commanded by Captain Lawson, being on a cruize off the Barbary shore, on the 30th of July, got sight of a French convoy escorted by a frigate, which they chased close in-shore to the westward

of Algiers. Both ships immediately attacked the frigate, (which was the Montreal of thirty-two guns), but she was so near the coast, that they durst not venture to rake her, lest they had run themselves ashore. After an action of an hour and forty minutes, they were obliged to leave her: nor would success have availed them much, for if she had struck, the Dey of Algiers would have demanded her to be given up, she having claimed the protection of the coast. Both the ships suffered a good deal in their rigging: and while they were busily employed in repairing it, three large square rigged ships hove in sight, which were supposed to be French cruizers; on which, Sir Charles Knowles made the signal to Captain Lawfon of the Minorca to provide for his own safety, and both ships made off, and got to the harbour of Port Mahon. In this action, the Porcupine had three men killed and two wounded; and the Minorca had two men killed.

The Brilliant frigate of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Curtis, sailed from Spithead for Gibraltar on the 20th of November. On entering the Gut, she was chased by two frigates and a xebecque. A breeze which these vessels had, brought them very fast up; their launches, with all their oars, towing them ahead, while the Brilliant lay becalmed. As soon as the enemy began firing, the boats were got out to keep the ship's head to the sea, there being a popling sea right on the Brilliant's beam, and which would have forced the frigate to heave right down broadside upon the enemy: the sweeps also were got to work. When the boats got the ship's head to the sea, they towed her at the rate of a mile and a half an hour; and all the steering sails were set, to take advantage of the breeze as soon as it came up, of which they availed themselves, and got out of the enemy's reach: on which the men were got on board, the boats cut adrift, and the Brilliant got safe to Gibraltar.

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COAST OF PORTUGAL.

A small squadron, under the command of Commodore Johnstone, was stationed on the coast of Portugal, not only to be a check upon the enemy's cruizers and privateers, but to protect the British trading ships, who in great numbers resorted to the ports of that kingdom. Some important public business detaining the Commodore at Lisbon, he sent his ship the *Romney* on a cruise, under the command of Captain Home, who, on the first of July, when off Cape Finisterre, had the good fortune to fall in with the *Artois*, a French frigate of forty guns, having a crew of four hundred and sixty men, commanded by M. de Fabre, to which he immediately gave chase; and coming up with her, a close action immediately took place, which lasted only forty-five minutes, when the *Artois* struck her colours. The enemy had twenty men killed and forty wounded. The *Romney* had only two men wounded. The prize was by far the finest frigate in the French navy, carrying twenty-four, eighteen, and nine pounders, and amply supplied with stores of every kind, quite new, and every way larger than the *Romney*. She had been fitted out at the expence of the province of Artois, and supplied with officers and men by the King of France, and these received pay both from the King and the province. The command of the *Artois* was bestowed on M. de Fabre, a respectable and experienced officer, who had retired to his estate, which was considerable; but when solicited to accept the command of the frigate, he served without pay or emolument. The construction of the *Artois* was new; she was on her first cruise, and the public were very sanguine in the hopes of her success, consequently felt the disappointment the greater when they heard of her being taken. She was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. The *Romney* also took on the 6th of July, when off the port of Vigo, the *Perle*, a French sloop of war, mounting eighteen guns, and having a crew of



one hundred and thirty-eight men, commanded by M. le Chevalier de Breignou.

On the 24th of June, the *Æolus* of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Atkins, took the *Eulalie*, from Bourdeaux, bound to Port-au-Prince in the island of St. Domingo; a ship of five hundred tons burden, mounting twenty-six guns, (nine pounders) and had a crew of one hundred men. She had been successively engaged by two large cutter privateers, viz. the *Achilles* of Folkestone, and the *Resolution* of Guernsey. When the *Æolus* hove in sight, the former was lying-to in order to refit, and the latter in close action with the enemy's ship. On seeing the *Æolus*, the cutter sheered off for a little time; but perceiving soon after that she was a British frigate, returned to the charge, and renewed the action with great briskness. The enemy, after receiving two broadsides from the *Æolus*, surrendered; having lost in the different actions, their Captain, First Lieutenant, and twelve men killed, and a great many men wounded. The prize was valued at 100,000*l*.

The *Cerberus* frigate, being on a cruise, fell in with a Spanish fleet under Don Joseph Solano, followed them for some days, until Captain Man was certain, by the course which they steered, that their destination was for the West Indies. He then made the best of his way to Barbadoes, where he luckily found Sir George Rodney, to whom he communicated the important intelligence. Commodore Johnstone being still at Lisbon, when he learned for certain the destination of the Spanish armament, and not knowing that the *Cerberus* had proceeded to the West Indies, he instantly dispatched the *Rattlesnake* sloop thither, with letters to Sir George Rodney, acquainting him with the sailing, strength, and destination of the Spanish squadron; a piece of information that was of the greatest importance to the affairs of Great Britain in that part of the world.

The gallant behaviour of Captain Edward Moor, of the *Fame* privateer of Dublin, cannot escape our observation: his ship carried twenty six pounders on her main-deck, and guns of lighter

lighter metal on the quarter-deck and forecastle, having a crew of one hundred and eight men. Captain Moor sailed from Mahon on the 20th of August, and receiving advice that five vessels had sailed from Marfeilles, (all of them letters of marque) for the West Indies, he immediately went in quest of them, and on the 25th got sight of five sail off the coast of Spain, which corresponded with the description he had received; but as they were at a distance and the day drawing to a close, he judged it prudent not to make a shew of pursuing them, that he might have a better chance to succeed in getting between them and the land at night, which he had the good fortune to effect. Next morning at day-break, he found himself off Cape de Gatt, and about two leagues from the five vessels he had seen the evening before; they were all then close together, and formed in a line to receive the Fame. Having got within gun-shot of them about half past six o'clock, they hoisted French colours and began to engage: Captain Moor did not return a shot until he got quite close to the largest; and she, after an action of three quarters of an hour, surrendered. Without stopping to put any of his people on board the prize, he proceeded to attack the next largest, and took her after a short resistance: on board of this vessel he put an officer and seven men, with orders to look after the vessel who first submitted, until he returned from pursuing the three remaining vessels, which he observed were making all the sail they could in order to escape. He overtook two of them, who submitted without firing a shot: the fifth vessel got off. The prizes he made were, the Deux Freres, pierced for twenty, but had only fourteen guns mounted, and a crew of fifty men, (fifteen of whom got off in a boat); l'Univers (whose Captain was killed) of eighteen guns, but had only twelve guns mounted, and had a crew of forty men; the Zephyr (formerly a British sloop of war) of fourteen guns, but mounting only ten guns, and had a crew of thirty-two men; the Nancy, a pink, of two six pounders and two four pounders, and eighteen men. Captain Moor carried all his prizes into the Bay of Algiers, where he

landed his prisoners, whose encomiums on him and his officers, for the kind and generous treatment they had received, were such, that M. de la Vallée, the French Consul General at Algiers, wrote a most polite letter to Captain Moor, to express his sense of it, in the strongest terms of praise and gratitude.

Before we proceed in our narrative for this year, of the naval and military affairs at or near home, it is absolutely necessary to exhibit to the reader, the situation in which Great Britain stood with respect to the other European States. The picture is far from agreeable; but it must not be withheld from view. By orders from the Admiralty, the practice of searching ships belonging to neutral powers, and the detaining of them, if their cargoes were found to contain what they deemed contraband goods, or warlike stores to assist the enemies of Great Britain, had now become common. These strong, and perhaps illegal proceedings, had long been the subject of complaint, and had occasioned a general murmuring at all the European Courts. The measure of stopping a Dutch convoy, escorted by an Admiral and several ships of war, was in general regarded as a great stretch of power, and was productive of the most serious consequences to Great Britain. After this procedure, the different European maritime states began to be alarmed, lest their flags should be insulted in like manner. To prevent this, a general league, stiled the *Armed Neutrality*, was entered into. In this grand business, the Empress of Russia took the lead: and in the course of a few months most of the European powers acceded to it.

On the 26th of February, the Empress of Russia published a Declaration, addressed to the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. Its tendency was exceedingly unfriendly to the former. This piece, agreeably to the usual forms of such diplomatic performances, sets out with the language of panegyric. She begins by stating, the sentiments of justice and moderation with which she was animated; the many strong proofs which she had given of her strict regard to the rights of neutrality, while



while she had been engaged in a war with the Ottoman Porte ; and her desire to preserve the liberty of commerce in general. She then adds, that she had reason to hope, that this exemplary conduct, together with the impartiality which she had constantly shewn, during the war in which three powers were engaged, would have caused her subjects quietly to enjoy the fruits of their industry, and the advantages appertaining to all neutral nations : but that she had experienced the contrary, and that her subjects had repeatedly been molested in their navigation, and retarded in their commercial pursuits, by ships and privateers of the belligerent powers. From this unexpected treatment, she declared, that she found herself under an absolute necessity of taking measures to remove those vexations which were offered to the commerce of her subjects, as well as to trade in general, by every means consistent with her dignity, and the good of her kingdoms. But before she put such measures in practice, and the better to prevent all new misunderstandings, she thought it but just and equitable to let all Europe see the principles by which she was resolved to regulate her conduct. These are contained in the following propositions :

I. That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, on the coasts of the belligerent powers.

II. That all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free, on board of such neutral ships, excepting only such goods as were stipulated contraband.

III. Her Imperial Majesty, for the proper understanding of this refers to Articles X. and XI. of her Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain, extending her obligations to all the other belligerent powers.

In the treaty made between Great Britain and Russia in the year 1734, it is said, “ The subjects of either party may freely pass, repass, and trade in all countries which now are, or hereafter shall be at enmity, with the other of the said parties, places actually blocked up, or besieged, only excepted, provided they do not carry any warlike stores or ammunition to  
“ the

“ the enemy : as for all other effects, their ships, passengers, “ and goods, shall be free and unmolested. Cannons, mortars, “ fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, balls, fuses, “ flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cuirasses, pikes, “ swords, belts, pouches, cartouch-boxes, saddles and bridles, “ in any quantity, beyond what may be necessary for the ship’s “ provision, and may properly appertain to, and may be judged “ necessary for every man of the ship’s crew, or for each passenger, shall be deemed ammunition of war ; and if any such “ be found, they may seize and confiscate the same according to “ law : but neither the vessels, passengers, or the rest of the “ goods, shall be detained for that reason, or hindered from “ pursuing their voyage.”

The enumeration of the goods, declared to be contraband, was given in the treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia in 1766.

IV. That in order to determine what characterizes a port blocked up, that denomination should not be granted but to such places, before which there were actually a number of enemy’s ships stationed near enough, so as to make its entry dangerous.

V. That these principles should serve as rules in the judicial proceedings and sentences upon the legality of prizes.

Her Imperial Majesty declares, that she was firmly resolved to maintain and support these principles : and that in order to maintain and protect the honour of her flag, and to give security to the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders for fitting out a considerable part of her naval force. But this armament, she added, would have no influence on the rigorous neutrality which she was resolved in the most strict manner to observe, so long as she should not be provoked and forced to depart from the moderate and impartial principles which she had adopted. It was only in that extremity, that her fleet would be ordered to act, wherever her honour, interest, and necessity should require.

Her Imperial Majesty, to convince the world that she was  
in

in earnest and not to be trifled with, forthwith gave orders to get twenty sail of the line ready for sea\* and in order to strengthen this grand political scheme, and make it a common cause, similar communications were made to the States General, to the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, that by the united care of all the neutral maritime powers, the navigation of all the neutral trading nations might be established and legalized, and a system adopted, founded upon justice, and which, by its real advantage, might serve as rules to future ages.

Such was the situation of Great Britain, at the time when the Russian Ambassador presented this Declaration of his Mistress, that she was under a necessity of returning a civil answer to it, though perhaps, in more prosperous times, it would have met with a different reception. Unfortunately, she had then ample employment for every ship in her navy, in the war in which she was engaged with the united powers of France and Spain, and with her revolted colonies in America. The confederation of the neutral powers, to which this step of the Empress gave rise, was indeed a heavy blow to Great Britain, and was severely felt by her during all the future operations of the war. Though nothing had occurred, that could justly have provoked her Imperial Majesty to adopt such measures, her proposals were cheerfully acceded to by France, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden. The States General, when they found that they were to break with Great Britain, and to take an active part in the war against her, also acceded to the formidable phalanx known by the name of the Armed Neutrality. By the month of July, 1781, the neutral powers of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, had eighty-four ships of war in commission, mounting four thousand two hundred and fifty guns, and manned with thirty-six thousand two hundred and twenty sailors: and all the confederated powers declared, that it was their intention, to make a common cause of it at sea, against any of the belligerent powers who should violate, with respect

to

\* See Note 199.



to neutral nations, the principles which had been stated in the Declaration or Memorial of the Empress of Russia.\*

As the Court of Versailles had established a strong faction in the territories of the States General, which invariably gave much opposition to the management of the Prince Stadtholder, it became necessary for Great Britain to have a more watchful eye on their proceedings, than she commonly had. A circumstance which added greatly to this necessity was, that the merchants of the city of Amsterdam had shewn a great partiality for the revolted colonies in America, to whom they were suspected of sending large supplies of warlike stores.

Sir Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador at the Hague, had, by order of his Court, made a demand of the succours stipulated by treaty with the States General, when Spain last year declared her hostile intentions: but to this demand no satisfactory answer had been given. On the 21st of March, he again presented to their High Mightinesses, a strong Memorial on this subject, toward the conclusion of which he says, “ All  
“ treaties are in their nature reciprocal ; if your High Mighti-  
“ nesses will not fulfil your engagements, the plain consequence  
“ is, that those on the part of the King cease to be binding.  
“ It is, therefore, in consequence of these incontestable prin-  
“ ciples, that his Majesty has ordered the undersigned, to de-  
“ declare to your High Mightinesses, in terms the most amicable,  
“ but at the same time the most serious, that if, contrary to  
“ his just expectation, your High Mightinesses should not,  
“ within the period of three weeks, including the day on which  
“ this Memorial is presented, give to his Majesty a satisfactory  
“ answer concerning the succours claimed these eight months,  
“ he will consider such conduct as a secession from the alliance  
“ on the part of your High Mightinesses ; he will look upon  
“ the

\* The whole of the proceedings in this important business would be too long to insert in the body of this work ; but as the sentiments of the different Courts of Europe, contained in the declarations which they made on this occasion, are extremely curious and worthy of attention, the reader will find them in the Appendix. (See Note 200.)

“ the United Provinces only on the footing of other neutral powers not privileged by treaties; and in consequence will, without any delay, make a provisional suspension (till further orders shall be given) of all the particular stipulations with regard to their subjects, agreed upon in the treaties between the two nations.”

A provisional answer was given to the above Memorial, that their High Mightinesses were very desirous to coincide with the wishes of his Britannic Majesty: but that from the nature of the Government of the Republic, it was impossible to return an answer in three weeks time, but they promise to accelerate the deliberations upon that head as much as possible.

The sentiments of the province of Holland, (the principal of the Seven United Provinces), were learned on the 29th of the same month; on which day, the Deputies from that province delivered into the Assembly of the States General, their opinion of the requisition of the Court of Great Britain, which, in a few words, amounted to this: “ that the succours claimable by Great Britain were confined to wars begun in Europe.” The province of Friezeland came to the same resolution: the province of Zealand, ever strongly attached to the interest of the House of Orange, was for negotiating with Great Britain. But to convince her Dutch friends, that Britain would no longer be trifled with, his Majesty, on the 17th of April, issued a Royal Proclamation, by which all the stipulations respecting navigation and commerce between Great Britain and the States General were suspended.

The capture of Mr. Laurens, by one of his Majesty's frigates on the Banks of Newfoundland, which has been already mentioned, and the fortunate saving of the bag which contained his papers, led to a most extraordinary discovery, of a treaty entered into by the merchants of the city of Amsterdam with the revolted colonies in North America: of which transaction we now come to take notice. The British Ministry having examined Mr. Laurens's papers, transmitted copies of the above-mentioned treaty, together with some other papers relative to it,

it, to Sir Joseph Yorke at the Hague, with directions to him to give them to the Prince Stadtholder, who, on the 20th of October, gave the following notice to the Assembly of the States General.

“ Noble and High Mightinesses, the Chevalier Yorke, his Britannic Majesty’s Ambassador, having delivered to me, in the name of his Royal Master, the papers hereunto annexed, found among those of Laurens, late President of the Congress, and now a state prisoner in London, I thought it my duty to lay them before your Noble and High Mightinesses, that you may take such resolutions on them, as to your enlightened wisdom may seem best and necessary. I cannot but aver, that I never had the least knowledge of any deliberation, much less of any power or authority given, to enter into a treaty with the colonies of North America.”

The Assembly, after thanking his Highness for his unwearied and paternal care, and considering, that the papers alluded to were the result of a private correspondence, between one of the Commissioners of the American Congress, and a merchant of Amsterdam: Resolved, that the independence of America, which is acknowledged by no one power in Europe except France, hath never been so by their High Mightinesses: Resolved, that the above notification shall be sent to the Burgomasters and Regents of Amsterdam, in order to obtain the necessary light concerning the correspondence alluded to, tending to make some overtures concerning a treaty of commerce to be set on foot between the Republic of the United Provinces and North America. The Burgomasters and Regents of Amsterdam delivered in their answer on the 24th of October. The purport of it was, that what had passed between their eldest Pensionary and the merchant alluded to, on the one part, and the Americans on the other, was done by their unanimous direction—but that such an overture for a treaty of commerce, was built only on eventual circumstances, and to take place solely in case the independency of America should be acknowledged by the British Government. That they thought them-

selves



elves authorized in having done what, in justice to their interest and welfare, it was their duty to do. They concluded with saying, that they expected their Noble and High Mightinesses would lose no time in publishing to the world, that they were perfectly satisfied with the above declaration.\*

Their High Mightinesses not taking the notice of the offenders, which the British Court thought they had a right to expect, Sir Joseph Yorke was directed to present a Memorial on this subject, which he did on the 10th of November. In it, he requires their High Mightinesses to inflict an exemplary punishment on the Pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the laws of nations. The answer which they gave to this request would be considered by the King, as the touchstone of their intentions and sentiments respecting his Majesty. He concludes with these remarkable words: "His Majesty persuades himself, " that the answer of your High Mightinesses will be speedy and " satisfactory in all respects; but should the contrary happen, " if your High Mightinesses should refuse so just a demand, or " endeavour to elude it by silence, which will be regarded as a " refusal; then the King cannot but consider the Republic it- " self as approving of those outrages, which they refuse to dis- " avow and to punish: and after such conduct, his Majesty " will find himself under the necessity of taking those measures " which the preservation of his own dignity, and the essential " interests of his people demand."

Their High Mightinesses, perhaps instigated by the French faction, instead of adopting any measures to avert a rupture with Great Britain, gave no answer to the demand of the British Ambassador, though he had pressed it much, in several conferences with the Dutch Ministers. This induced him, on the 12th of December, to present to their High Mightinesses his final Memorial, in which he again pressed, with great earnestness and force of argument, for the punishment of the offenders,

\* Copies, at full length, of all these curious papers, the reader will find in the Appendix. (See Note 201.)

offenders, viz. Van Berkél and his associates. The answer given to this was—*That the States had taken it ad referendum.* This put an end to all further remonstrances on this head, and Sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to leave the Hague, and the Count de Wolderen to leave London. An open rupture now took place. On the 20th of December, the King published a Manifesto, assigning his reasons for commencing hostilities against the Dutch Republic; and on the same day a proclamation was issued, authorising reprisals against the Dutch: but in the midst of these warlike denunciations, an Order of Council was published on the 22d of December, which, after mentioning the Manifesto, and the order for reprisals, proceeded thus: “ And whereas many ships and merchandizes, belonging to the  
“ subjects of the States General, may be now remaining in the  
“ ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and in other ports of his  
“ Majesty’s dominions, where they arrived before the said order  
“ for general reprisals against the ships, goods, and subjects  
“ of the States General of the United Provinces was granted:  
“ his Majesty being determined to pursue such line of conduct,  
“ with respect to such ships and cargoes, as shall evince his  
“ Majesty’s firm purpose to proceed in a manner consonant to  
“ good faith, doth hereby declare his Royal intention, to allow  
“ all ships belonging to the subjects of the States General, now  
“ in any of his Majesty’s ports, to depart with their cargoes,  
“ (except such part thereof as shall consist of salted provisions  
“ of any kind, or of naval or warlike stores), and to grant  
“ passes to the said ships and cargoes, (except as before except-  
“ ed) to protect them from capture by any ships of his Ma-  
“ jesty, or his subjects, in their return to some port of the  
“ United Provinces.

We have now exhibited to the reader the disagreeable situation in which Great Britain was involved in the course of this year. Engaged in an unsuccessful war with her revolted colonies in North America, and also in a war with France and Spain, she had no power in Europe friendly to her, from which she could look for assistance. The neutral maritime powers

powers soon took a decided part against her, seemed to hold a rod over her head, and were ready to strike, if any step should be taken, that could be deemed an infringement of the principles of commerce agreed upon by the armed confederacy. Towards the close of the year, the Dutch, her ancient friend and natural ally, became also her declared enemy. That Republic had for some time greatly fallen off in point of friendship for her: and the British Court judged right, in considering it was better to have an avowed enemy than an insidious friend.

Perhaps, the States General did not imagine that Great Britain would so speedily have had recourse to arms, considering the weighty powers with which she was already engaged in war. If the Dutch had apprehended so sudden a stroke, they would surely have fallen on some means to have suspended it, until their trading ships, with which the sea was covered, had got safe into port. On the other hand, this consideration might have served as an inducement to the British Ministry, to bring matters to such a speedy issue; as it furnished them with the surest means of making the Dutch merchants suffer, especially those of Amsterdam, who were always regarded as the authors of this war.

There was not a ship for sale in the river Thames, nor indeed in any of the principal seaports in Great Britain and Ireland, but what was instantly bought up: and men were employed to fit them out with all possible dispatch, either as privateers or letters of marque. Their success, as well as that of his Majesty's ships, was so very great, that in the course of a few months, the British ports were crowded with Dutch prizes.

When hostilities commenced, the Dutch navy was not in a very formidable state;\* but such as it was, the British had not ships to spare to observe its motions. The States General soon perceived their error, in the parsimonious manner in which they had treated their naval strength; and found, when it was



too late, that the sure means of preserving peace is to be prepared for war. They immediately set to work to rectify their mistake; and before the war was concluded, their navy was becoming respectable: by care and attention it is now formidable.

We shall now proceed with the narrative of naval and military transactions at and near home.

### TRANSACTIONS AT AND NEAR HOME.

THE first piece of naval news, that was announced by authority to the public this year, was on January the 11th, when they received the melancholy accounts of the death of the justly celebrated Captain James Cook. This intelligence came by way of St. Petersburg, in a letter from Captain Clerke, of his Majesty's sloop the *Resolution*, to Mr. Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated the 8th of June, 1779, in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, Kamschatka. Captain Cook, together with four of the marines belonging to his ship, were unfortunately killed, on the 14th of February last, at the island of O'why'he, in an affray with a numerous and tumultuous body of the natives.

The island of O'why'he is one of the groupe of new discovered islands, in the 22d degree of north latitude. Captain Clerke informed the Admiralty, that he had received every friendly supply from the Russian government; and, that as the companies of the *Resolution* and her consort the *Discovery* were in perfect health, and had twelve months provision on board, he was preparing to make another attempt to explore a northern passage to Europe.\*

On the 18th of February, the fleet destined to proceed to the West Indies, under Admiral Rodney, separated from that under the command of Rear-Admiral Digby. The latter being then on its return to England, about one o'clock on the 23d, fell in with a French convoy, consisting of two ships of  
sixty-

\* For the particulars of Captain Cook's Voyage, see Note 203 in the Appendix.

sixty-four guns, two large storeships, *armée en flute*, a frigate, and about thirteen vessels bound to the Mauritius. These were so much on their guard, that before they could be discerned from the decks of the British fleet, except one, and that only the head of her top-sails, they made sail from them. Admiral Digby directly made the signal for a general chase. About one o'clock in the morning, the *Resolution* came up with the *Prothée* of sixty-four guns and seven hundred men, commanded by M. de Chilot, and took her after a short action, in which the *Resolution* did not lose a man. The *Prothée* had money on board to the amount of 60,000*l.* sterling. The crew of the *Prothée* had broke open one box of it and plundered it, before Sir Chaloner Ogle's people could get on board; but this was luckily discovered before the French prisoners left the ship: and by Admiral Digby's order, they were all searched, and almost all the money was recovered. The convoy had got to so great a distance before they were observed, that only three of them were taken. M. de Chilot was the commander of the expedition: it was destined for the East Indies. The *Ajax*, the other sixty-four gun ship, escaped. She had a like sum of money as that found on board the *Prothée*: the whole of the convoy were loaded on the King's account, with troops and warlike stores. The *Prothée* was bought into the service, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

On the 8th of June, the grand fleet, under the command of Admiral Geary in the *Victory*, put to sea from Spithead.\* He had under him Vice-Admirals Barrington and Darby, and Rear-Admirals Digby and Ross. On the 3d of July, the *Monarch* being ahead of the fleet on the look-out, at ten in the forenoon, made the signal for seeing a fleet of twenty-five sail: and the Admiral, judging that it might belong to the enemy, made the signal for a general chase, which he continued all that day. At five in the evening, the *Monarch* made the signal, denoting, that she had passed the sternmost of the enemy's ships without securing them, as soon afterwards did the *Foudroyant* and some

\* See Note 204.

others of the headmost ships: at which time, it could be discovered from the *Victory's* mast-head, that they were nearly up with the rest of the enemy's ships. Soon after seven, a thick fog unfortunately came on, and the Admiral shortened sail, in order to close with the ships nearest to him; but continued still to steer the same course until day-light in the morning of the 4th. All the ships then rejoined him except the *Monarch* and *Defence*, and went in pursuit of the two ships that escorted the convoy, but could not come up with them. The fleet chased, was a convoy of merchant ships from *Port-au-Prince* of near thirty sail, out of which Admiral Geary's fleet took twelve, and in all probability would have taken the whole, had not the fog saved them. The prizes were very valuable, being chiefly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo. The grand fleet continued at sea until the 18th of August, when they returned into port, not having fallen in with the enemy's fleet. At the entrance of the Channel, the fleet took *Le Comte de Hallwiel* of three hundred and fifty tons, twenty-four guns and eighty men, from *Cape François* to *Bordeaux*, laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, reckoned worth 20,000*l.*; also, a lugger privateer of eight guns and thirty-six men. Admiral Geary, not finding his health equal to the fatigue which it was necessary to undergo when at the head of so great a fleet, resigned his command: and Vice-Admiral Barrington having struck his flag, the command of the grand fleet was soon after conferred on Vice-Admiral Darby. While the ships were refitting, Rear-Admiral Digby, with twelve sail of the line and two frigates, was, on the 28th of August, detached on a cruise to the westward; but by contrary winds got no farther than the *Land's End*. The weather becoming stormy he put into *Torbay*: where, on the 12th of September, he was joined by Vice-Admiral Darby in the *Britannia*, accompanied by Rear-Admirals Francis William Drake in the *Victory*, and Sir John Lockhart Ross in the *Royal George*, together with seven more sail of the line, three frigates, and five fireships: and this fleet was farther reinforced by twelve sail of the line from *Plymouth*.

But



But Administration, finding it necessary to send a strong squadron to the Leeward Islands, sent orders to Admiral Darby, for the *Barfleur*, *Gibraltar*, *Alfred*, *Monarch*, *Invincible*, *Princessa*, and *Prince William*, to return to Spithead, in order to be prepared for foreign service.

The fleet, on the 15th of October, sustained considerable damage from a violent storm of wind from the S. E. attended with thunder and lightning: the *Royal George* and *Ocean* lost their rudders; and the *Union* and *Namur* had theirs so much damaged, that all the four were obliged to return to Portsmouth to refit. It is remarkable, none of these ships had touched the ground in the storm. On the 26th of October, the fleet put to sea from Torbay, and steered as far to the S. W. as Cape Finisterre. While there, they learned that the combined fleet had left Cadiz, with a design, as was supposed, that the Spanish might see the French part of their way home: but as the French fleet, even when separated from the Spaniards, were so much superior to the British fleet under Admiral Darby, that it would have been the greatest temerity in him to have fought them on this occasion, he returned to England on the 24th of December.

Having mentioned the combined fleet, it is necessary to give the reader some account of their operations. Their detaching M. de Guichen to the West Indies, and M. de Ternay to North America, prevented the French from joining the Spaniards early in the season, with so strong a fleet as they had promised. They, however, detached M. de Beauflet with seven sail to Cadiz, where he joined Don Louis de Cordova's fleet, and with it put to sea. The operations of this united squadron were confined chiefly to the southward, where unfortunately they fell in with the British East India and West India fleets, most of which they captured. Having returned with their unexpected booty to Cadiz, they were there joined by a French fleet from Toulon, and by a considerable number of ships from Brest and Rochfort, under the Comte d'Estaing, who commanded the French squadron. To their great surprise, they

were also there joined, on the 23d of October, by M. de Guichen and his fleet from the West Indies, consisting of eighteen sail of the line and eight frigates, in a very shattered condition, escorting a large fleet of merchant ships. Having refitted their ships in the best manner they could, M. d'Estaing put to sea with the whole of the French ships on the 30th of October, and detached their merchant ships for their ports in the Mediterranean under a slender escort, there being no naval force in that sea, from which they could apprehend any danger. The Comtes d'Estaing and Guichen with their fleets stood to the westward; but on the 31st, a violent gale of wind forced them back to Cadiz, which they reached on the 2d of November. They sailed again on the 7th,\* and the Spanish fleet followed them the 8th: but part of it was to separate from them off Cape St. Vincent, and the remainder off Cape Finisterre. Their force was as follows:

Ships of the line,		{ Spanish, 27 } { French, 36 }	63
Ships of fifty guns,		- - - - -	4
Frigates,		- - - - -	11
Sloops of war,		- - - - -	2
Fireships,		- - - - -	2
Flute,		- - - - -	1
Brigantine,		- - - - -	1
			<hr/>
War ships in all,		- - - - -	84
Merchant ships, nearly		- - - - -	100

Admiral Darby's force consisted of twenty-two sail of the line and two fifty gun ships. The two fleets were very near each other for some days, but there was too great a disproportion of strength to have risked a battle.

The Apollo, being on a cruize in the North Sea with some other frigates, at half past seven in the morning of the 15th of June, gave chase to a cutter in the south-west quarter, in obedience to a signal from the Cleopatra, Captain Murray, the senior

\* See Note 205.

senior officer. Captain Pownall continued in chace of the cutter until half past ten, when being nearly within gun-shot of her, a large sail was perceived, to all appearance a cruizer, standing towards the Apollo, whose Captain made for her; and having fetched within three miles, she hauled her wind, and crossed his ship, standing to the northward, the steeple of Ostend then in sight. At eleven o'clock she tacked, and stood to the southward. The Apollo did the same, until she brought the chace abast the weather quarter; and tacked at twelve o'clock. At half past twelve, the Apollo passed her close to leeward, received and returned her fire, tacked immediately, in a few minutes got close alongside, and engaged her with all sail set, she standing in for Ostend, and continuing a running fight. When the action had lasted upwards of an hour, Captain Pownall was unfortunately killed by a ball which went through his body. The command devolved on Lieutenant Edward Pellew,\* who, following his brave Captain's example, maintained a well directed fire for more than an hour longer, when finding his ship in only three fathoms and a half water, and but between two and three miles from the shore, a little to the westward of Ostend, he judged it prudent, with the advice of the officers of the ship, to wear and bring her to, with her head to the northward. He intended to renew the action, as soon as the sails could be taken in, which, from the situation of the ship in chace and action, were all set, much torn, and only one brace left. In a few minutes after this, the enemy's fore-mast and main-top-mast fell by the board, with the main-top and main-yard; and the ship was to all appearance aground, as she heeled very much, did not bring up to the wind, and was in a very shattered condition. Ostend at this time bore S. S. E., distant from the shore about two miles. While the officers were perusing the strict orders they had against violating the coasts of neutral powers, the enemy's ship fired a gun to leeward, seemingly with a design to claim protection. This was answered by two or three guns from the garrison. On this, Mr. Pellew desisted from his intention of renewing the

I 4

action,

\* Now Rear-Admiral of the White.



action, and drew off: the Apollo's masts being much wounded in several places, her rigging greatly damaged, and three feet water in her hold, occasioned by several shot which she had received between wind and water. The officers and crew of the Apollo behaved with the greatest bravery and good conduct. Besides the gallant Captain Pownall, who was universally lamented, four seamen and one marine were killed in the action, and sixteen seamen and four marines were wounded. Mr. Pellew was, soon after this, made a Master and Commander. The enemy's ship was the Stanislaus, a merchant frigate of thirty-two guns, but had only twenty-six twelve pounders mounted.\*

The Nonfuch, Captain Sir James Wallace, being on a cruize off the coast of France, on the 14th of July, discovered a fleet steering to the westward, to which she gave chase. On coming up with it, she found it to be a convoy from Brest bound to Nantz and Bourdeaux, consisting of twenty-two sail, under escort of three frigates, viz. La Bellone, L'Etourdie, and Le Legere; the two former of thirty-six guns, and the latter just off the stocks, pierced for thirty-six guns, but mounting only twelve. As soon as the Nonfuch came near the convoy, they all pushed for the shore; but she soon after took a brig called the Francois, another brig, and a sloop. The Legere getting aground on the Blanche Bank, was burnt next morning by the boats of the Nonfuch; they having first taken out great part of her stores, which consisted mostly of cordage, and unbent the sails from her yards. While her boats were thus employed, three sail were discovered in the N. W. making signals to each other, to which the Nonfuch immediately gave chase. About midnight, she came up with and closely engaged one of them, which, after a defence of more than two hours, struck to her, and proved to be La Belle

\* By assistance from the shore, the Stanislaus was got off and carried into Ostend, where she was soon after brought to a sale, bought by the British Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the Profelyte; where she did excellent service, and was esteemed a remarkably quick sailing vessel.

Belle-Poule, which mounted thirty-two twelve pounders, had two hundred and seventy-five men, and was commanded by the Chevalier Kergariou. The Chevalier and twenty-four men were killed; the Second Captain and several other officers and men, to the amount of fifty, were wounded. The Nonfuch had three men killed and ten wounded, two of them mortally.

The frigates which were in company, but separated, were

L'Aimable of thirty-two guns, eight pounders;

La Rosignolle of twenty guns, six pounders.

The Belle-Poule was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

The Nonfuch, on another cruize, took the Huffard, a French privateer of eighteen guns, nine pounders, and one hundred and twenty men. She was also purchased by Government, and converted into a sloop of war by the name of the Echo.

The Flora, Captain William Peere Williams, standing in under Ushant, on the 10th of August, in quest of the fleet under Admiral Geary, about half an hour after four in the afternoon, the wind E. N. E. discovered through the haze, a square rigged vessel and a cutter under her lee, with their heads to the northward, about four miles distant. The Flora immediately made sail, beat to quarters, and edged down towards them: and the enemy's ship perceiving her motions, wore, hauled to the wind, backed her mizen-top-sail, and waited for her approach; the cutter, in the mean time, working off and on. At ten minutes past five, the Flora got abreast of her, within two cables length, and upon shewing her colours, received the enemy's fire, which was instantly returned. The firing was continued briskly on both sides for an hour, during which time the ships gradually came nearer to each other. The Flora's wheel being then shot away, and her shrouds, back stays, and running rigging much cut, the two ships dropped on board of each other: and in that position the action continued for fifteen minutes. The enemy then deserting their great guns, attempted to board the Flora, but were instantly repulsed with loss: and her people immediately boarded them in return sword in hand, struck their colours, and

and in a short time carried the prize, which was called *La Nymphe*. She was a French frigate of forty guns, but mounting only thirty-two, having a crew of two hundred and ninety-one men, commanded by the Chevalier du Romaine, who died the same evening of the wounds he received in the action. On board the *Flora* nine men were killed; and Mr. Creed, master, and seventeen men were wounded. On board the *Nymphe*, the First and Second Captains, First Lieutenant, other officers and seamen, amounting in all to sixty-three, were killed; the Second Lieutenant, two officers of marines, two volunteers, other officers, seamen, and marines, to the number of sixty-eight, were wounded.

The *Flora* mounted thirty-six guns, and had on board when the action began two hundred and fifty-nine men.

The *Nymphe* was a fine frigate, only four years old, and copper-bottomed. She had been but four days out of Brest, and was employed upon the reconnoitring service off that port. She was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

Captain Williams, in his public letter, expressed in the strongest manner, his high approbation of the coolness and intrepidity, which his officers and men had shewn upon this occasion: and Lieutenant Thornbrough,\* the first of the *Flora* who boarded the *Nymphe*, was, soon after that, made a Master and Commander.

His Majesty's frigates *La Prudente* and *Licorne*, commanded by the Hon. Captains Waldegrave and Cadogan, being on a cruise off Cape Ortegal, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 4th of July, fell in with a large French frigate. A thick fog dispersing, both ships immediately gave chase; but the enemy perceiving them, hauled their wind, when they were about six miles distance, and made off. During the whole day there were calms or light winds, so that it was near midnight before *La Prudente* got alongside of the chase. A close engagement then took place: and the *Licorne* soon came up to the assistance of *La Prudente*. At half an hour after four in the morning of the

\* Now Rear-Admiral of the White.



the 5th, she struck, having lost her fore and main-masts, and having five feet water in her hold. This vessel was *La Capricieuse*, a French frigate pierced for forty-four guns, but mounting only thirty-two; she had a complement of three hundred and eight men, commanded by M. de Ranfanne,\* (who was killed in the action). She was launched in March this year, measured eleven hundred tons, and was in every respect a very fine frigate. She had been only eight days from Port l'Orient; but, in this action, was rendered so complete a wreck, that from a report made to Captain Waldegrave by the officers appointed to survey her, it was judged prudent to remove the prisoners as speedily as possible, and set her on fire, which was accordingly done.† The enemy had their First and Second Captains killed: and, from the best accounts that could be obtained, it appeared that about one hundred of their seamen were killed and wounded. *La Prudente* suffered much in the action, and had four midshipmen,‡ twelve seamen, and one

\* He was Captain of *La Pallas*, vide Transactions at and near Home for 1778.

† Pursuant to an order from the Hon. William Waldegrave, Commander of his Majesty's ship *La Prudente*, of this day's date, to us directed, we, whose names are under-mentioned, have been on board the prize frigate *La Capricieuse*, and have there taken a strict and careful survey on her, and find as follows:

The fore-mast shot in several places.

The fore-top-mast over the side.

The main-mast lying fore and aft the deck, being gone about ten feet above the main-deck.

The mizen-mast shot in several places.

The mizen-top-mast the same.

All her spare yards and top-masts rendered unserviceable with shot.

A number of shot holes betwixt wind and water.

Many other damages about the ship; and we left her, six feet water in the hold.

And we do declare, we have made and taken this survey with such care and equity, that, if required, we are ready to make oath to the impartiality of our proceedings.

JOHN RICHARDSON, CARPENTER.

THO. SPASSHATT, CARPENTER.

‡ Mr. John Dismond,  
Mr. Richard Montgomery,

Mr. Thomas England,  
Mr. William Dismond.

one marine, killed : the Second Lieutenant, one midshipman, § twenty-five seamen, and four marines, wounded ; of which two seamen and one marine died in a few days. The Second Lieutenant, Mr. Joseph Ellifon, was severely bruised in the back, and had his right arm carried off by a shot. Of this gentleman, Captain Waldegrave, in his public letter, says, “ I must beg leave to recommend his misfortune, and the great intrepidity he shewed during the action, to their Lordships particular attention.” The *Licorne* had three men killed and seven wounded.

A great number of victuallers being ready to sail from Corke, under convoy of the *Charon* of forty-four guns, the *Licorne* and *Huffar* frigates ; the *Bienfaisant* of sixty-four guns, Captain Macbride, was ordered to escort them a considerable way to the westward. The fleet sailed from the Cove of Corke on the 12th of August ; but Captain Macbride, finding that some of the ships had not cleared the harbour, detached the *Licorne* and *Huffar* back in order to hasten up the missing ships, and with the others brought to off the Old Head of Kinsale, where he had resolved to wait until he was joined by them. At daylight on the 13th, a large ship was discovered in chace of several of the convoy ; on which, the *Bienfaisant* and *Charon* made towards her with a press of sail. About half past seven, the the first of these ships came up with her : and she had then British colours hoisted. As the two ships ranged up alongside of each other, some conversation passed ; and the *Bienfaisant* got so far forward on the enemy's bow, that neither their bow nor her quarter guns could bear. The action commenced with small arms, and the strange ship hoisted French colours. The enemy made an unsuccessful attempt to board the *Bienfaisant*, and a close engagement ensued, which lasted an hour and ten minutes, after which they struck. During the action, Captain Symonds of the *Charon* nobly seconded Captain Macbride, and poured in a warm and well directed fire on the enemy's quarter. They found the prize to be a French privateer,

teer, called the Comte d'Artois, of sixty-four guns and upwards of six hundred and forty-four men, commanded by the Chevalier de Clonard, a Lieutenant de vaisseau. The enemy had twenty-one men killed, and the Captain and thirty-five men wounded. The Bienfaissant had three men killed and twenty-two men wounded, and her rigging much cut. On board the Charon, one man was wounded.

The Southampton, Captain Garnier, took, after a long chase, the Comte de Maurepas, a French privateer of twelve guns and eighty men. She had one ransomer on board. Some shot having taken her between wind and water, she sunk soon after she was taken.

The Hussar, Captain Pole, being on a cruize, fell in with three French luggers, to which he gave chase. He took two of them, viz. Le Jeune Lion and Le Renard, each having twelve guns, eight swivels, and forty-four men.

The Scourge sloop, Captain Fortescue, took, after a smart action of half an hour, the Charlotte privateer of Dunkirk, of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty men. The enemy had four men killed, their Captain and ten men wounded.

On the 19th of December, his Majesty's ships Portland and Solebay, commanded by Captains Lloyd and Everitt, were detached by Sir Thomas Pye at Spithead, in quest of two French privateers, which had captured several vessels at the back of the Isle of Wight. They left Spithead in the morning; and, about six in the evening, the Solebay fell in with the two privateers. They immediately engaged her; but the Portland coming up, they hauled their wind, and endeavoured to escape. As she came up with the sternmost, she poured a broadside into her, and pushed on after the headmost. Captain Everitt pursued the former, and kept a running fight with her for three hours, when, being much disabled in her rigging, she struck. She was La Comtesse Besançois, a privateer of Havre de Grace, mounting twenty guns, and having one hundred and forty-three men. She had twelve men killed and fifteen wounded: the Solebay was a good deal damaged in her rigging, but had only



only one man wounded. The *Portland*, after a long chase, came up with the sail in pursuit of which she had gone early in the morning of the 10th, when, after firing a few guns, she submitted. She had been consort to the *Comtesse Befançois*, was called the *Marquis de Seignilay*, carried twenty nine pounders and one hundred and fifty men, and belonged to *Havre de Grace*. The enemy had two men killed and two wounded: the *Portland* had two killed and seven wounded. The *Marquis de Seignilay* was purchased by Government, and made a sloop of war in the Royal Navy.

Captain Pigot, in the *Jafon*, took the *Duc de Mortimart* privateer of *St. Malo*, of sixteen guns and seventy-two men. When this officer was employed to escort the trade for *Hamburgh* safe into the river *Elbe*, three French privateers of force, at the entrance of that river, endeavoured to cut off some of his convoy, on which he instantly bore down on them. They drew up in a line to receive him; but not intimidated by their formidable appearance, he attacked all the three at the same time, and made the signal for the convoy to make the best of their way. The action continued with great briskness for near an hour, when two of the privateers sheered off, and made towards the convoy. This obliged Captain Pigot to quit his antagonist, in order to protect them, which he effectually did: and when he had seen all the fleet committed to his care in safety, he gave chase to the privateers; but the rigging of his ship having suffered very much in the action, he could not overtake them.

On the 29th of January, Captain Reeves, of his Majesty's ship the *Surprize*, was sent from *Plymouth*, by Rear-Admiral *Gambier*, in quest of two French privateers; and fell in next day, off the *Dodman Head*, with a ship and a brig wearing pendants. He immediately attacked the former, which submitted after a short action. She was the *Du Guay Trouin*, a privateer belonging to *Havre de Grace*, carrying twenty guns, (nine pounders) and one hundred and thirty men, almost new, and a very fast sailer. She was purchased by Government,  
converted

converted into a sloop of war, and continued to bear the name of the gallant officer, with which she had originally been honoured. During the action the brig made off. It blew so hard, that Captain Reeves found it very difficult to take possession of his prize. He sent Lieutenant Charles Henry Lane, with a midshipman and seven men, in a boat to board her; but the gale increasing, it was with the greatest trouble and danger that they reached her: and then it was thought impracticable to get on board. The Lieutenant, however, taking the advantage of the lee roll, leaped into the mizen-shrouds, and his example was immediately followed by the rest; but before the midshipman could disengage himself, the sea dashed the boat against him with such fury, that it bruised one of his legs so as to render him incapable of duty. Thus was Mr. Lane left with seven men, to confine one hundred and thirty prisoners, to keep possession of the prize, and to navigate her: for it continued to blow so hard, that he could obtain no aid from the *Surprise*, and the boat in which he came was beat to pieces the instant that his people quitted her. They even lost sight of the *Surprise* for a whole day; during which time the prisoners became very mutinous, and made several attempts to knock off their irons; but were kept under by the spirited behaviour of Mr. Lane and his men, who, after keeping a constant watch for four days, brought the prize safely into Plymouth.

Sir William Burnaby, in his Majesty's ship the *Milford*, when off Ushant on his way to Lisbon, fell in with the *Duc de Coigny*, privateer of Granville, a ship of four hundred tons, twenty-eight guns, six swivels, and one hundred and ninety-one men, which he took after an hour's close engagement. In the action, the *Milford* had four men killed and six wounded; the privateer had eighteen killed and fourteen wounded: among the former was her Captain, and among the latter her First Lieutenant.

His Majesty's ships *Alexander* and *Courageux*, being on a cruise to the westward of Scilly, on the 11th of March, gave chase to a large frigate in the S. E. quarter; and at day-light

on the 12th, after a pursuit of eighteen hours, the former got within half gun-shot of her. She then hoisted French colours; and during two hours, they continued firing their chase guns at each other: but most unluckily, and to the great distress of Lord Longford, just as his ship had got nearly alongside of the enemy, her fore-mast, without being struck by the enemy's shot, or any part of the rigging being cut, and without any stress from the wind, went over the side. It was found on examination to be quite rotten. The enemy, on perceiving this accident, made off as fast as they could; but the *Courageux* continued the chase, and about noon, after firing a number of guns, came up with and took her. She was called the *Monsieur*, privateer of Granville, carried forty guns, twelve and six pounders, and three hundred and forty-two men. She was almost new: and being a very fine frigate, one hundred and thirty-four feet on the gun deck, she was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. The *Stag* frigate captured the *Sartine*, French privateer, of sixteen guns and eighty-seven men: she had just taken the *Clarendon* West Indiaman, which the *Stag* retook. The *Alexander*, Captain Boston, (acting) took *Le Duguesseau*, a French privateer of thirty-two guns. The *Emerald*, in company with other cruising ships, took a privateer of twenty guns, belonging to Dunkirk, called the *Dunkerquoise*. The *Monsieur*, Captain Charles Phipps, took the *Chevreuil* of twenty guns. The *Pegasus* took *La Comtesse de Provence* of eighteen guns, a French privateer.

As Captain Allen, of his Majesty's ship *Chatham* of fifty guns, accompanied by the *Lizard* frigate, *Busy* cutter, and other vessels, were escorting the trade to the Baltic, on the 18th of May, in lat.  $57^{\circ} 40'$ , at four in the morning, he got sight of a small sail in the S. W.; on which he made the *Busy's* signal to chase to that quarter. Soon after that, he got sight of another sail in the south quarter, to which he gave chase, and about half seven brought her to. She hoisted French colours, and immediately struck them. She was found to be



be l'Alexandre, cutter privateer of Dunkirk, of ten guns and seventy-two men, and had a ransomer on board for an English smack for 200*l*. While Captain Allen was employed in shifting the prisoners, the other ships followed the Busy cutter; but she being far ahead, came first up with and began a smart action with the chace. She continued it for a considerable time, until upon the approach of the Lizard the chace struck. On taking possession of her, she was found to be the Jackall, (late his Majesty's cutter) mounting twelve guns and eighty men. The sails and rigging of both cutters were very much damaged; two of the Busy's men lost a leg each, one his arm, and another had his skull fractured. The enemy had a few men slightly wounded. Captain Allen was much pleased with Lieutenant Cotes, who commanded the Busy, and recommended him to the Lords of the Admiralty in the strongest terms, for his good conduct while in chace, and for his gallant and spirited behaviour during the action.

Le Bien Venue and Le Cerf Volant, each of ten guns, were taken by the Resolution cutter, Lieutenant J. Douglas.

A small fleet of twelve sail, having left Yarmouth Road on the 13th of December, in order to proceed to Rotterdam, had but just got beyond the banks, when advice was brought to the Mayor of Yarmouth, that a French privateer had been seen about two leagues distant, lying-to, supposed with a view to intercept some of them. The Mayor, at the desire of the merchants, immediately communicated this intelligence to Lieutenant Glasford, Commander of his Majesty's cutter Monkey, and requested him to follow the fleet, and see them at least half way over. Mr. Glasford lost not a moment in complying with this request, but put to sea directly, came up with the privateer just as she had got close upon the ships; and although her force was far superior to his, he attacked and fought her with great resolution for four hours: after which she sheered off much disabled, and made for the port of Dunkirk. The privateer mounted eighteen guns. She must, however, have submitted to the cutter, if the latter had been

in a condition to pursue ; but her sails and rigging were very much cut, and the privateer was beyond her reach before they could be repaired. The *Monkey* had one man killed and five wounded in the action : but notwithstanding her disabled state, saw the fleet safe into Helvoetsluys. The Mayor of Yarmouth was so much pleased with the gallant behaviour of Lieutenant Glasford, that on his return, he summoned a meeting of the merchants and ship-owners, to ask their opinion, whether such a signal service ought to pass unnoticed. The result of this meeting was, an unanimous and warm approbation of Mr. Glasford's conduct, with an order that a piece of plate be presented to him of thirty guineas value, and that a handsome sum be distributed among his crew ; for which purpose, they immediately began a subscription. Mr. Glasford's conduct was much approved of by the Admiralty : and in consequence of it, he was soon made a Master and Commander.

Lieutenant Rose, commanding his Majesty's sloop *Alderney*, being in Yarmouth Roads on the 25th of December, received advice, that a French privateer had been seen to the N. E. of that place. He immediately proceeded in pursuit of her, and came up with her about two o'clock, within a mile of Hazeborough sand. The fore-top-gallant-mast of the *Alderney* not being up, the enemy took her for a collier, and did not perceive their mistake, until the guns of the sloop bore on them, when they struck. She was called the *Lady Washington*, carried twelve guns and fifty-one men, and belonged to Dunkirk, which place she left eight days before, but had taken no prizes. The *Valiant*, Captain Goodall, took the *Anne* and *Catherine*, two Dutch galliots of great value ; the cargo of the former consisted of ships' knees, standards, &c. and 15,886 lb. of copper in sheets for sheathing ; that of the latter was similar, and both were bound for Brest. As his Majesty's armed ships *Queen* and *Content*, commanded by Captains Trotter and Roy, were escorting a convoy of light colliers toward Shields, a French privateer of force was observed making for the convoy. She actually boarded several of them, before Captain Trotter could

could come close enough to engage her. Leaving the care of the convoy to Captain Roy, he endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to bring the privateer to action. He retook the three ships which she had captured; and had got very near her, when she made off, setting all the sail she could carry. As she sailed much faster than the *Queen*, she was soon out of sight.

On the 30th of April, the *Ariadne* of twenty guns, Captain Squires; the *Fury* sloop of sixteen guns, Captain Agnew; the *Queen* and *London* armed ships of twenty guns each, Captains Trotter and Rains; being in company off Flamborough-head, got sight of three large French privateers, to which they gave chase. As they approached, the enemy tacked, then hauled their wind, took their top-gallant-masts in, and formed themselves into a line of battle ahead. The *Ariadne*, being the headmost of the King's ships, run close up, received the enemy's fire, and immediately tacked; but in so doing, her fore-top-sail-yard broke. Captain Squires then made the signal for a general engagement, and it was immediately obeyed by the *Queen*, which, with the *Ariadne*, fought the enemy upwards of an hour and a half. During all that time, they received no assistance from the *Fury* or *London*. After their rigging was much cut and destroyed, the enemy making sail, got clear off, while they were in no condition to pursue them. Captain Trotter was severely wounded in the arm with a musquet ball; some men on board the *Queen* were killed, and several wounded: a few were also killed and wounded on board the *Ariadne*. The behaviour of Captains Agnew, Rains, and Squires, in this action, was so severely animadverted upon by the world in general, that they were all three brought to a Court-martial, on board the *Santa Margaritta*, at Sheerness, on the 29th of May, 1781: of which Court, Vice-Admiral Roddam was President. The latter was honourably acquitted, but the two former were cashiered.

His Majesty's Proclamation, authorising reprisals against the States General and their subjects, had an immediate effect, in



producing the most active exertions. Cruising ships, and vessels of all kinds, were instantly sent to sea, and even boats were employed to intercept the Dutch trade. The success was considerable, because the attack was in some measure unexpected. Nor was the blow solely confined to merchants: for Vice-Admiral Evans, who commanded in the Downs, having received intelligence, that a Dutch ship of war had been seen at the bank of the Goodwin, immediately sent the *Bellona* and *Marlborough* in pursuit of her. The former came up with and engaged her, on the 30th of December; when, after an action of half an hour, she struck. She was the *Princess Caroline*, of fifty-four guns and three hundred men. She had four men killed and twelve wounded; the *Bellona* had one killed and two wounded. The prize was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

Notwithstanding the numerous captures which were made by the cruizers in the course of this year, a considerable balance remained against Britain. Her great fleets and armies acting in distant quarters, required frequent and ample supplies of stores and provisions; which not only occupied those ships of war in convoys, that in more advantageous situations might have been employed successfully in cruising, but necessarily diminished the force brought against the enemy. If to these circumstances we add, the numerous and formidable naval forces with which she had to contend, we shall have little cause to be surprised at the mercantile losses which she then sustained, or at that unfortunate event, which elevated the spirits of her enemies, in the same proportion in which it depressed hers. Although war had succeeded to war, the inhabitants of Britain had but heard of their effects, and had not for a generation, sensibly felt any considerable disaster. While Frenchmen and Spaniards had suffered the loss of convoys immensely rich, or ships laden with specie, the fleets of Britain may be said to have traversed the ocean in security. This year however presents, in this respect, some reverse of fortune.

It has been already mentioned, that early in the season, the  
French

French had detached seven sail of the line under M. de Beauflet, to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, which he effected. The fleet thus combined, left that port, and were steering for Cape Finisterre, where they expected to be joined by the remainder of the French squadron. In their passage thither, they unluckily fell in with the East India and West India convoys,\* escorted by the Ramillies of seventy-four guns, Captain Moutray, and the Thetis and Southampton frigates, which left Spithead on the 29th of July. This valuable convoy consisted of

- 5 Large ships belonging to the East India Company.
- 18 Ships with provisions, and all sorts of stores, for the fleet and garrisons in the West Indies; on board of which ships was likewise a regiment of foot for Jamaica.
- 40 Merchant ships for various parts of the West Indies,

Total, 63.

They proceeded towards Madeira, at which island they were directed to call. But while they continued their course, on the 8th of August, being then in lat.  $36^{\circ} 40'$  N. long.  $15^{\circ}$  W. from London, just before dark, some strange sails were perceived; but at so great a distance that they could only be seen from the mast-head. As Captain Moutray supposed them to be neutral merchant ships, he made no alteration in the course of the fleet, which was then sailing before the wind. Unfortunately, however, these were part of the combined fleet of France and Spain; for about midnight the lights of strange ships were perceived. Captain Moutray immediately made the signal for the convoy to bring-to with their heads to the westward; and as soon as it could be done with propriety, he made the signal for the fleet to make sail, intending that the whole should follow him close by the wind. Sail was made accordingly, the Ramillies keeping the wind; and this was the only expedient in the Commander's power, to avert the danger which might threaten his convoy. But the greatest part of the merchant ships intrusted to his care, inattentive to the first and

\* They received information of their approach from the master of a Dutch vessel,

most important duty of vessels under convoy, *that of following their leader*, instead of attending to the course of the Ramillies, and sailing after her lights, bore away again before the wind, and steered the same course which had been held before any signal was made; and thus, *not conducted by Captain Moutray*, they went in a straight line toward the enemy's fleet.

At day-break in the morning of the 9th, the ships that had neglected to follow their Commander, found themselves within a very little distance of the combined fleet, which had only to bring them to, and to take possession of them. Some of the East India ships attempted to escape, but were very soon overtaken by the enemy's line of battle ships, which fired several broadsides at them, and a few men were killed. This might have been prevented by immediately striking their colours: the prospect of advantage from such a flight, was too small to compensate for the loss it occasioned.

The Spanish Admiral Don Louis de Cordova's account of the capture of this convoy, published by authority in the Madrid Gazette of August the 30th, confirms the facts which have been related. It does not appear from it, that he had seen the convoy in the evening of the 8th; but it states, that on the morning between the 8th and 9th of August, about one o'clock, signal guns were fired to windward, which, from the faintness of the report, were judged to be at a considerable distance; and the particular indication was uncertain. As more guns, however, were fired, which the Spanish Admiral took for a repetition of the signal, he stood toward that quarter. At day-break, being then about a quarter past four, a number of vessels were descried close together, standing for the combined fleet, which Admiral Cordova imputes to their taking his lights for those of their convoy. In this, however, he was probably mistaken, as those ships had only continued the course which Captain Moutray had been steering, before he made the signal to bring-to.

After relating some of the circumstances of taking the merchant ships, the Spanish Admiral continues to state, that the  
Ramillies,



Ramillies, Thetis, and Southampton, being the sternmost and to windward, immediately hauled their wind, and were closely pursued by M. de Beauffet and several others, though without effect, on account of their having already gained the weather-gage, and on account of the superiority of their sailing. He adds, that none of this convoy escaped, but a small brig to the eastward, and six or seven others which were greatly to windward.

Admiral Cordova is again mistaken, when he supposes, that the British ships of war did not haul their wind until day-break in the morning of the 9th. It is certain, that the Ramillies, Thetis, and Southampton, with the few ships that escaped, hauled their wind at the time when the Spanish Admiral heard the first guns fired, which were Captain Moutray's signal to bring-to; and that the second guns, which he took for a repetition, was another signal to make sail after lying by.

When we consider this disaster, which was the greatest that the commerce of Britain ever experienced at sea, we are led to reflect upon its political consequences. First, it was the means of putting a final stop to a negociation, then going forward at the Court of Madrid,\* for a separate peace with Spain. Secondly, it deprived our fleets and troops abroad of the stores and provisions, which had been prepared for their maintenance and support; and lastly, it gave a severe blow to trade, by the capture of so many merchant ships richly laden. In all these views it excited a general alarm in the nation: in all these views it raised universal clamour: and a general inclination prevailed, to lay the blame upon some individual, who might be punished according

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\* This negociation, it is reported, was brought about by means of the Rev. Mr. Hufsey, a gentleman descended from an ancient and respectable family in Ireland. He had been First Chaplain to the Count, now Duke d'Almodovar, when Ambassador from Spain at the Court of London, a man of great abilities and learning, and who wished, and did all in his power, consistent with his duty, to prevent the two Courts from coming to a rupture. He went to Madrid, and in April was followed by Mr. Cumberland, who met a gracious reception there: but the above-mentioned success of the combined fleet, so elated the Court of Madrid, that all thoughts of peace vanished, and the treaty broke off.

to the magnitude of the object, rather than in proportion to his demerit. The merchants, who had severely felt the effects of this disaster, were loud in their complaints, and endeavoured to fix the blame upon Captain Moutray; but when the circumstances of the case are duly and coolly considered, it will appear, that the Captains of their own ships, by their misconduct, greatly augmented, if they did not wholly occasion this misfortune.

It is true, that some ships at a very great distance, had been seen from the mast-head of the *Ramillies*, on the evening of the 8th of August, a little before dark; but it is also true, that Captain Moutray, who did not see them himself, trusted to the report of those officers or men who had been at the mast-head, upon whom he could best rely, and that in doing so he acted according to the best of his judgment, which had nothing to pervert it in the situation in which he then was. He was urged by every motive to preserve his convoy: and apprehending no danger, he continued his course. Contrary, however, to his expectations, lights were seen at a distance about midnight. He had not a signal to order his convoy to haul the wind and sail. He was therefore obliged to make the signal to lie-to on the starboard tack, and as soon as that signal was obeyed, he made the signal to make sail, and acted as has been before related. Had the merchant ships done as the ships of war did, no doubt can remain, that a great many of them must have escaped; and consequently, the disaster must have been very considerably lessened, if not entirely prevented.

If merchant ships are disobedient, or inattentive to the signals made by the Commanders of convoys, and if the Captains of the King's ships are not possessed of any effectual means to compel them to attention and obedience; in vain are convoys appointed, and vain will every effort be, to secure the trade from the attacks of an enemy.

In all instructions to convoys, there are positive orders for merchant ships, never to go ahead of the Commander, and to follow his lights, which are to be their only direction during the

the night. Had this convoy been attentive to these evidently important orders, many of them must have escaped, and the triumph of the enemy would have been reduced to the capture of a very few of the worst sailing ships.

It is astonishing, that in every step we tread in pursuing our narrative, we are arrested, to make observations upon the wretched state of Naval Signals. It seems, that even those for convoys are not free from the most gross defects. Had a night signal existed, by which the convoy could have been commanded to haul their wind and sail, it is even probable from the Spanish Admiral's own account of this unfortunate event, that the whole convoy would have escaped. Don Louis de Cordova, in his account, says, "that not doubting, however, "that it (*viz.* the signal) would be repeated, (as accordingly "happened), and it proving to be the signal for a strange sail, he "tacked, and stood with the whole squadron towards that "quarter," &c. This seems clearly to indicate, that if the second signal had not been made from the Ramillies, it is at least possible, that the combined fleet might not have tacked: and in that case would not have seen the convoy in the morning, as they must have been standing upon contrary tacks for four hours; during which time, the British convoy must have got a considerable distance to windward of the combined fleet. But at any rate, if the convoy had been enabled immediately to sail close by the wind, by the direction of one night signal, considerable time must have been saved; and consequently, a much greater distance gained from the combined fleet.

The popular clamour continued very great, from the effects of the capture being so generally felt: and Administration, willing to convince the public, that they had no intention to screen from justice such as were suspected of having offended, orders were sent to the Admiral commanding at Jamaica, to bring Captain Moutray to a trial for the loss of his convoy. He was accordingly tried by a Court-martial, and sentenced to be suspended from the command of the Ramillies: and this censure is said to have arisen from Captain Moutray's not considering



sidering the ships seen on the evening of the 8th, as enemy's ships from which danger might be apprehended; and from his not taking the proper steps immediately for the protection of his convoy. The sentence did not touch his rank, or affect him in any other way; and his offence, small as it appears to have been, must surely have admitted of many extenuating circumstances, as the reader will find him, very early in the year 1782, (which was soon after his return from Jamaica), appointed Captain to Commodore Elliot in the *Edgar* of seventy-four guns.\*

The value of the captured ships was estimated at 1,500,000*l.*; for out of the sixty-three sail, of which the convoy was composed, only two storeships and six merchant ships escaped along with the ships of war. The prisoners made on this occasion were as follows:

<i>East India Fleet.</i>		<i>West India Fleet.</i>	
Seamen,	- - - 559		691
Soldiers,	- - - 226		1029
Officers of the Army,	8		66
Women,	- - - 44		105
Passengers,	- - - 64		73
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	901		1964
			<hr/>
			901
			<hr/>
Total,			2865

Besides sixty-six horses and thirty-seven mules.

The prisoners were landed at Cadiz on the 30th of August, and composed a triumphal procession, of which the Spaniards had never seen the like.

The Captain of the *Danae* frigate, who commanded the escort sent along with the fleet bound for Quebec, was likewise brought to a Court-martial, for losing many of the ships committed to his care. He was not able to clear himself of misconduct

\* He was soon after appointed to the command of the *Vengeance* of seventy-four guns; and on the 17th of February, 1783, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy, to reside at the island of Antigua.

conduct on this occasion, and therefore the Court were of opinion, that he should be dismissed from the command of the *Danae*. This did not affect his rank in the service, as he was some time after appointed to the command of the *Sceptre* of seventy-four guns.

We shall conclude the narrative of affairs for the year 1780, with the recital of a very gallant action of Captain James Borrowdale, Commander of the ship *Ellen*, a letter of marque of Bristol. This vessel mounted eighteen six pounders, and her crew consisted of sixty-four people, one half of which were landmen and boys, who had never been at sea. Sixteen of this number were trained to serve as marines, under the orders of Captain (afterwards Major) Blundell of the Liverpool, or 79th regiment, then a passenger on board, to join his regiment at Jamaica, for which island the ship was bound. She sailed on the 14th of March, and on the morning of the 16th of April discovered a ship to windward, which, as she approached, appeared to be nearly of the same force with herself. Her orders being to make as speedy a passage as possible, she held on her course; but lest she should be obliged to come to action, Captain Borrowdale ordered all hands to quarters, and made every preparation to make a vigorous defence. The ship continued to bear down upon him, and when she came within random shot, hoisted Spanish colours, and fired a gun. Captain Borrowdale, finding it impossible to escape, did not attempt it, but ordered the small sails to be taken in, and the courses to be hauled up. While this was performing, he directed American colours to be hoisted, in order to prevent the enemy from beginning the action until the *Ellen* should be close alongside. He likewise ordered a bag of grape-shot to be put in addition to the loading already in the guns, giving strict injunctions to his people, not to fire until they were within hail, and to keep the guns well pointed. He then harangued his crew; recommended to them a cool and determined courage, entreated them to fire quick, to take a good aim, and to fight the ship to the last extremity. He had scarce time to order the American colours

colours to be hauled down, and to hoist British, when the enemy, now come quite close, received an entire broadside, with a well directed volley from the marines, which cleared their quarter-deck, and threw them into great confusion. This obliged her to fall to leeward, which soon gave the *Ellen* an opportunity of giving her a broadside from her lee guns. From this time the enemy endeavoured to make their escape: and this served to raise the spirits of the British sailors, who now pursued with great keenness, and coming alongside gave them three cheers, and once more began the action. A running fight was maintained for an hour and a half, when, their rigging being quite disabled, the enemy struck. She was a Spanish sloop of war, mounted sixteen heavy six pounders, was full of swivels and small arms, and had a crew of one hundred and four men, seven of whom were killed and eight wounded in the action. She was bound from the Canaries to Cadiz, and was named the *Santa Anna Gratia*. The *Ellen* had one man killed and three wounded. She carried the prize along with her to Jamaica.

1781.

THE events of the campaign this year were much diversified; and fortune, which appeared to smile on our operations at the commencement of it, frowned with horror at its conclusion: not that our exertions relaxed of their wonted activity, but there appeared a want of promptitude in seizing on the lucky moments, that sometimes present themselves in the affairs of war, and of improving them to our advantage. Such fortuitous circumstances which, if not embraced in time, are not to be regained: and such neglects, trifling as they frequently appeared, seldom failed to operate strongly in favour of our opponents. These had now increased to such a formidable number, that when their combined strength is considered, it is amazing that Great Britain, without an ally to assist her, should have been able to make the gallant defence she did, even for  
one



one campaign. Besides her revolted colonies in America, she had now to contend, single handed, against three of the greatest maritime powers of Europe.

On the 10th of November, 1780, the fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain met for the first time. The King, in his Speech to both Houses, assured them how well pleased he was to meet them thus assembled, at a time when the late elections afforded him an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition of his people, to which he was always inclined to pay the utmost attention and regard. The present arduous situation of public affairs (he said) was well known. The whole combined force of France and Spain was drawn forth and exerted to the utmost, to support the rebellion of his colonies in North America, and without the least provocation or cause of complaint to attack his dominions: and the undisguised object of this confederacy manifestly was to gratify ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

By the force which the late Parliament had put into his hands, and by the blessing of Divine Providence on the bravery of his fleets and armies, he had been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of his enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had formed; and the signal successes which had attended the progress of his arms in the provinces of Georgia and Carolinas, gained with so much honour to the courage and conduct of his officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of his troops, which have equalled their highest character in any age, would, he trusted, have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. It was his most earnest desire to see this great end accomplished: but he was confident, they would agree with him in opinion, that they could only secure safe and honourable terms of peace by such powerful and respectable preparations, as should convince their enemies, that they would not submit to receive the law from any powers whatever: and that they were united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in defence of their country, and for the preservation of their essential interests.

His

His Majesty concluded his speech in the following words, which could not fail to make a strong impression on every loyal and well disposed subject in the kingdom : “ I repose an entire confidence in the zeal and affections of this Parliament, conscious that during the whole course of my reign, it has been the constant object of my care, and the wish of my heart, to promote the true interests and happiness of all my subjects, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state.”

The motions made in both Houses of Parliament, for addresses to return thanks to his Majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne, were combated with great keenness and asperity of language ; but the Ministry carried the point by very considerable majorities. It was during the recess of Parliament for the Christmas holidays, that his Majesty found it necessary to come to a rupture with the States General of the United Provinces : and when Parliament assembled after their adjournment, Lord North, by his Majesty’s command, informed the House of Commons of that measure having been adopted ; and also laid before the House, a copy of the Manifesto\* published by the King on that occasion, and a number of other papers relative to it. Lord Viscount Stormont, one of his Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, made a similar intimation to the House of Lords. This measure was most severely reprobated by the opposition in both Houses of Parliament, and as warmly defended by the Ministry ; but Administration stood their ground : and the addresses, assuring his Majesty of their steady and firm support against all his enemies, were carried by such a majority of votes, as clearly demonstrated that the friends of the Ministry in this Parliament, were not diminished in point of numbers from what they were in the last.

In the course of this session, the Parliament voted ninety thousand seamen, including twenty thousand marines, for the service of the current year : and the whole of the supplies voted, amounted to 25,380,324*l.* 10*s.* 8½*d.*†

It became absolutely necessary for Administration to exert every

\* See Note 206.

† See Note 207.

every nerve of the national strength, that they might be able to combat the mighty host of foes, with which Great Britain had now to contend. Every ship capable of going to sea was put in commission, and considerable augmentations were made to the land-forces. Rear-Admiral Digby, accompanied by his Majesty's son Prince William Henry, was sent to command his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America. Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker had the command of a squadron in the North Sea, to observe the motions of the Dutch. Commodore the Hon. Keith Stewart was sent, with a small squadron, to protect the trade and east coast of Scotland. Commodore George Johnstone was appointed to command a squadron, ordered on a secret expedition, supposed to be against the Cape of Good Hope: and along with this squadron went a body of land-forces, under the command of Brigadier-General Medows. The command of the grand fleet, or western squadron, and with it, the important service of relieving the fortrefs of Gibraltar, was continued to Vice-Admiral Darby. The bad state of Sir George Brydges Rodney's health compelled him to leave the West Indies, and return to England; but the moment it was re-established he resumed his command with the utmost alacrity. Rear-Admiral Edwards commanded the fleet at Newfoundland. That the reader may, with ease, form a clear idea of the various operations carried on in the campaign of 1781, the account of them is arranged in the following order, viz. West Indies, Leeward Islands; West Indies, Jamaica station; North America; Africa; East Indies; Mediterranean; and Transactions at or near Home. We accordingly begin with a narrative of the transactions at the

### LEEWARD ISLANDS.

ON the 12th of December, 1780, Admiral Rodney arrived at the island of St. Lucia, with his squadron from New York, and resumed the command of the fleet on that station.\* Here,

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\* See Note 208,



he consulted with Major-General Vaughan, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's land-forces in this part of the world: and they having received many reports, all tending to confirm the ruinous state of the fortifications in St. Vincent, occasioned by the late hurricanes, determined to endeavour to recover that island from the enemy. As the fleet was going on a cruize, General Vaughan resolved to embark with three hundred men of the flank companies, being all he could spare, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the island. To these, the Admiral agreed to join all the marines of his squadron: and all the preparations being made, of which so short a time would admit, the fleet sailed on the 14th from Gros Islet Bay. The Admiral entertained hopes of being able to land the troops on the island of St. Vincent next morning: but the currents so baffled the fleet, that he did not make the land until the 15th in the evening, and then, at so great a distance to windward, that no observation as to the strength of the place could be made with any certainty. On the 16th, the fleet anchored in Warrawarou Bay, and the General with all the troops, were landed with all possible dispatch. He marched, before the day closed, about four miles up the country, the enemy's parties and their advanced posts retiring as he advanced. The troops lay on their arms during the night: and at day-break on the 17th, General Vaughan reconnoitred the enemy's works with the greatest attention, and discovered that his information concerning the state of them was not founded in truth. They had erected works on the mountain that commands the town of Kingston: and the whole appeared so perfectly strong and well fortified both by art and nature, and was defended by so numerous a garrison, that he was of opinion, that treble the numbers of his army would have found it a very doubtful undertaking to have forced them on the land side.

Admiral Rodney, having made similar observations on the works erected by the enemy at Kingston Bay, and being informed by the General of the state of their fortifications ashore, agreed with him in opinion, that circumstanced as things were,

were, an attack ought not to be hazarded. The troops were accordingly marched back to the beach, and re-embarked the same evening, without receiving any molestation from the enemy.

Soon after this expedition, Sir George Rodney was joined by Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with the fleet under his command from England, which increased the British naval force on this station to twenty-one sail of the line,\* and a number of frigates and sloops of war. On the 27th of January, the Childers sloop of war arrived express from England. She had been dispatched, in consequence of the rupture between Great Britain and the Dutch, and brought orders to the Admiral and General Vaughan, to make an immediate attack on the territories of the States General of the United Provinces in this part of the world. No orders could be received by them with more satisfaction than these; for they knew by long experience, that if it had not been for the supplies of all sorts afforded to the revolted colonies of North America, through the medium of the Dutch West India islands, particularly from the island of St. Eustatius, they would have found such difficulties in carrying on the war, that, in all probability, the unhappy disputes between them and the parent state would, long before this period, have been amicably settled. The pretended neutrality of the States General was fully more prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, than their avowed hostility, especially in the West Indies. Under this cloak, a regular system of supplying the powers at war with her, with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions was adopted: nor were the Dutch merchants alone concerned in such transactions; for we mention it with great pain, that too many British subjects were also engaged in this nefarious traffic.† When the order

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\* See Note 209.

† Sir Samuel Hood escorted a large fleet of merchant ships from Great Britain to the West Indies, all of which were cleared out at their respective ports, for some of the British islands there. When the Admiral drew near to the West Indies,

for attacking the Dutch settlements arrived, the fleet was lying in Gros Islet Bay, in the island of St. Lucia : and the Admiral and General lost not a moment in putting their orders in execution. The troops destined for this service were embarked, and the whole business was conducted with the greatest secrecy, in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the design. The squadron put to sea on the 30th : and the more effectually to deceive the French as to the real object of the expedition, the Admiral steered directly for the town of St. Pierre in the island of Martinico, and paraded before that place all that day. As night approached, he drew off from the land, and steered for the island of St. Eustatius, leaving a squadron of six sail of the line and two frigates, under Rear-Admiral Drake, to block up the island of Martinico, and to watch a squadron of four sail of the line and two frigates, which the enemy had in the Bay of Fort Royal.

The territory which the States General possess in this part of the West Indies is not only very small, but it is even so little productive of articles of commerce, and its inhabitants are so few in number, that the supplies requisite for their support might be conveyed in a very few vessels. As the republic was at peace with all the world, there appeared little necessity for accumulating at St. Eustatius, such large magazines of warlike stores of all denominations, and also of provisions, as were found there. Even if these articles had been conveyed thither, only by the subjects of the States General, there would have been, comparatively speaking, little room for animadversion or complaint ; but it is a certain fact, that a very large proportion of them was furnished by British subjects. Nor were these even consigned to Dutch merchants at St. Eustatius, for the strongest

Indies, he missed in one night, no less than twelve of his convoy. It was given out, that they considered themselves as out of danger from the enemy, and had proceeded to the various British islands to which they were destined : but when the island of St. Eustatius was taken, Sir Samuel Hood there found his missing ships, busily employed in landing their cargoes to the agents of the British merchants. The masters, mates, and crews of these ships, were immediately pressed, and put on board the ships of war.



strongest proofs were adduced, that they had agents resident there, for the sole purpose of disposing of the cargoes, which they sent out to the enemies of their country.† The island of St. Eustatius, though in itself barren and contemptible, had long been the seat of a very extensive and lucrative commerce. It might, indeed, have been considered as the grand free-port of the West Indies and America; for under cover of its pretended neutrality, the French and Americans, in order to elude the vigilance of the British cruizers, sent to it, mostly in Dutch bottoms: the former, their sugars, cotton, and other articles of produce; and the latter, their tobacco, rice, hemp, and lumber. This island became of course, a general market and magazine to all nations. Its situation, and its unbounded and unclogged freedom of trade, contributed very much to its prosperity. It is a natural fortification: and its landing places are so few and difficult, that if proper attention had been paid to its defences, its conquest might have been rendered almost impracticable. But a state of hostility and war, as applicable to themselves, seldom occurs to the minds of a people, whose thoughts are solely engrossed by commerce and gain. The Dutch settlers on this rock were very few: but from the circumstances already mentioned, it will not appear surprising that its inhabitants should be rich, and that among their numbers, some less or greater proportion should be found, of the natives of almost all trading countries.

Sir George Rodney detached Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood with his division, to environ the Bay of St. Eustatius, and to prevent the escape of any of the Dutch ships of war or merchant ships that might be at anchor there. This service he most effectually performed: and on the 3d of February, the Admiral with the remainder of the squadron, and General

L 2

Vaughan

† In the year 1789, the late Lord Rodney published the letters, that he had written to his Majesty's Ministers, &c. &c. relative to the capture of St. Eustatius and its dependencies. In these, he mentions several curious facts, concerning the treasonable practices of some British subjects, and his assertions have never been refuted.

Vaughan with the troops, arrived. A disposition was then made, for the ships of war to attack the fort and batteries, and for the troops to land, if the enemy should seem inclined to make resistance. In order to save the effusion of human blood, the Admiral and General agreed to summon the Governor to surrender the island and its dependencies immediately; and sent an officer ashore with a letter to Mr. de Graaf, of which the following is a copy :

“ WE, the General Officers, Commanding in Chief his  
 “ Britannic Majesty’s fleet and army in the West Indies, do,  
 “ in his Royal name, demand an instant surrender of the  
 “ island of St. Eustatius and dependencies, with every thing in  
 “ and belonging thereto, for the use of his said Majesty.

“ We give you one hour, from the delivery of this message,  
 “ to decide. If any resistance is made, you must abide by the  
 “ consequence.

“ GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY.

“ JOHN VAUGHAN.”

“ *Sandwich, Feb. 3, 1781.*

“ *To his Excellency the Governor of St. Eustatius.*”

To the above letter, the Governor returned the following answer :

“ GOVERNOR DE GRAAF, not having it in his power to make  
 “ any defence against the British forces which have invested the  
 “ island of St. Eustatius, surrenders the same and its depen-  
 “ dencies to Sir George Brydges Rodney and General Vaughan.  
 “ Well knowing the honour and humanity of these two Com-  
 “ manders in Chief, the Governor recommends the town and  
 “ its inhabitants to their clemency and mercy.

“ JOHANNES DE GRAAF, Oliv. Oxen.

“ JACOBUS SEYS, Hen. Pandt.”

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of Mr. de Graaf, the Governor, on receiving this letter. Totally ignorant of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, he could scarcely,

scarcely, at first, believe the officer who delivered the summons to be serious:‡ and it must have added not a little to his uneasiness, that he must have been conscious of the gross partiality which he had repeatedly manifested against Great Britain.§ The wealth found in the place was so prodigious, as to excite the astonishment even of its conquerors, notwithstanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. The whole island seemed to be only one vast magazine. Not

L 3

only

‡ The Mars, Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns and three hundred men, commanded by Count Byland, and belonging to the Department of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, having arrived at St. Eustatius on the 1st of February, directly from Holland, had allayed their fears of hostilities.

§ The British Squadron at the Leeward Islands was frequently in want of cordage, from the wear and tear which is more considerable in this climate than in the European seas, as well as from the effects of the late hurricanes and violent storm, which Admiral Rodney's fleet encountered, immediately after they left Sandy Hook, on their return to this station. So much were they then distressed in this particular, that the Admiral was obliged to give orders to the storekeeper of his Majesty's dock-yard at Antigua, to purchase cordage to refit the fleet wherever he could find it. Although, by himself or his deputies, every endeavour was made to purchase this indispensibly necessary article at St. Eustatius, such was the ill-will of the inhabitants of that island towards the British Government, that none could be procured; and their pretence for refusing it was, that they had none in store. Yet, when the island surrendered, many hundred tons were found in the storehouses, which must have been lodged there for a considerable time, and which had undoubtedly been brought there, for the sole purpose of supplying his Majesty's enemies. Very different was the treatment which the French received at St. Eustatius, after the sea-fight of the 17th of April, 1780. The inhabitants of that island sent to the relief of M. de Guichen's fleet, two vessels, (with a number of ship carpenters on board), loaded with cordage and naval stores, which joined the French fleet under the island of Barbuda. By this aid they were enabled to refit eight of their crippled ships so completely, that they were rendered capable of keeping company with the rest of their fleet; and which, if this supply had been withheld, must have borne away for the island of St. Domingo.—Admiral Rodney's Letters, pages 19, 28, 54, and 55.

Mr. de Graaf, the Governor of St. Eustatius, was very partial to his Majesty's revolted subjects in America. He was the first who saluted their flag: and the Americans, to shew how much they thought themselves obliged to him, named a ship of theirs of twenty-six guns the De Graaf; and another of eighteen guns, the Madame de Graaf, in both of which he was supposed to have a share.—Admiral Rodney's Letters, page 31.



only were all the storehouses filled with various commodities, but even the beach was covered with hogheads of sugar and tobacco.\* The value of the commodities was estimated, by a loose, but supposed moderate calculation, as being considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part. The capture of shipping was immense. Above a hundred and fifty vessels of all denominations, many of them richly loaded, were taken in the bay; exclusive of the Mars, a Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns, and five other ships and vessels armed for war, of from fourteen to twenty-six guns, ready for sea. As every thing was seized for his Majesty's use, the frigate and war vessels were commissioned and added to the Royal Navy.†

The neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba, appendages to the government of St. Eustatius, surrendered also on the first summons; and possession was taken of them in the same manner. Sir George Rodney having received information, that a fleet of about thirty large ships, richly laden with sugar and other West India commodities, had sailed from St. Eustatius about thirty-six hours before his arrival off that island, for Holland, under convoy of a flag-ship of sixty guns, immediately dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. Captain Reynolds‡ had orders to proceed as far north as the latitude of Bermuda, if he should not fall in with them before he reached it. He overtook the Dutch convoy, however, the next day about ten in the morning; when, on their Admiral (Krull) refusing to strike his colours, and all remonstrances proving ineffectual to subdue his obstinacy, a short engagement took place between him in the Mars, and

\* The lower town of St. Eustatius is a range of storehouses of about a mile and a quarter in length; which, however incredible it may seem, were, in fact, let at the enormous sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum.—Admiral Rodney's Letters, page 75.

† Sir George Rodney thought, that these ships did not come within the Prize Act; and considering them therefore as the sole property of the King, he commissioned them for his service, and placed them solely at his disposal.

‡ Now Lord Ducie.

and Captain Reynolds in the *Monarch*. The former being killed, his ship immediately surrendered.\* By the activity of Captains Harvey and Lord Charles Fitzgerald of the *Panther* and Sybil, the merchantmen were restrained, during the engagement, from flight and separation; the whole convoy was taken: and such was the expedition used in taking possession of the prizes, and in securing the prisoners, that by four in the afternoon of that day, Captain Reynolds was enabled to make sail with the whole in order to rejoin the Admiral at St. Eustatius. There the body of Admiral Krull was buried, with all the honours of war. The *Mars* having received some shot in her masts during her short conflict with the *Monarch*, Captain Reynolds ordered the *Panther* to take her in tow. She proved to be a fine ship of sixty guns, many of them of brass: and was accordingly purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy, by the name of the *Prince Edward*. An account of the number of guns, and state of the garrison of Fort Orange, &c. the reader will find in the Appendix.† If the Governor had been inclined to have made resistance, he had the offer of being joined by a large body of men, consisting of the American merchants and seamen. As soon as this was made known to the Admiral and General, they gave orders for seizing all of these volunteers on whom they could lay hands; in consequence of which, upwards of two thousand of them were secured: but a considerable number of them, on hearing of this order, fled to the mountains, where hunger soon compelled them to surrender at discretion.

The taking of the island of St. Eustatius, was one of the severest blows that Holland ever received. The Dutch West India Company, with the Magistracy and Citizens of Amsterdam, were very great sufferers by this event. Other nations

L 4

were

\* In this action, the *Monarch* received no damage, excepting three men wounded; but besides their Admiral, the Dutch had several men killed, and a good many wounded. It is remarkable, that the Admiral's flag was not hoisted at the time of the action.

† See Note 210.

were also deeply involved in it. The rebel Americans, who had brought their tobacco, indigo, and other articles to that island, and the French, who had sent their sugars there, in order to barter them for the warlike stores and provisions of which they stood in need, came in for their share of the disaster. But of all the sufferers, the least to be pitied were the British merchants, who, from mere thirst of gain, made no scruple of sacrificing the interest of their country, and of furnishing her avowed enemies with the certain means of her destruction. That there were such is beyond a doubt. Confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in some acts of Parliament made to encourage the bringing of their property from the islands lately taken by the French, they had accumulated a great quantity of West India produce, as well as of European goods in this island: but it is evident, from the devices to which they had recourse, in conducting this traffic, and from the artifices which they used to conceal it, that they were conscious that the commerce in which they were engaged was illegal and unjust. If the case had been otherwise, Why did they cause their ships destined for the West Indies, to clear out at the custom-house for some of the British islands; while, in fact, they gave orders to the masters of them, to proceed directly to the island of St. Eustatius? Were their cargoes suited peculiarly to that market? Why had they British agents there, to whom these commodities were consigned? And why did these agents endeavour to screen themselves from the laws of their much injured country, by avowing themselves to be subjects of the States General?\*

The keeping the Dutch colours flying on Fort Orange, proved a decoy, for some time, to the French, Dutch, and Americans. A convoy from the island of Guadaloupe for stores, were captured and brought to St. Eustatius: and three large Dutch ships, laden with naval stores, were taken off St. Christopher's. From many of the letters found in the American prize-ships, the Admiral and General discovered, that a traitorous correspondence had been carried on between British subjects  
and

\* See Sir George Rodney's Letters, pages 19, 29, 30, 57, 69, 85, 161.



and the revolted colonies in North America, for a considerable length of time. Impressed with its importance, they immediately set on foot a strict inquiry into the state of facts, that they might bring to condign punishment, the persons implicated in so bad a crime. In consequence of the evidence which the letters exhibited, the books and papers of such persons as they had reason to suspect were seized. These afforded such strong corroborating proofs of their criminality, that two persons† were apprehended, and made prisoners for high treason. They were sent to England in the Vengeance man of war: and Commodore Hotham had orders to keep them in safe custody, and to deliver them to none, but persons properly authorised to receive them. An officer of rank and great respectability was at the head of this inquiry: and the Admiral and General selected him, as a proper person to be sent home with the books, letters, and papers, which exhibited the strongest proofs of the aid which they had given to his Majesty's enemies, by supplying them with arms, warlike stores, and provisions. This gentleman proceeded to England in the Venus frigate, and safely lodged the books, letters, and papers, intrusted to his care, in the Office of Lord George Germain, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. In consequence of the treasonable practices which this inquiry brought to light, all the merchandize and stores found at St. Eustatius, were confiscated for his Majesty's use.

Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, fully intended to have followed up the blow which they had already struck against the Dutch, and to have immediately attacked their settlements at Surinam on the Spanish Main, and the island of  
Curacoa.

† The following very extraordinary circumstance is narrated in the before-mentioned Letters of Sir George Rodney:

These were the very persons committed for High Treason, and their books and papers deposited with his Majesty's Secretary of State, which clearly shewed their TREASONABLE CORRESPONDENCE, and intercourse carried on between the British subjects and the enemies of Great Britain, and who were DISCHARGED *without any Trial*, and suffered to take their CRIMINATING PAPERS with them.—Page 26.

Curacoa. The command of the naval force against the former was to have been intrusted to Rear-Admiral Drake, and the naval force against the latter to Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood : and, in the mean time, small vessels of war were ordered to cruize off the Spanish Main, to prevent the enemy from receiving any advice of the rupture between Great Britain and the States General. But while these plans were perfecting, and measures pursuing to carry them into execution, the Admiral received intelligence, on the 11th of February, which obliged him and the General to lay aside all thoughts of them. This was certain information, that a squadron of French men of war, consisting of eight or ten ships of the line and two frigates, accompanied with a large convoy, steering for the West Indies, had been seen by Captain John Linzee of his Majesty's frigate the Santa Monica. To counteract this formidable armament, it became necessary to reinforce the squadron already before Martinico : and, for this purpose, Sir Samuel Hood was, on the next day, detached with some ships to join Rear-Admiral Drake. On the Admiral receiving some farther advices of the strength of the enemy's squadron, he sent a reinforcement of four ships of the line to Rear-Admiral Hood ; which, he hoped, would enable him to defeat their designs. Unfortunately, Admiral Rodney did not receive in time a true account of the enemy's strength ; for the French, ever watchful and active, and supplied with excellent intelligence, had resolved to send such powerful succours to the West Indies, as would not only protect their own settlements there, but enable them to act with vigour against those of Great Britain : and when the hurricane season should approach, their fleet was directed to proceed to North America, and to afford a powerful assistance to their new allies. For this purpose, they had equipped with secrecy and dispatch, a squadron of twenty sail of the line and a ship of fifty guns, together with many frigates. The command of these were given to the Comte de Grasse. Six thousand land-forces, with a formidable artillery, were embarked in this squadron, and under its  
escort

escort was a convoy, consisting of upwards of two hundred merchant ships, the whole composing one of the richest fleets that ever sailed from France. The Comte de Grasse sailed from Brest on the 22d of March, and steered directly for Fort Royal Bay in the island of Martinico.

The intelligence which the Admiral had received, relative to the strength of the fleet expected by the enemy in the West Indies, was such, as led him to suppose, that the force detached under the orders of Sir Samuel Hood, would be sufficient to encounter and defeat their designs; but in this he was most unluckily deceived. Rear-Admiral Hood wished greatly for Sir George Rodney's permission, to cruize for the fleet under the Comte de Grasse to windward of Martinico, and to engage him before he should reach that island. Had this been agreed to, he would no doubt have fought him on less disadvantageous terms than he was afterwards obliged to do, as the junction of four sail of the line from the Bay of Fort Royal, gave the French a decided superiority of force to that under his command. Sir George Rodney, however, had cogent reasons for adhering to his opinion. The station off the mouth of the Bay of Fort Royal, afforded the British fleet an easy communication with Gros Islet Bay in the island of St. Lucia, where they could occasionally be supplied with wood, water, or any stores of which they might stand in need. Besides, by keeping this station, they would effectually block up a squadron which the French had there; whereas, if they should go to the windward of Martinico, there would be nothing to hinder the enemy from coming out, and not only retaking the Dutch islands, but ruining the whole commerce of the British in these seas. When the great abilities and activity of the Marquis de Bouillé, the Governor of Martinico, are considered, together with the ample intelligence with which he was furnished from the neighbouring islands, perhaps the Admiral judged right, in keeping the fleet stationed before Fort Royal Bay: as the consequences might have been very fatal had its absence been of long duration.

Soon



Soon after the failing of Sir Samuel Hood, the Admiral received the pleasing intelligence of the surrender of the Dutch colonies of Demerary and Iſſequibo to his Majesty. This event was accelerated by Governor Cunningham of Barbadoes, who had learned from a gentleman of that island, lately arrived from Demerary, that the Governor of that place, on a supposition that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and the States General, would willingly surrender the colony to any of his Majesty's ships of war, being apprehensive, that it might possibly fall a prey to adventurers, as it was in no condition to resist an attack. Governor Cunningham immediately dispatched Lieutenant Forest of the army, with a flag of truce and a letter to Governor Van Schuylenburch, proffering him the same terms, which had been granted by Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan to St. Eustatius and its dependencies, on condition of his immediately surrendering his government of Demerary, Iſſequibo, and their dependencies, to his Britannic Majesty. He likewise gave Lieutenant Forest a letter to Captain Day, of his Majesty's sloop Surprize, to whom he communicated the purport of his letter to the Governor of Demerary, and requested that he would do all that lay in his power to accomplish the object of the Lieutenant's mission. Captain Day lost not a moment; but immediately sent a flag of truce with the Lieutenant, accompanied by Captain Pender of his Majesty's sloop Barbuda, to Governor Van Schuylenburch. They reached Demerary on the 2d of March: and the Governor and his Council immediately acceded to the terms offered, and surrendered the colonies of Demerary and Iſſequibo to his Majesty. But as neither Captain Pender or Lieutenant Forest, could inform the Dutch Governor of the terms on which St. Eustatius had submitted, it became necessary to send a deputation to Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, to learn the conditions which they had granted. Accordingly, one of the Council, and one of the principal inhabitants, were conveyed by Captain Pender to St. Eustatius, where

where Sir George and the General received them with great politeness.

Viewing the colonies of Demerary and Iffequibo in a very different light from that of St. Eustatius, they disdained to take advantage of the terms, on which it had been obliged to surrender. Their generous resolution was, not to treat them as they had done an island, whose inhabitants, though belonging to a state bound by public treaty to assist Great Britain against her avowed enemies, had, nevertheless, openly supported both her public enemies and her rebellious subjects, by furnishing them with provisions, and with all the implements of war. But as their conduct had been directly opposite to that of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, they were determined to grant them such terms, as might enable them to experience all the advantages of the British Government.\*

The suspicions entertained by Governor Van Schuylenburch were but too well founded; for, before Governor Cunningham's letter reached him, some British privateers,† having heard of

\* The reader will find a copy of these terms in Note 211. of the Appendix.

† A List of the British Privateers that entered the River Demerary, Feb. 24, 1781.

Ship Bellona of 28 guns,	P. Driscoll, master,	belonging to Bristol.
Ditto Mercury, 24	R. Craigs, master,	ditto.
Schr. Porcupine, 18	J. Jackson, master,	ditto.
Ditto Halton, 8	Oden Whitehouse, master,	Barbadoes.
Ditto Polly, 4	—— Newbold, master,	ditto.
Ship Hornet, 32	J. Kimber, master,	Liverpool, entered the river February 25, 1781.

A List of the Vessels found at the Mouth of Demerary River, taken out by the above Privateers, February 27, 1781.

- Brig Guidl. Vreight, 12 guns, 32 men, 200 tons, Christopher Catnea, master, laden with coffee, sugar, and cotton, Dutch property, belonging to Flushing.
- Ship Eanfesindegheyd, 10 guns, 26 men, 400 tons, A. C. Dentz, master, laden with flour and lumber, Dutch property, belonging to Middleburg.
- Brig Vreede, 4 guns, 9 men, 120 tons, J. Deweades, master, laden with coffee and sugar, Dutch property, belonging to Amsterdam.
- Ship De Vrougner A. Colyns and A. Maria, 8 guns, 18 men, 206 tons, M. Selossen, master, coffee, cotton, and sugar, ditto, ditto.

of the rupture with the Dutch, had boldly entered the rivers Demerary and Iſſequibo: and although they were deemed highly dangerous, if not utterly unnavigable to ſtrangers, they had, with a degree of courage and enterpriſe truly characteristic, brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch batteries, almoſt all the veſſels of any value in both. The prizes were conſiderable. As it was impoſſible for privateers to be then provided with letters of marque and reprisal againſt the States General and their ſubjects, theſe adventurers truſted to the honour of Government, that no advantage would be taken of that defect, while they only did what appeared to them, to be good ſervice to their country as well as to themſelves; and what, in their judgment, would greatly diſtreſs the enemy. This exploit, no doubt, ſtimulated the Governor and inhabitants to accept the protection of the Britiſh Government as ſpeedily as poſſible. By the terms granted to the colonies of Demerary and Iſſequibo, all the property, ſtores, &c. belonging to the Dutch Weſt India

Snew Young Aaron, 6 guns, 14 men, 152 tons, J. A. Ruge, maſter, provisions, iron, and lumber, ditto, ditto.

Ditto Zeelente Pooff, 6 guns, 12 men, 180 tons, Cor. Kelfer, maſter, coffee and ſugar, ditto, ditto.

Ship Haaſt U. Langou, 12 guns, 37 men, 250 tons, Cor. Van Kakum, maſter, ſugar, coffee, and cotton, ditto, Middleburg.

Ditto De Boreas, 10 guns, 26 men, 600 tons, Jean Ricart, maſter, ſugar, coffee, and cotton, ditto, Amſterdam.

Ditto Yoſrowd A. Louiſa, 12 guns, 20 men, 400 tons, Tunis Sweeris, maſter, planks and bricks, ditto, ditto.

Ditto Middleburg Hope, 12 guns, 24 men, 400 tons, Hans Zuidells, maſter, ſugar, coffee, and cotton, ditto, Middleburg.

Ditto, name unknown, 8 guns, 20 men, 350 tons, — Barnes, maſter, ſugar, coffee, and cotton, ditto, Amſterdam.

Ditto de Vreheyd, 8 guns, 32 men, 350 tons, P. Merſe, maſter, ſugar, coffee, and cotton, ditto, Middleburg.

Snow, name unknown, 4 guns, 16 men, 200 tons, Oudman Zwartje, maſter, provisions and planks, ditto, Rotterdam.

Schooner from St. Euſtatius, 8 guns, — men, 90 tons, — maſter, timber, ditto, St. Euſtatius.

Snow, name unknown, 4 guns, 16 men, 200 tons, — Allemes, maſter, ditto, Amſterdam.



India Company was to be delivered up to his Majesty : and the Governor and the other officers had leave to go to Holland in a cartel, taking with them all their effects of whatever nature ; the troops had the same indulgence. From the accounts given to the Admiral and General, the annual produce of these infant colonies was very considerable.\*

Captain Lawrence Græme, of the Sylph sloop, escorted a detachment of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguson, which was sent against the French island of St. Bartholomew. On the 17th of March, it surrendered on the first summons. The possession of it was of some importance, as its harbour was an asylum to the enemies privateers, which had been of great detriment to the British commerce in these seas. The Admiral had another grievance to encounter, from which the enemy derived great advantage, and which was extremely hurtful to Great Britain. This was a custom that prevailed among the Governors of the different islands, of granting permission to send a vessel with a flag of truce to the islands of Martinico or Guadaloupe, whenever they had a few prisoners in their possession, on the pretence of getting them exchanged. The persons who wished to send their vessels on this frivolous errand, paid a large fee to obtain that favour.† As the exchange of prisoners was a mere pretext, it was presumed that they had other motives and services to perform, which they durst not avow ; and for which, they received such ample rewards as fully compensated the fees of office. By this illicit commerce, the enemy got the most pointed intelligence. In addition to this, the Admiral discovered, that an agreement had been entered into, between some of the British merchants and the enemy, by which the former were to send a supply of provisions to Martinico and Guadaloupe, in the vessels coming with

\* 10,000 hogheads of sugar. Rum in proportion.

5,000,000 lbs. of coffee.

800,000 lbs. of cotton. Cocoa and indigo not ascertained as yet.

† The common price for a flag of truce was fifty johannefes.—Sir G. Rodney's Letters, pages 21, 23.

with† flags of truce, or in vessels having false clearances : for since the capture of St. Eustatius, the French islands suffered very much from the want of the supplies which they were in use of receiving from thence. Sir George Rodney was, therefore, under the necessity of prohibiting flags of truce being sent by any persons whatever, except by himself or General Vaughan : and all the cruizers had orders to stop all such vessels not properly authorized, and to send them to the Admiral, who made it known, that so far from exchanging any prisoners that should be on board any flag of truce so brought in, he would assuredly send them to England. In the design of supplying the enemy with provisions, the Admiral found that the Jews were deeply concerned :‡ nor could all his remonstrances on the subject, induce the governing powers at the island of St. Christopher's, to order the cannon and stores, which had been landed at Sandy Point, to be conveyed to the fortress of Brimstone Hill.§ This, however, will afterwards fall under our consideration.

The French merchants and traders, who were at St. Eustatius when it surrendered, were treated with civility and respect. They were sent in a vessel to Martinico, and permitted to take along with them, their families, servants, and slaves, together with their household furniture, money, plate, and wearing apparel : and although no terms of capitulation had been granted the Dutch Governor, the officers and garrison were sent in a cartel to Holland, and allowed to take their families, personal effects, and servants with them. Mr. de Graaf had the means repeatedly to request permission to be allowed to remain in the island as a private citizen ; but this was positively refused, and his plantation was seized for his Majesty's use. Such citizens of Amsterdam as happened to be at St. Eustatius, were not

† Sir George Rodney's Letters, pages 43, 44, 62.

‡ Sir George Rodney's Letters, page 65.

§ These were, twelve brass twenty-four pounders, with their carriages, shot, waggons, &c. These cannon were put on shore by order of General Grant ; and the people of St. Christopher's would not find negroes to get them up to Brimstone Hill, though often pressed so to do.—Sir G. Rodney's Letters, page 24.

not treated with the same lenity. They, with their families and personal effects, were sent to Holland in cartels. The American merchants had the same favour, and were ordered to leave the island. The vessels taken by Captain Reynolds, and some of the prizes found in the road of St. Eustatius, on board of which the Admiral caused ship a great deal of the prize tobacco, sugar, and indigo, were ordered to proceed to England, under the escort of the Vengeance, Commodore Hotham, who had along with him his Majesty's ships Prince Edward, Venus, and Sybil. This valuable convoy was unfortunately intercepted by a French squadron, under M. de la Motte Piquet, in the mouth of the British Channel, and a great number of the merchant ships taken, as will afterwards more fully appear. The prize ships, which were laden with lumber, were sent by the Admiral to such of the British islands as had suffered most in the late dreadful hurricanes: and the prizes laden with naval stores, were either ordered to the King's dock-yard at Antigua, or sent down to Jamaica for the use of his Majesty's ships on that station.

The treasonable practices discovered by the Admiral and General, and the many great provocations with which they met, obliged them to adopt measures, that were censured by some with great asperity: but if the papers which they sent home, had been fairly laid before the public, such base conduct would have appeared, as would have fully justified the steps to which they had deemed it expedient to have recourse. From these, it would have been clearly seen, that the measures which they adopted, were indispensibly necessary to the preservation of the conquests which they had made, and to the prevention of the same pernicious system of commerce, that had been carried on at St. Eustatius. By such striking proofs, all vague declamation against them would have been silenced, and an unprejudiced public would have been led to applaud their conduct.

The sale of a great number of prize ships and vessels, together with the sugars, tobacco, and other merchandize found



at St. Eustatius, was advertised in the Caribbean Gazette for the 18th of March :\* and the public were informed, that all persons who would come to the island in order to purchase, should have whatever they bought properly secured to them. Persons having property that was confiscated, were excluded from becoming purchasers. An immense concourse of people assembled to attend the sales ; but though there were many bidders, the goods were supposed to be sold greatly below their value. When Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan took possession of the island of St. Eustatius and its dependencies, every thing seized on by their order was for his Majesty's use, and as such, every thing was considered as belonging to the King. In this light was the state of such property viewed, until Lord George Germain signified his Majesty's pleasure, in a letter to Admiral Rodney, dated Whitehall, March 30th, 1781,† wherein, among other things, he says : “ And you will “ see by the inclosed instructions, that his Majesty, out of his “ Royal and wonted munificence, and constant desire to en- “ courage and reward the zeal and bravery of his faithful sea “ and land-forces, has been graciously pleased to give up all “ claim to the chief part of the booty, and to bestow it upon “ the two services, reserving only the whole of the provisions, “ and the artillery, arms, and ammunition, necessary for the “ defence of the captured islands.” From this generous resolution of his Majesty, the navy and army concerned in the capture of the Dutch islands and shipping, had reason to be sanguine in their expectations that their respective shares of the prize money would be great ; but alas ! they were much disappointed, as from various causes, it was frittered down to a mere trifle. The causes, which contributed to this in no small degree, were ; first, the capture of many of the most valuable ships that were proceeding to England under Commodore Hotham :

\* The merchants of St. Christopher's made strong remonstrances to the Admiral against this measure.—See Appendix Note 212.

† See Note 213.

Hotham : and next, the loss of 250,000*l.* in cash, arising from the sales at St. Eustatius, which money fell into the hands of the French, when they retook that island. This loss was shameful in the extreme ; for before Sir George Rodney left the West Indies, he gave the most positive orders, that the island should never have less than three frigates stationed at it for its defence ; and that the great sum of money in the agents hands, should be shipped on board of Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and carried to New York for the payment of the troops there.† These orders were not obeyed ; and of course, both the island and the money were lost. The last of these causes which merits particular notice, was a number of lawsuits, which were instituted in England, against the Admiral and General, on account of some of the confiscations made at St. Eustatius, and which were decided in favour of the claimants.

Sir Samuel Hood continued to block up the Bay of Fort Royal in the island of Martinico with his squadron, and stationed his frigates in such a manner, that they might give him timely notice of the approach of the French fleet, so anxiously looked for both by him and by the enemy. Accordingly, at seven in the morning on the 28th of April, the Amazon being to windward of Point Salines, made the signal for seeing a very large fleet. She again made the same signal at nine, and it was repeated to the Rear-Admiral by the Russell. As this ship had a hundred and fifty sick on board, he had just ordered her to the island of St. Lucia : but suspecting that the fleet seen was the enemy's, he ordered her to rejoin the fleet, and made the signal for a general chase to windward ; and at ten o'clock, made the signal to form a line of battle ahead, at two cables length afunder.‡ On opening the Diamond Rock, the enemy's fleet were not to be perceived but from the mast head, they being then upon a wind to the southward. Captain Finch, very properly, as soon as he saw his signal repeated by the Russell,

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stood

† See Sir George Rodney's Letters, page 171.

‡ See Note 214.

stood back, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet. Having done this, he again stood towards the British fleet; and at twelve o'clock, the Amazon was near enough, for Sir Samuel Hood to perceive a signal which he then hoisted, importing that the enemy were of superior force. Upon the Admiral's making the signal, desiring to know how many line of battle ships they had, was answered by signal nineteen. Captain Finch going soon after on board the *Barfleur*, he informed the Admiral that he had seen the enemy's force distinctly, and that it consisted of nineteen sail of the line, and two others of two decks, which he apprehended were ships armed *en flûte*. The number of frigates he could not exactly ascertain, as three only were drawn out from the convoy, which appeared to be very numerous, and the whole were then standing to the northward. Such was the enemy's position, at sun-set on the evening of the 28th, most of them being to the northward of Point Salines.

Sir Samuel Hood immediately sent the Amazon to inform Rear-Admiral Drake, that he desired to see him. On his coming on board the *Barfleur*, Rear-Admiral Hood made him acquainted with the plan which he designed to follow during the night. His intention was, to continue the squadron in a line ahead, to get to windward as much as possible, by making the fleet carry all their plain sails, and to be close in with Fort Royal in the morning at day-light; because it was uncertain which way the enemy might come. Rear-Admiral Drake approved very much of this plan, and returned on board the Gibraltar. The Amazon was again sent to windward, with orders to Captain Finch to endeavour to get sight of the enemy's fleet once more; and upon distinctly seeing them, to make signals, that the Admiral might know, whether they were upon the starboard or larboard tack, or coming before the wind. The Admiral likewise dispatched a vessel to Gros Îlet Bay in the island of St. Lucia, with orders to Captain Douglas to join him directly: and was much pleased with the great exertions which he made in complying so speedily with his orders.



orders. Though at the time when he received them, it was night and a great part of his crew was ashore, yet, such was his activity and that of his officers, that the Prince William joined the squadron, and took her place in the line, a little after nine o'clock the next morning. It was near nine in the morning of the 29th, before the Admiral got sight of the Amazon, when she joined the squadron: and soon after that, the enemy's fleet were seen coming down between Point Salines and the Diamond Rock, on which Sir Samuel Hood made the signal for a close line of battle, and to prepare for action. At this time, the enemy appeared to be forming their line of battle, and both squadrons soon hoisted their colours; but unfortunately, the French had been able to preserve the weather-gage. At half an hour after ten, the British squadron tacked altogether by signal, the van of the French fleet being almost abreast of their centre: and at eleven o'clock, the enemy began to cannonade, to which no return was made, Sir Samuel Hood regarding the distance as too great for the fire to be effectual. At this time, the four sail of the line, which had been so long blocked up in Fort Royal Bay, got under sail: and soon after the British fleet had tacked altogether by signal, the signal for a close order of battle was repeated. Perceiving some of the enemy's shot to go over some of his ships, the Admiral made the signal to engage, which was instantly obeyed; and, in passing, the van of the British fleet and the rear of the French fleet exchanged some broadsides. At forty minutes past eleven, the enemy's fleet tacked, and Rear-Admiral Hood immediately made the signal for the rear of his fleet to close to the centre; but finding it impossible to get close up with the French, he endeavoured to entice them to close action, and made the signal for his squadron to bring-to under top-sails. At half past twelve, the Comte de Grasse in the Ville de Paris, began to fire at the Barfleur. His fire was immediately returned, and the action soon became general; but to the great mortification of the British, at much too great a distance; for, by this mode of fighting, nothing decisive could be done, and

a great, and almost needless expenditure of powder and shot was occasioned. Nor was it in their power to bring on a closer engagement, for the enemy were to windward: they were of consequence masters of the point of distance at which they chose to fight, and M. de Grasse repeatedly declined a nearer combat. At one o'clock, Sir Samuel Hood made the signal for his van to fill; on which the French did the same, and their fleet kept drawing ahead. Admiral Hood finding that not one shot in ten reached the *Barfleur*, about half an hour after one o'clock ceased firing, and soon after most of the French ships did the same; the van of both fleets being somewhat nearer continued to engage. At this time, the French convoy were hauling close under the land, attended by two large ships, that seemed to be line of battle ships armed *en flûte*, and two frigates. At eighteen minutes past three the cannonading on both sides ceased. Sir Samuel Hood endeavoured to the utmost of his power, to get to windward of the enemy; but some of the British ships, particularly the *Russell*, *Shrewsbury*, *Centaur*, *Torbay*, and *Intrepid*, had suffered so much in the action, that they were not able to carry a press of sail. At six o'clock, the packet going to Antigua, which had kept company with the squadron, came within hail of the *Barfleur*, to acquaint the Admiral, by order of Rear-Admiral Drake, that the *Russell* was in great distress, that she had received several shot between wind and water, that the water was over the platform of the magazine and gaining upon the pumps, and that there were three of her guns dismounted in the engagement. Sir Samuel Hood, immediately on receiving this intelligence, made the signal for the *Russell* to come within hail: and at half an hour after seven, Captain Sutherland went on board the *Barfleur*, and received orders from the Admiral to proceed to St. Eustatius, if he could possibly by exertion keep the *Russell* above water, or to any other port he could make, and to acquaint Sir George Rodney with all that had happened. At the close of day, the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-four

four sail of the line, were about four miles to windward of the British fleet.

At day-break on the 30th, both the hostile squadrons appeared to be in disorder, owing to alternate breezes and calms during the night: and some of the headmost of the French ships made for the van of the British, which, being perceived by Sir Samuel Hood, he made the signal for a close line of battle. By seven o'clock, the British line of battle was so well formed, that the enemy's advanced ships hauled off. About an hour afterwards, Sir Samuel Hood made the signal for his rear to close to the centre: apprehending, from the disposition which the Comte de Grasse was then making, that he intended to attack the rear of the British fleet. Such indeed was the superiority of the enemy, that it required great attention to all their motions, effectually to counteract their designs. Owing to light airs of wind, about half an hour after eight o'clock, the British squadron was thrown nearly into a line of battle abreast: and the Admiral judged it expedient to let it continue in that form, least by endeavouring to regain his former position, his line should become too much extended. At eleven, the wind coming to the eastward, he made the signal to form the line of battle ahead, at two cables length afunder, the better to receive the enemy, then about three miles to windward; and soon after that, he made the signal for the rear to close to the centre. They did not, however, remain long in that position, for a calm coming on at noon, threw them again into a line of battle abreast. For the same reasons, which had formerly induced Admiral Hood to adopt a similar conduct, he did not again attempt to form a line of battle ahead: but in less than half an hour the wind coming to the south-east, and blowing steady, he made the signal for a general chase to windward, with a design of weathering the enemy, and would have accomplished his object, if the breeze had continued. But at four o'clock it died away: and the Admiral finding it impossible to gain his point, he made the signal for a line of battle ahead. About this time, he received the disagreeable intelligence, that



the Intrepid made so much water, that her crew could scarce keep her free; that the Centaur was in the same state, owing to the number of shot she had received between wind and water, and her lower masts badly wounded. In these circumstances, the Admiral judged it imprudent any longer to dare the enemy to battle: and, therefore, at eight o'clock he made the signal to bear up; at ten made the signal to bring-to, for the squadron to close, and forty minutes afterwards, for the squadron to make sail.

On the first of June, at five in the morning, the French fleet were perceived to be eight or nine miles astern of the British: but about half an hour afterwards, Sir Samuel Hood was under a necessity of making the signal to bring-to, in order that the Torbay and Pacahunta sloop, which sailed remarkably ill, might come up and join the squadron, as they were within reach of the enemy's guns, and the former had received a good deal of damage in her masts and rigging, their headmost ships keeping up a heavy fire on her. A little before eight, the enemy left off firing at the Torbay, and the Amazon was sent to tow up the Pacahunta. Admiral Hood kept his squadron well formed, and the enemy having drawn off, at noon he made the signal to bring-to upon the larboard tack, and also for a report of the condition and state of the squadron to be made to him. When the Admiral made the signal to bring-to, the enemy's fleet were then bearing east and standing to the northward; in the night they altered their course, and stood to the southward: and although the night proved calm, the main-top-mast of the Intrepid fell to pieces over her side. At seven o'clock, the British fleet made sail and stood to the northward, being the surest means of getting to windward, as the currents run very strong to leeward to the south of the island of St. Vincent.

In the action of the 29th of April, Captain Nott of the Centaur, and Mr. James Plowden, First Lieutenant of the same ship, were killed; as was Mr. Robert Johnstone, master of the Russell. The number of men killed and wounded in  
the

the several actions was fortunately but small, and bore no proportion to the length of time passed in action, to the number of ships engaged, and to the superiority of the enemy's fleet with which they had to contend. Thirty-nine men were killed, and one hundred and sixty-one wounded. The five rearmost ships of Rear-Admiral Drake's division suffered most. The French fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, including the four sail under M. de St. Hippolite, which joined M. de Grasse from Fort Royal Bay, and two ships armed *en flute* that attended the convoy. The Comte de Grasse had under him two Rear-Admirals, viz. M. de Bougainville and M. de Vaudreuil.

The Russell arrived at St. Eustatius on the 4th of May; and was the first that brought intelligence to Sir George Rodney, of the action between the British and French fleets on the 29th of April, off the entrance of the Bay of Fort Royal in the island of Martinico. He instantly gave orders that the Russell should be repaired with the utmost dispatch, and that the line of battle ships which he had with him should get ready for sea. The leak in the Russell was luckily discovered and stopped, and such was the expedition used in repairing her other damages, that in six hours she was once more fit for service. Orders were immediately given her Captain, for the Russell to proceed to the old road of St. Christopher's to complete her water, which was exhausted; and after that, without losing a moment, to join the fleet. On the 6th of May, Admiral Rodney put to sea with the Sandwich and Triumph. As he was passing the island of St. Christopher's, on his way to join the squadron under Sir Samuel Hood, which he imagined was at St. Lucia, the alarm guns gave notice of a fleet being in sight; on which he came to anchor in that road, to learn the reason of the alarm, and to be ready to assist in the protection of the island, if it should be a squadron of the enemy's ships coming with intent to attack it. At the same time, observing in the offing a large ship, which appeared to be crippled, steering for the road, he sent a frigate to reconnoitre her, and found

found that she was his Majesty's ship *Centaur*, commanded by Captain Smith ; who informed him, that the squadron which appeared on the north side of the island, and which had occasioned the alarm, was Sir Samuel Hood's, standing to the northward, in order to gain his passage to windward of the island. The *Torbay* and *Intrepid* joined Sir George Rodney the next day. These three ships had parted from the squadron under Admiral Hood : and as they were much damaged, orders were given to have them repaired with the greatest dispatch, and to get them heeled, that their shot holes might be effectually stopped. The carpenters were directed to work night and day, that they might have them ready to put to sea with the Admiral, in order to join the fleet under Sir Samuel Hood. The *Triumph* was under orders to proceed to England with the trade, but in the present critical situation of affairs the Admiral detained her. He put to sea as he proposed, from the island of St. Christopher's, on the 9th : and between the islands of Montserrat and Antigua, he was joined by Sir Samuel Hood with the remainder of the fleet. As they were in great need of supplies, he was obliged to come to an anchor in St. John's road, Antigua, in order to relieve them. But previous to this, he detached several quick-sailing vessels to the island of St. Lucia, with letters to General St. Leger, and the commanding officer of his Majesty's ships which might be there, acquainting them, that he was hastening to windward with the squadron ; that if the enemy, encouraged by the British fleet being to leeward, should make an attack upon that island, they might depend upon his coming to their aid ; and that General Vaughan, with a reinforcement of troops, was on board the fleet, on his way to assist them. The Admiral was right in his conjectures : for no sooner had the French fleet come to anchor in the Bay of Fort Royal, than the Comte de Grasse concerted measures with the Marquis de Bouillé, Governor of Martinico, who readily united with him, in determining to avail themselves as much as possible of the opportunity which presented itself of attacking the British settlements.

For



For this purpose, they had planned two expeditions, one against the island of Tobago, and another against the island of St. Lucia; which last, they flattered themselves, they would be able to carry by a *coup de main*. The attack against Tobago was intrusted to M. de Blanchlande, who had with him about fifteen hundred regular troops and some adventurers, making in all about two thousand men. These were to be escorted by the Pluton of seventy-four guns, accompanied by some frigates. The attack against St. Lucia was to be conducted by M. de Bouillé in person, accompanied by a large military force, escorted by M. de Grasse and his squadron. Every thing being got ready for these two expeditions, they sailed on the 9th of May from Martinico, on their respective destinations. Next day, the French armament appeared off the north end of St. Lucia; and in the night, the Marquis de Bouillé effected a landing in the Bays of Bacune, Esperance, and Dauphin, with the regiment of Auvernois, headed by the Viscount de Damas, and immediately took post on the shore. Before day-break on the 11th, they surprised the town of Gros Illet, and made prisoners of the sick in the hospital there. Hitherto the enemy had met with no opposition, and this induced them to think, that they would make an easy conquest of the whole island. As their troops advanced, they seized on all the passes, and placed guards at the different avenues leading from the town, in order effectually to cut off the communication between it and Morne Fortuné. M. de Bouillé dispatched to Pigeon Island,\* an officer of rank with a flag of truce, and a peremptory summons to the Commandant to surrender

\* Pigeon Island is situated within cannon shot of the village of Gros Illet, and in the bay of that name. It is a high conical shaped rock. When the French and Spanish squadrons formed a junction in Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica, in 1780, Sir George Rodney perceiving it to be a place of consequence, caused level the summit, on which he ordered a battery of heavy cannon to be erected, and had barracks and storehouses built there. So very steep is this rock, that the guns were hoisted up the steepest part by means of a crane. The only road to the top is very narrow, and winds round the rock. From its natural and artificial strength, one hundred men could defend it against an army.

render the place directly : and in case of refusal, he was directed to inform him, that he and his garrison might expect to be treated with the utmost severity of war. The garrison of this place was composed of a company of the 87th regiment, under the command of Captain Campbell, and a detachment of seamen for working the guns, under the command of Lieutenant Miller of the Deal Castle.\* These gallant officers shewed that they were worthy of the trust reposed in them, treated the haughty summons with the contempt it deserved, and instantly sent back the officer with his flag of truce, and an answer, that they would defend the place to the last extremity. They accordingly made every preparation in their power for an obstinate defence.

The fortunate, but accidental, arrival of his Majesty's ships *Thetis*, *Santa Monica*, and *Sybil*, and *Scourge* sloop, off the Carenage, contributed greatly to the preservation of the island. Captain Robert Linzee immediately waited upon General St. Leger, to know how the naval department could best assist him on the present occasion. The General was of opinion, that the ships should come into the Carenage immediately. Unfortunately in doing this, the *Thetis* struck on a rock ; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of Captain Linzee, his officers and crew, she sunk near the wreck of the *Cornwall*, and was totally lost. It was resolved, that detachments of the seamen and marines should be forthwith landed from his Majesty's ships. Part of these corps, under the command of Captains John Linzee, Rodney, Smith, and Hichens, took charge of the batteries on the Vigie ; while another detachment of sailors and marines, under the command of Captain Robert Linzee, went to the assistance of the troops posted on *Morne Fortuné*. The cheerfulness and alacrity, with which these detach-

\* This gallant officer was on shore on duty when the *Deal Castle* of twenty-four guns, commanded by Captain James Hawkins, (now *Whitshed*) was drove from her anchors in Gros Iflet Bay in the island of St. Lucia, in the night of the 9th of October, 1780 ; and on the 18th, was wrecked on the island of Porto Rico.

detachments marched on this service, raised the spirits of all around them, and excited them to exert themselves in making an obstinate resistance. The French employed themselves in cantoning their troops, at the plantations situated from Dauphin across the country to Chocque: and gave out, that they would continue there, until the reinforcements which they expected from their different islands should join them, when they would immediately attack all the British posts. This report gained belief, and was confirmed on the 12th, by the appearance of the Comte de Grasse, who, presuming that M. de Bouillé had made himself master of its defences, steered into Gros Islet Bay, and came to an anchor there, with a fleet consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, and a number of frigates. He was soon undeceived by a heavy fire, which immediately opened on him from the batteries on Pigeon Island, and continued until seven of his ships were so severely damaged, that they were obliged to cut their cables and retreat to leeward.† The French squadron then made for the Bay of Trou Gascon, where they came to anchor. The well directed cannonade from Pigeon Island, was attended with very beneficial consequences; as by forcing the Comte de Grasse to abandon Chocque Bay, his Majesty's frigate *Pegasus*, commanded by Captain Stanhope, who had been sent with dispatches from the Admiral to General St. Leger, containing assurances of speedy support, was enabled to anchor there in safety. This ship was instantly dispatched back, with letters from General St. Leger and Captain Robert Linzee to Sir George Rodney, informing him of the perilous situation of the island. A most serious attack was now expected; but the formidable appearance of the enemy, was so far from dispiriting the garrison, that it served only to excite an emulation in the various corps of which it was composed, who should be most active in the service of their country. The vigilance of General St. Leger, in this moment of danger and difficulty, was extremely conspicuous, and proved

† The French ships that were damaged by the shot from Pigeon Island were, the *Ville de Paris*, *Auguste*, *St. Esprit*, *Hector*, *Hercule*, and *Glorieux*.



proved that he was well qualified to discharge the important duties which he had to execute : and the ardour of the troops could be equalled only, by the same disposition which displayed itself in the officers and seamen of his Majesty's ships, the planters, the merchants resident in the island, the masters of trading vessels and their sailors. All of them ascended the hills, and repaired to the different posts assigned to them, with the greatest alacrity. The whole seemed animated but with one soul ; and the effects of this spirit the enemy would have experienced, if they had dared to put their threatened attack in practice. But contrary to the expectation of the garrison, instead of marching to assault the British works, they took a very opposite route, and moved silently off to the beach, where they re-embarked their troops in the night, and retired to the Bay of Fort Royal, in such a hurry as prevented their taking on board all their baggage ; part of which, with a quantity of ammunition, they left on the island.

Sir George Rodney used the greatest dispatch at Antigua, in getting on board his squadron, such stores and provisions as were immediately wanted : and as soon as this was accomplished, he put to sea with the whole fleet, and in a few days weathered the island of Desada. On the day on which he left Antigua, he was rejoined by Captain Stanhope in the *Pegasus* frigate, from St. Lucia ; who brought the disagreeable intelligence, of the French having attacked that island, with a very formidable fleet and army. The Admiral immediately steered a course, by which he thought he might most probably reach the island, in time to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands, and dispatched quick-sailing vessels to acquaint General St. Leger of his approach. As he well knew the great strength of Morne Fortuné, the Vigie, and Pigeon Island, he rested easy as to the fate of the colony, and thought that the enemy could make no great impression, before his Majesty's fleet would oblige them either to evacuate the place, or to run the risk of a general action. General St. Leger, as soon as the French retreated, immediately sent off a small vessel in quest of the Admiral,

miral, to inform him that they had abandoned the enterprize, and that the island was no longer in danger. This vessel found him off the island of Barbadoes. Well knowing how vulnerable that place was, and apprehensive lest the enemy should make a descent on it, he anchored with the squadron in Carlisle Bay, on the 23d of May. He was likewise induced to take this step by the state of his fleet, which had many sick, as the scurvy, at that time, raged on board to an uncommon degree, both among the seamen and marines. In addition to this calamity, all his ships, except those which came from St. Christopher's, were in great distress for want of water. Before he could proceed to sea, it was therefore absolutely necessary to land the sick, and to procure a proper supply of water, and also of vegetables for the fleet in general.

The Admiral immediately on his arrival sent the Panther, Pegasus, and several small war ships to strengthen the naval force at St. Lucia, and gave them directions to land a supply of provisions on Pigeon Island, to assist in erecting an additional battery there, and also in defending it, if the enemy should make another attack on it. Every exertion was made by Sir George Rodney, and the officers and men under his command, in refitting, watering, and victualling the squadron: and no endeavours were spared in obtaining men, to supply the place of those who, from sickness, were obliged to be landed. On the 27th, the Admiral received intelligence from Governor Ferguson of Tobago, that the French had sent there a small squadron, consisting of two line of battle ships, four frigates, and three cutters, with a considerable number of land-forces, and had invested that island. From the reinforcements of troops and artillery which the Admiral and General Vaughan had sent to that place, hopes were entertained, that it would be able to hold out, until such assistance should arrive there, as would compel the enemy to abandon the enterprize. A letter was also dispatched, by a swift sailing vessel, to the Governor, informing him, that Rear-Admiral Drake, with a strong squadron, and a body of troops under the command of Major-General

General Philip Skene, was to sail as next day to his relief. Rear-Admiral Drake accordingly put to sea on the 29th.\* He was instructed, after landing the troops, and using his utmost endeavours to destroy the enemy's squadron there, to rejoin the Admiral, with all possible expedition. The same day, Sir George Rodney received certain information, that the French squadron under M. de Grasse had been seen steering a course for Tobago. This intelligence gave very great uneasiness for the fate of Rear-Admiral Drake and his fleet; but Sir George Rodney was soon relieved, by a letter which he received from the Rear-Admiral himself, wherein he said, "That upon his making the island of Tobago on the morning of the 30th, he discovered the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, to leeward, between him and the land; that he did not haul his wind immediately on making this discovery, but determined to reconnoitre their strength and situation, to see if it were practicable for him to put his orders in execution; but on his nearing the French fleet, he found it to be utterly impossible for him to afford any relief whatever to the island, on which he determined to rejoin the fleet again with the utmost expedition." The French fleet gave chase to Rear-Admiral Drake's squadron for a considerable time; but finding that they did not gain on it, they gave over the pursuit and returned to Tobago. This unsuccessful attempt to succour Governor Fergusson was extremely unfortunate, as it could not fail to operate very powerfully in depressing the spirits of the troops and inhabitants; especially as the French gave out, that the whole of Rear-Admiral Drake's squadron, together with the reinforcement they had brought with them, were taken by their fleet. Rear-Admiral Drake dispatched the Rattlesnake, with a letter to Sir George Rodney, informing him of the situation of affairs. This letter found him at Barbadoes on the second

\* A list of the ships that sailed under the command of Rear-Admiral Drake.

Gibraltar,	80	Resolution,	74	Amazon,	32	Fly,	16
Alfred,	74	Princessa,	70	Triton,	28	Shell in a Gig,	14
Invincible,	74	Belliqueux,	64	Cyclops,	28	Water Witch,	10



second of June. Immediately on receiving it, he resolved to go with the whole Squadron to the assistance of Governor Ferguson: and the day following put to sea, and was rejoined by Rear-Admiral Drake and the ships under his command. The French arrived off the island of Tobago about ten in the morning of the 23d of May, brought to off Minister Point, there hoisted their colours, and immediately got their troops into boats, with a design to disembark them in Minister Bay. But finding the sea running high, and receiving a shot from a battery at the Point, which would have annoyed them in landing, they returned on board. They then endeavoured to get into Rockly Bay; but the current carrying them to leeward, they went round the west end of the island. The troops they had on board amounted to upwards of two thousand men: to oppose which, according to Governor Ferguson's account, the whole military force on the island amounted to four hundred and twenty-seven white men, including regular troops, militia, and seamen. To these must be added forty armed negroes, who, on some very trying occasions, displayed the most undaunted courage. Next morning, the enemy effected a landing in Great Courland Bay, with very little loss. The battery there of three eighteen pounders, had been so very injudiciously erected, that the fire from it gave very little obstruction to the debarkation of the enemy's troops. Before commencing this operation, they placed the Pluton of seventy-four guns, within four hundred yards of the battery; and this ship kept up so well directed a cannonade on it, that the detachment of troops stationed there was soon obliged to abandon it, having scarcely been able to bring a gun to bear on their opponents. The only loss which the French sustained in making good their landing, was from a gun at Black Rock, under the direction of Major Hamilton of the militia, by which the Pluton had some men killed. The troops, on retiring from the battery in Courland Bay, were posted on each side of the road leading from that place to the town of Scarborough, in order to harass the enemy on their march: but M. de Blanchlande, with great judgment,

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judgment, avoided this defile ; and leaving the road, ascended the height upon his right, having kept his men partly concealed behind a wood, from which he sent a detachment to take post on some heights, which commanded the ground on which he had drawn up his soldiers. Here a little skirmishing occurred, with trifling loss on either side. The spirit shewn by the British planters in general, was such as deserves the highest commendations : and the sacrifices made by some individuals for the public service, claim the most distinguished notice. It was on this occasion, that Mr. Callow, a very considerable planter, offered to set fire to his sugar canes to distress the enemy ; but some rain which had fallen in the night, unfortunately prevented their burning so rapidly as to have the desired effect. Mr. Callow's magnanimity, however, was not the less meritorious. After the great fatigue which the garrison had undergone, Governor Ferguson was apprehensive, lest the enemy, by detaching a body of troops to secure the passages, should cut off their retreat to a stronghold in the centre of the island, where the general rendezvous was ordered. To prevent this, it was judged proper for the garrison to retreat in the evening to Concordia, a place situated on a high ground that commanded a view on both sides of the island, which was an object of the utmost importance to the besieged. On the 25th, the enemy invested this post, as closely as the nature of the ground would admit. M. de Blanchlande, finding himself likely to be foiled, endeavoured to terrify the militia to desist or retire, by threatening destruction to their plantations, if they should persevere in making resistance : but finding that he threatened in vain, he applied to the Marquis de Bouillé for assistance. When the enemy had begun their attack on Concordia, a very fine plantation close to the British works afforded them considerable shelter ; but Governor Ferguson knowing that its proprietor, Mr. Law, was a good man and a loyal subject, was unwilling to destroy his dwelling house and the adjoining buildings. Such, however, was the patriotism of Mr. Law, that he made the proposal himself to burn them ; and  
shewed

shewed how thoroughly he was in earnest by instantly setting them on fire, and calling to his assistance in that operation, his servants and negroes, many of whom suffered severely in the conflagration. When the garrison retired to their last stronghold, the way to which was extremely difficult and intricate, and quite unknown to the enemy, neither the threats of immediate destruction to his property, or of instant death to himself, could prevail on him to act so disloyal a part, as to conduct them against the forces of his Sovereign. Mr. Orr, another planter, and Mr. Turner, a capitulant of St. Vincent, acted in the same noble manner. The post of Concordia afforded the feeble garrison neither cover nor shelter from the weather: and as M. de Bouillé had arrived on the 31st of May, with a large reinforcement of troops from Martinico, escorted by the squadron of M. de Grasse, they now found themselves so hard pressed, that they evacuated the place on the 1st of June, and retreated to a strong place about six miles distant on the main ridge, where huts had been previously erected, and where some provisions and ammunition had been deposited for the use of the garrison, in the event of their being compelled to retreat from Concordia, where they had waited from the 25th of May, in eager hopes of relief. The retreat of the fleet under Rear-Admiral Drake, and the boastings of the enemy on that occasion, greatly dispirited the garrison; but yet they did not despair. The Marquis de Bouillé followed the Governor and his forces as fast as he could; but his troops were overcome by the heat, before they had advanced two miles. Unable to procure a guide to conduct his army through a strong country, every inch of which was capable of being defended, he resolved to try another method of shortening the contest, and determined to unite terror with force, in hopes of separating by these means the militia from the regular troops, which, he knew, were so few in number, that when deprived of the co-operation of the former, they must of necessity submit. He accordingly ordered Nutmeg Grove and Belmont, two of the capital plantations, which were most conspicuous, to be set on fire;



but this act of cruelty not having the desired effect, he ordered, that at the end of every four hours, four more should meet with a similar treatment, until the garrison should submit in terms of the summons he had sent to the Governor. This summons was brought by a Count Dillon, who pretended the greatest anxiety to save the effusion of the blood of his *dear countrymen*, as he called them; and, in the name of the Marquis de Bouillé, offered them the same terms which had been allowed to the island of Dominique. If these should be refused, he threatened that the post should be immediately stormed, and the whole island destroyed by fire and sword. To enforce their acceptance, he affirmed that five thousand men were landed, and that six thousand more were to be landed from the fleet. These threats, and the exaggerated strength of the enemy, which was a mere fiction of Count Dillon's, had so powerful an effect on the inhabitants, that despairing of any relief, they obliged the Governor to capitulate, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrances to the contrary. The capitulation was accordingly finished on the 2d of June.\*

Admiral Rodney hastened with his whole fleet to the succour of the island, and arrived there on the night of the 3d of June; but learned to his great surprise and regret, that it had surrendered on the preceding day. He therefore stood with the squadron to the northward, and about two in the afternoon on the 5th, descried from the mast-head, the enemy's fleet to leeward, steering towards Grenada and the Grenadilles. The British fleet consisted of twenty sail of the line: and before sunset the enemy's force was discovered to consist of twenty-four sail of the line, and five frigates. Their situation was such as rendered it impossible to attack them with any probability of success. Night was coming on, and they had it in their power to entangle the British fleet among the Grenadilles, or to decoy them into the channel between Grenada and the Spanish Main, where the currents are so rapid, that they might have drove far to leeward, while the enemy had it in their power to anchor

\* See Note 215.

anchor under the batteries at Grenada. The French would probably have availed themselves of the misfortune of the fleet of Britain being forced so far to leeward, by bending their whole force against the island of Barbadoes, which must have surrendered, before Admiral Rodney could return to its relief.

As M. de Grasse did not seem to decline a combat, trusting no doubt to his great superiority of strength, Admiral Rodney conceived hopes that he might be induced to risk a battle : and endeavoured, by his motions, to draw him by the next morning to windward of the island of St. Vincent, where there would have been sufficient sea room to have attacked the French to advantage. With this design, he gave orders, that all the lights of his fleet should be particularly conspicuous to the enemy ; being determined, that if they had any intention of coming to action, they should not be disappointed.

At day-break of the 6th, the British fleet had got to windward of the island of St. Vincent ; but the enemy's fleet were not to be seen. It was afterwards learned, that they had tacked in the night, and proceeded to Courland Bay in the island of Tobago, where they remained for a short time, and then returned to Fort Royal Bay in the island of Martinico. On this, the Admiral and General immediately sent a reinforcement of troops to the island of St. Lucia, to put it out of all danger ; and steered with the squadron, to cover and protect the island of Barbadoes, which was by no means in a proper state of defence. The Admiral, however, was glad to find, on his arrival there, that a due attention had been paid to the remonstrances which he had been under a necessity of making to the Governor, in which he had complained of the neglect of the legislature and inhabitants of that island ; and stated, that though eight months had elapsed, since the calamity which it had experienced from the hurricane, which had totally ruined their fortifications, they had not bestowed the least attention on the defence of the colony. All their forts had been suffered to remain in ruins, and their cannon dismounted, with

their muzzles in the sea. The Admiral's letter had its desired effect, roused the inhabitants to a sense of their danger, and recalled to their minds the duty which they owed to their King, and to the parent state. They had accordingly set to work with the greatest alacrity, in rebuilding their forts, remounting their cannon, and in getting the island in such posture of defence, as might effectually put it out of the power of the enemy, to carry it by a *coup de main*. This business redounded much to the honour of the colony, for the greatest part of the money for carrying on the work was raised by subscription; and the inhabitants of Bridgetown had the merit of leading the way. Beside the protection of Barbadoes, Admiral Rodney had another cogent reason for returning to that island. It was, that he might meet two large convoys daily expected to arrive there, the one from Corke, and the other from Great Britain. The Admiral had been at uncommon pains, in ordering the sick of the squadron to be well supplied with fresh provisions and vegetables. This was attended with the most salutary effects; for the sickness gradually abated among the crews, and their recovery was much more rapid than could have been expected.

To prevent the French privateers from picking up any straggling ships of the convoys expected from Europe, he detached Commodore Affleck, on the 16th of June, with four sail of the line, and frigate,\* ordering him to cruise from ten to twenty leagues to windward of Barbadoes, to look out for any ships of the enemy that might fall in his way, and to protect the trade of his Majesty's subjects. The Commodore was likewise instructed to return every fine day within such a distance of Carlisle Bay, as to be able to observe signals made from thence: and if none should be made for his recal, to return to his former station. He brought in the convoy from Corke along with him on the 20th: and on the 28th, the Admiral detached Captain Saxton, with two ships of the line and  
a frigate,

\* Intrepid, Monarch, Alfred, Centaur, and Amazon.



a frigate,† to look out for the convoy expected from England.

La Nymphe frigate, Captain Ford, being on a cruize off Martinico, on the 5th of July, perceived the French Squadron and a large convoy coming out of Fort Royal Bay: and soon after that, saw several of their ships in chace of him. He made off as fast as he could until it was dark; and then tacked and stood towards them, with a view of capturing some of the convoy, that he might be able to give Sir George Rodney an exact account of the enemy's strength and destination. This he had the good fortune to accomplish early in the morning of the 6th, when he took a schooner called the Adelaide, from the master of which he learned, that the fleet was commanded by the Comte de Grasse, that it consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, two ships of fifty guns, three ships armed *en flute*, five frigates, and near two hundred sail of merchant ships, collected from the different French islands; and that it was currently reported, that they were bound to St. Domingo. With this important intelligence, Captain Ford immediately made Sir George Rodney acquainted; who, as soon as he possibly could, after the receipt of it, dispatched the Swallow sloop to New York, and the Vaughan sloop to Jamaica, with letters to the Admirals on these stations, informing them that M. de Grasse had left Martinico, and putting them on their guard. As Sir George Rodney had great reason to believe that the French intended to go and co-operate with their American allies, he gave orders to Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, to hold himself in readiness to proceed to New York with the greatest part of the fleet, and to put himself under the orders of Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves. The Admiral fully intended to have gone himself to North America; but his state of health was such, that he found it necessary to avail himself of his Majesty's permission to return to England for his recovery. For this purpose, he ordered his own ship, the Sandwich, to be surveyed, and she was reported to be in such a bad condition, that she could not proceed to England without being hove down. He was there-

fore obliged to send her to Jamaica, to undergo the repairs necessary for her voyage. The Gibraltar was in such a situation, as rendered it necessary that she should return to England to be refitted. The iron fastenings of her rudder were so corroded by the copper sheathing, that it was in danger of falling off: her great draught of water, which was twenty-seven feet, prevented the Admiral from sending her to New York, as she could not cross the bar at Sandy Hook, and the composition bolts and fastenings, which she so much needed, could be more expeditiously given her in England, than either at Jamaica or Halifax. He therefore determined to hoist his flag on board of her; in consequence of which, Rear-Admiral Drake shifted his flag to the *Princessa*. Having collected the trading ships at the different islands, he dispatched them for Europe, escorted by the *Triumph*, *Panther*, *Boreas*, and two bomb-ketches.

Sir George Rodney sailed for Europe, August 1st, 1781, leaving the command of his Majesty's fleet in the West Indies, during his absence, to Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood. He likewise took with him the *Pegasus* frigate, that if he should find his health recover in going to the northward, he might proceed in her to New York, and there take the command of the squadron on that station. But when he got as far as the latitude of Bermudas, not finding his health sufficiently mended, he dispatched the *Pegasus*, with letters to the Admiral commanding in chief his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, acquainting him, that he might daily expect Sir Samuel Hood, with his Majesty's fleet from the Leeward Islands, at New York.

As soon as Sir Samuel Hood got the squadron repaired at Antigua, and the trade for the island of Jamaica collected, he sailed with fifteen sail of the line, five frigates, and two armed ships. When off Cape Tiberoon in the island of Hispaniola, he dispatched the trade for Jamaica, under escort of the *Torbay*, *Prince William*, and *Sandwich*, the *Hydra* frigate, and *Ranger* armed ship, giving orders to Captain Gidoin, that as soon as he had seen the convoy safe to Port Royal, he should make the  
best

best of his way to New York, with the Torbay and Prince William, for which port he now bent his course, with the remainder of the fleet.

Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan were well aware what an active, intelligent, and enterprising officer the Marquis de Bouillé, the Captain-General of the French Islands, was: and, therefore, before they sailed for England, had put every place under their care in the best posture of defence. They urged the people of St. Christopher's to place the cannon, with which his Majesty out of his parental goodness had furnished them, and which still lay on the beach at Sandy Point, on the fortrefs of Brimstone Hill: and directed all the garrisons to be alert, and on their guard against any surprise. Sir George Rodney particularly ordered, that the island of St. Eustatius should never be without three frigates at least. But alas! these orders had not been properly attended to, by some from whom much was expected: and the Marquis de Bouillé was soon informed, that the Commandant of the British forces at St. Eustatius was so lulled in security, that he resolved to wrest that island from him.

It appears from the account given of the capture of St. Eustatius by M. de Bouillé himself, that this enterprize ought to be placed among the most romantic of military exploits. He surmounted so many obstacles with a handful of men, that nothing but the most culpable negligence in the British Commandant, can account for his success. With him lay all the blame: for he had a garrison of such strength and spirit, that if he had done his duty as a good officer, he must have made the French to smart for their temerity. The Marquis de Bouillé, relying on the intelligence he had received, that the British posts at the back of the island of St. Eustatius were very ill guarded, embarked about fifteen hundred regular troops at St. Pierre's in the island of Martinico, in some large armed sloops, escorted by three frigates and a sloop of war. With these, he put to sea on the 15th of November, giving out that he was going to meet a fleet expected from France. Having  
by



by great perseverance overcome the obstacles of currents and winds, he at last got sight of the island on the 25th, and that same night, or very early the next morning, effected a landing at a place called Jenkin's Bay.

The sloop of war, and the light vessels containing the troops, were ordered to cast anchor : and the frigates were directed to remain under sail, but to come so near, as to be at hand to put on shore what troops they had on board, and to assist with their boats in landing the other corps. The pilots mistook the landing place ; and the first boat which effected a landing, was the one which carried Count Dillon, with fifty of the light-infantry of his regiment (Irish). The surf beat with so great violence against the rocks, that several of the boats were dashed to pieces and the soldiers drowned. M. de Bouillé disembarked with the second boat that reached the shore : and no sooner had the men quitted her, than she was overset. They now discovered their error, and finding a better landing place, got ashore four hundred more men about an hour before day-light ; but almost all of the boats and shallops having been wrecked or much damaged in landing the soldiers, no hopes remained of getting the remainder of the troops on shore, nor was any possibility left for those already on shore to retreat back to their ships. The enemy had therefore no chance to extricate themselves from the disagreeable situation in which they were placed, but that of overcoming the garrison, the number of which, M. de Bouillé well knew, was at least equal, if not superior to that of the troops he was to lead against them. By a strange fatality, the outposts in the interior part of the island, were neither reinforced, nor put on their guard as to the enemy's designs, although it has since appeared, that Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, the Commandant, had received advice that the armament, which M. de Bouillé was preparing, was designed against St. Eustatius. Only two men were posted during the night on Signal-hill. These had retired before day : and, in the valley, were made prisoners by the enemy, then on their march to the town. If they had remained but an hour longer at their post,

which

which it was their duty to have done, the French must have been discovered, and the garrison would have had notice of their approach. After the enemy had effected their landing, they underwent very great toil in ascending a steep craggy mountain, before they could reach a path, by which they could proceed to attack the garrison. The French kept advancing, and got close to the town and fort before they were discovered. Part of the garrison were at exercise, when they were unexpectedly fired at by the enemy, who killed several of them. At this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn was made prisoner: and the French troops dividing, part of them were led against the town, and part against the fort. They entered the fort along with some of the British troops who were making for it, and soon became masters of it. In short, the surprise was complete, and the island most shamefully lost. Along with St. Eustatius fell also the islands of Saba and St. Bartholomew. The enemy found many valuable magazines, and a great sum of money arising from the sales, which ought to have been shipped on board of Sir Samuel Hood's fleet, for the payment of his Majesty's ships and troops in North America. Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn claimed of the French General, the sum of 264,000 livres, about 13,000*l.*, which had been deposited along with the money belonging to the captors, as being his private property. M. de Bouillé assembled the superior officers of the several corps under his command, to inform them of the demand of the British Commandant: and they were unanimously of opinion, that the money ought to be returned to the claimant, which was done accordingly.

Upon taking possession of the island, M. de Bouillé found many bonds which had been given to Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, by persons who stiled themselves British merchants, on being allowed by the agents to retain the property that was seized, as a security for the amount of that property, if the seizures should be condemned to the King. These bonds, the French General ordered to be delivered up to their owners, and they were accordingly cancelled.

On the evening of the day on which the French took the island,

island, M. de Bouillé called a meeting of the principal Dutch inhabitants, to whom he made a speech, in which he assured them, that he retook the island by the order of the King his master, not with a view to extend his Majesty's dominions in those seas, but to relieve them from their distresses and oppressions, by restoring to them their ancient government under the dominion of the States General, for whom he would garrison and defend the island, till the King's troops should be relieved by the troops of their High Mightinesses. He also informed them, that he should for the present, appoint officers in the civil departments from among their ancient inhabitants, to govern them in all respects by their own laws. A large sum of money which had been taken from the Dutch inhabitants, and which had been deposited in the Governor's house, was likewise returned to such of them as could ascertain their right to it.\*

As soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn was exchanged as a prisoner of war, he was brought to a Court-martial, for his neglect of duty while commanding his Majesty's forces at St. Eustatius. The Court assembled at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, and on the 31st of May, 1783, passed the following sentence :

“ THE Court-martial having duly considered and weighed  
 “ the evidence given in support of the first charge against the  
 “ prisoner, Lieutenant-Colonel James Cockburn, with that  
 “ produced in his defence, is of opinion, that he is GUILTY of  
 “ the whole of the said charge : namely, of culpable neglect  
 “ while commanding in chief his Majesty's forces in the island  
 “ of St. Eustatius, in not taking the necessary precautions for  
 “ the defence of the said island, notwithstanding he had re-  
 “ ceived the fullest intelligence of an attack intended by the  
 “ enemy upon the same ; and of having, on the 26th day of  
 “ November, suffered himself to be surprised by an inferior  
 “ body of French troops, which landed on said island without  
 “ opposition ; and did most shamefully abandon and give up  
 “ the garrisons, posts, and troops, which were under his  
 “ command.

“ And

\* See Note 216.



“ And this Court do adjudge, that he, the said Lieutenant-Colonel James Cockburn be therefore cashiered, and declared unworthy of serving his Majesty in any military capacity whatever, and that the same be notified to him publicly, at the head of the 13th and 15th regiments of foot, who were under his command at the time of the said surprise, if that may conveniently be.

“ And the Court doth, for the sake of example, farther adjudge, that the charge of which the prisoner has been so fully convicted, together with the sentence pronounced against him, be declared in public orders, and circulated to every corps in his Majesty’s service.”

The Court afterwards declared, in the most honourable terms, “ that there was not the least shadow of imputation upon the conduct either of Lieutenant Mackenzie or Captain Rogerfon.”

His Majesty confirmed the sentence passed by the Court on Lieutenant-Colonel James Cockburn : but was pleased to order that part of it, whereby the same was to be made publicly known to him at the head of the 13th and 15th regiments of foot, to be dispensed with.

Captain Moses Stowards, commanding the *Mary*, West India ship, mounting twenty-two guns and eighty-three men, was attacked on the 26th of December, on his voyage to the West Indies, by a large Spanish frigate : and after a very warm action, in which his ship had all her top-masts and the head of her fore-mast shot away, her main-top blown up, three shot between wind and water, seven guns dismounted, three men killed and five wounded, she obliged the enemy to sheer off very much damaged. From her loss of masts, the *Mary* was unable to pursue her opponent. During the action she was twice set on fire, by the wadding of the enemy’s guns striking the wreck of the masts and sails which lay on the deck : but by the activity of Captain Stowards and his officers, the fire was soon extinguished. Scarcely had they been able to patch up the damages which the *Mary* had sustained, when they were

were attacked by the *Pilgrim*, a rebel privateer belonging to Salem, of twenty guns and two hundred men. A desperate action immediately commenced, in which the *Mary*, after being completely disabled, and having her gallant Captain killed, and one half of her crew killed or wounded, was forced to strike. The next day, when more than a hundred leagues from any land, the enemy had the inhumanity, to put such of the officers and crew of the *Mary* as they had left on board of her into a large boat, with a scanty allowance of provisions and water, and a broken compass. It then blew fresh; but, after tossing about for five days, they had the good fortune to arrive at St. Christopher's.

#### WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

THE command of the fleet on this station continued vested in Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker,\* who had under him, in the beginning of the season, Rear-Admiral Rowley; and towards the close of the year, Rear-Admiral Graves. The occurrences here, during this campaign, are neither very important or numerous. Major-General Campbell had succeeded Sir John Dalling, Baronet, as Governor of Jamaica: and he had exerted himself, in putting both the fortifications of the island and its militia on so respectable a footing, that if the enemies of Great Britain had presumed to put their threats in execution, they would have found the conquest of it a most difficult task. Sir Peter Parker sent out cruizers, which were pretty successful against the enemy. He sent home the trade for Europe, under the escort of a strong squadron, commanded by Captain Fanshaw.† This fleet, most fortunately, fell in with a frigate sent on purpose to meet it; and which carried orders to Captain Fanshaw, to conduct his convoy round the north of Scotland to Leith Road in the Frith of Forth, and there to wait for farther

\* See Note 217.

† Egmont, Grafton, and Suffolk, of seventy-four; Trident of sixty-four; Bristol of fifty; and Endymion of forty-four guns.

farther orders. This precaution was taken, in consequence of the combined fleets of France and Spain being cruising in the chops of the British Channel, probably with a view of intercepting the homeward-bound West India trade: and it proved the means of saving not the fleet only, but also a great number of the seamen's lives; for the crews both of the King's and the merchant ships were very sickly when they arrived at their destination; and most of the latter very short of provisions. In Leith Road, they found a squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, with a large fleet of merchant ships, waiting a fair wind to proceed to the Baltic. The whole, when joined by the fleet from the West Indies, amounted to fourteen sail of the line, eight or ten frigates, and near five hundred sail of merchant ships and vessels. The plenty of vegetables and wholesome viands, with which the fleet were immediately supplied, afforded them a most seasonable relief. The sick were landed as soon as possible, and many of them were sent to the hospital; but by far the greatest number of them were dispersed in the neighbouring towns and villages along the coast. In these, they experienced the kindest treatment from the inhabitants; almost all of whom having many of their nearest kindred on board of his Majesty's navy, exerted themselves in favour of the convalescent sailors, in hopes that their connections would experience a like treatment, if they should ever stand in need of it. By this humane attention, the men recovered so speedily, that most of them rejoined their ships before they sailed from Leith Road. While the West India convoy was on its voyage to Europe, a strange sail was discovered; on which Captain Fanshawe made the *Endymion's* signal to chase: and after a running action of two hours continuance the ship struck. She proved to be the *Marquis de la Fayette*, of twelve hundred tons, mounting forty guns, (pierced for sixty) and carrying two hundred men. She was laden with arms and cloathing, on account of the American Congress, and bound for Philadelphia.

A small expedition was undertaken from the island of Rattan, against



against St. Pedro Sualo, a village in the Gulph of Dolce. It was conducted by Captain George Brown of the 60th regiment, having with him a few regular troops, Major Lowrie's corps of Baymen, and some other irregulars. They sailed from Rattan in the beginning of June. The design of this exploit was, to endeavour to take St. Pedro by surprise; as they had received information, that a great quantity of treasure, military stores, arms, and ammunition, were deposited there. They would probably have succeeded in the attempt, as they landed without being observed, and immediately began their march; but unfortunately, after they had proceeded a considerable way up the country, their only guide was killed, and a prisoner whom they had taken made his escape. He gave the alarm; and by this means, the Spaniards had time, either to conceal or convey the treasure to a place of safety, before the adventurers could reach the village. Having at last reached the village, and found it deserted by the inhabitants, they set it on fire, and along with it, entirely destroyed four hundred barrels of gunpowder, near five thousand stand of small arms quite new, and five hundred complete sets of horse furniture; several stores of rich merchandize, others containing flour, and one in particular, in which were eight hundred serons of indigo. The whole being consumed, they returned to their vessels, and sailed back to Rattan, having lost only two men.

On the 5th of June, his Majesty's ship *Ulysses*, commanded by Captain Thomas, had an engagement in the night with the *Surveillante*, a French frigate of forty guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Villeneuve Cillant. In the course of the action, both ships were considerably damaged; but the enemy having made off, was out of sight before morning. Captain Thomas, Lieutenant Woolridge, and Mr. Richards, the master, were wounded. On the 21st of July, the *Southampton*, Captain William Affleck, had an action, which lasted upwards of two hours, with the French frigate *La Fée* of thirty-two guns, commanded by M. Saint Marfault, who was killed. After losing several men, the enemy set all the sail they could crowd,

crowd, and escaped ; the Southampton being so much damaged in her rigging, that she could not overtake them.

Rear-Admiral Graves took, on his voyage from New York to Jamaica, a French ship called the *Imperieux*, of eight hundred tons, thirty-eight guns, and three hundred and nineteen men. She was bound from Cadiz for Philadelphia, and laden with salt, some small arms, cannon, merchant goods, and medicines. The *Pelican*, Captain Collingwood, took a French privateer called *Le Cerf*, of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty men, from Aux Cayes. She had been out only two days, during which time she had taken the *Blandford*, from Glasgow, and sent her for that port. Though the *Blandford* mounted only twelve guns, and had a crew of only thirty men, she fought the *Cerf* upwards of three hours. This so enraged the Frenchmen, that after the vessel struck, several of the privateer's crew rushed upon her Captain in his cabin, and cut him in the most inhuman manner. Her Captain was on board of the *Cerf* when she was taken.

His Majesty's ship *Resource* of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Rowley, being sent to cruize off Cape Blaise, arrived at her station on the 19th of April about noon: and next day at two in the afternoon, a large sail was perceived, bearing down on her. The *Resource* was then standing to the S. S. W. ; but tacked and made the private signal. As the ship did not answer it, but kept bearing down, Captain Rowley beat to quarters, made every preparation for action, and soon hoisted his colours. About an hour afterwards the strange ship hoisted French colours, and half an hour after four began to engage. The *Resource* did the same; and soon came to close action, which continued till six o'clock, when the enemy struck. She proved to be the *Unicorn* frigate of twenty nine pounders, eight carronades, twelve pounders, and one hundred and eighty-one men, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Ture: she had eight men killed and thirty wounded in the action. The *Resource* had fifteen men killed and thirty wounded. Among the former was Mr. High, the gunner; and among

among the latter, Mr. Edwards, the Second Lieutenant. Captain Rowley was much pleased with the behaviour of Mr. Hulke, his First Lieutenant; and indeed with that of all the rest of the officers and ship's company, which he said was such as did them the greatest honour. Nor did he forget to mention, the signal services which he received during the action, from Major Alexander Campbell, the officers and men of the Loyal American Rangers, and also the artillerymen, then on board, whose good conduct entitled them to every commendation he could give. The Unicorn formerly belonged to his Majesty, but had been captured by the French last year on this station. She was purchased by Government, and once more added to the Royal Navy.

The Ramillies, Captain Cowling, and Ulysses, Captain Dumaresq, took the ship Le Franklin of twenty-eight guns. She was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the Nestor.

There was a violent storm at Jamaica, on the 2d and 3d of August, which did great damage to the houses and plantations, as also to the shipping. Several vessels were wrecked and their crews drowned; many were dismasted, others drove ashore and greatly damaged. One of his Majesty's ships, the Pelican, Captain Collingwood, being off Morant Keys, was unfortunately wrecked on the 2d of August, but providentially her crew were saved. The Southampton was drove on a reef of rocks; but immediate assistance being sent, she was got off again, after receiving considerable damage. The Ulysses was dismasted, but was got into Lucia harbour, with the help of jury masts.

## NORTH AMERICA.

SIR HENRY CLINTON remained Commander in Chief of his Majesty's land-forces in North America, and had his headquarters at New York.\* Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, with a considerable body of troops, was endeavouring to clear the

\* See Note 218.



the southern provinces of the American forces, and was powerfully assisted in his operations by that able officer Lord Rawdon. Major-General Leslie, who had made a descent in Virginia with a corps under his command, with a view of seconding Earl Cornwallis, had been directed to proceed to Charlestown in South Carolina: and, on his arrival there, he found orders from his Lordship, to follow him with such troops as could be spared from the defence of that province. The descent on Virginia was found to be attended with very beneficial consequences to his Majesty's arms. It was resolved, therefore, to repeat it: and accordingly a corps under the command of Brigadier-General Arnold, escorted by a small squadron under Captain Symonds of the *Charon*, had entered the Chesapeak in the end of December, 1780, with the design of establishing a post at Portsmouth. Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station:\* and the Admiral with the large ships was moored in Gardiner's Island harbour, at the west end of Long Island, for the purpose of watching the motions of the French squadron in Newport harbour, Rhode Island.

Such was the position of affairs at the end of last campaign. As the operations in Virginia are first in point of time, with these we shall begin our narrative. The corps under Brigadier-General Arnold was about sixteen hundred and fifty men strong. He was assisted by two most excellent officers, Lieutenant-Colonels Thomas Dundas and Simcoe. On the 31st of January, when he arrived in the Chesapeak, he put his troops on board small vessels† and boats: and, under the escort of the *Hope* and *Swift* armed vessels, proceeded up James's river. In the evening of the 3d of February, he anchored at Flour de Hundred, about half a mile from Hood's fort, which kept up a heavy fire upon him, from a battery of one twenty-four and three eighteen pounders, and an eight inch howitzer, by which, however, only one man was killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe

O. 2 *of the British fleet* landed

\* See Note 219.

† Most of which they captured on their arrival in the Chesapeak.

landed with two hundred and fifty men; and, without opposition, took possession of the battery, spiked up the guns, which were iron, and brought off the howitzer, which was brass. On the 4th, the fleet proceeded to Westover, about one hundred and forty miles from the Capes of Virginia. The troops were immediately landed there, and marched to Richmond, which they reached without meeting with any molestation. The militia that had been collected, everywhere fled on their approach. From Richmond, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe marched with a detachment to Westham, where he burned and destroyed one of the finest founderies for cannon in America, and a great number of cannon, stores, and articles of various kinds.\* At Richmond were found large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail cloth, and merchandize, all of which, that was public property, was effectually destroyed.

The public stores, said to be deposited at Petersburg, being found on inquiry not worth attention, the ships only were sent up within six miles of that place, from which they brought off some vessels. Previous to their arrival, the enemy had sunk several vessels to prevent their falling into their hands. This service being effected, the troops left Richmond, marched back accompanied with a train of five very fine brass field-pieces, (six pounders) which they had taken, and arrived at Westover on the 7th; having performed in three days, a march of sixty-six miles, through very heavy roads and excessive rains, in an enemy's country, in which they were sometimes retarded for several hours by the destruction of bridges, and other obstructions.

On the 8th, General Arnold detached Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with forty-two cavalry, to Charles-city Court-house, nine miles from Richmond; where, with his usual address and intrepidity, he surprised and defeated about two hundred of the enemy's cavalry and infantry, killing about twenty, and making eight prisoners. This he accomplished with the loss of only one man killed and three wounded. On this occasion,

as well as on every other, Captain Shanks of the Queen's Rangers behaved with great bravery.

On the 9th, the troops which had been in the missing transports, joined General Arnold; and on the 10th, the whole embarked and fell down the river to Flour de Hundred, where the General received information, that there was a corps of the enemy's troops in that vicinity, consisting of six or eight hundred men, under the command of Baron Steuben. He immediately disembarked a part of his troops, and sent Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, with three hundred men, about two miles distance, to the cross roads, where the enemy was posted. Captain Hatch, who commanded the van guard, drove in the enemy's piquet on the main body: on which the rebels began a very heavy fire, which killed and wounded several of the King's troops. Among the latter were Captain Hatch and some other officers; whose good conduct in this conflict did them great honour. Colonel Simcoe then charged the enemy with such vigour, that they fled on all sides, and were pursued for two miles; but the darkness of the night, the badness of the roads, and a heavy shower of rain falling about the time, obliged him to recal his troops from the pursuit, and to return to his boats, bringing along with him three pieces of heavy cannon, and some field-pieces, with a quantity of stores, which he had taken. These were put on board the transports: and at four in the morning of the 11th, the troops were re-embarked, and fell down the river, landing occasionally at different places, for the purpose of taking or destroying stores. On the 14th, the fleet anchored at Harding's ferry, and the troops, horses, and artillery, were landed. On the 15th, the army marched to Smithfield on Pagan creek, seventeen miles from Portsmouth, where a quantity of provisions had been collected.

On the 16th, a detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, was marched to Mackay's Mills, three miles from Smithfield, in order to dislodge about two hundred of the enemy who had taken post there; but they fled on the approach of the King's troops. Major Gordon of the 80th re-



giment was ferried over the creek with a detachment, in order to cut off their retreat; but they took to the woods and escaped. On the 17th, the army marched to Sleepy-hole on Nan-simond river, and Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe was detached across with two hundred men. On the 18th, at two o'clock in the morning, the army began to cross the ferry, and were all over by eleven, after which they marched fifteen miles. General Arnold, when he had got within five miles of Portsmouth, detached Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe thither with a party. The Colonel reached that town early on the 19th, in time to prevent it from being burned by the enemy, as they threatened: and the whole army marched into the place on the 20th. The rapid success of General Arnold in Virginia, and his establishing a post at Portsmouth, gave a very serious alarm to General Washington: but as the corps there was supported only by a small squadron, he proposed to the Admiral who commanded the French fleet at Rhode Island, a plan for cutting off General Arnold, and the detachment under his command. Admiral Arbuthnot, wishing to reconnoitre the position of the French fleet at Newport, put to sea with his squadron for that purpose. This proved a most unfortunate measure, as might have been foreseen from the season of the year. He was overtaken by a severe storm, in which the Bedford was dismasted, and the Culloden entirely wrecked.\* The rest of the squadron luckily got out to sea, by which means, they were saved from destruction; and in a few days they all returned to Gardiner's Bay in Long Island, except the America, which did not rejoin them for near a week afterwards. The news of this disaster soon reached the ears of General Washington; and it served to make him more importunate with the French Admiral to sail for the Chesapeake, whether the General had detached the Marquis de la Fayette, with fifteen hundred of his best troops.

These

\* The Captain of the Culloden and the pilot were both tried for the loss of the ship, and honourably acquitted. The latter complained much, that the men did not turn out when ordered; otherwise, he said, the ship might have been saved.

These were all that he could in prudence spare from his own army, to join the Generals Baron Steuben, Nelson, Weedon; and Muhlenberg, who were employed in assembling the militia of Virginia.

It fortunately happened, that that province was destitute of arms, and almost every thing else necessary for its own defence, and that it was therefore unable to join in warlike operations. General Washington now warmly urged the Count de Rochambeau, and Chevalier d'Estouches, the French Admiral, to send the whole of their fleet, and a strong detachment of their troops to the Chesapeake; and represented the vast importance of such a measure to the American cause, at a time rendered critical by the state of the British fleet, which was so completely disabled, that no opposition could be expected from it. But the disaster which had happened to Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron, made M. d'Estouches extremely cautious, not to involve the ships under his command in a similar misfortune: and all that the Comte de Rochambeau and he would condescend to detach at present, was one ship of sixty-four guns,† and two frigates. They sailed from Newport on the 9th of February, with orders to go to the Chesapeake, and to attempt the destruction of the British vessels there, and also of the frigates that protected them. A report was spread with great confidence, that a blow was meditated by the conjunct forces of the French and their allies, against the British squadron while in its disabled state at Gardiner's Bay: and Admiral Arbuthnot hearing of this, and not at all liking his situation, went in person to New York, to consult with Sir Henry Clinton, on the expediency of sending a land force to fortify Gardiner's harbour, for the better protection of the fleet. During his absence, Rear-Admiral Graves placed the line of battle ships in that harbour in such a position, that no squadron which the enemy could have brought against it, would have been able to have forced an entrance into it. No sooner did Admiral Arbuthnot learn, that the French had sent a force to the southward,

0.4 *more than*

† L'Eveillé of 64 guns, commanded by M. de Tilly.

than he detached the Charlestown frigate to Carolina, to order the Chatham, with the Roebuck, Romulus, and some frigates, to proceed to Virginia, and to endeavour to cut off their return. But from the short stay that the enemy made there, this plan was rendered abortive: and in consequence of orders of a prior date to the above, for the Romulus to proceed up the Chesapeake to relieve the Charon, that ship unfortunately fell in with the enemy's fleet off the Capes of Virginia, on their return to Rhode Island from the Chesapeake, and was taken. On this expedition, the enemy took ten prizes, and returned to Newport on the 25th of February.

The refitting of the fleet now became the principal object with the Admiral; for until this was accomplished, he could neither venture to attack the French squadron, counteract their operations with any effect, or act in conjunction with his Majesty's land-forces. In this arduous work, he was greatly assisted by Rear-Admiral Graves. The Bedford remained quite disabled; but the lower masts having been got out of the Culoden, and brought into Gardiner's Bay, the Bedford was hauled alongside of the London, and on the 5th of April got in her masts; and such was the expedition used, that she was completely equipped and ready for sea by the 9th.

When the French squadron made their appearance in the Chesapeake, General Arnold did not feel his situation quite easy at Richmond, and therefore took every means in his power to secure his post. Possessing very considerable resources within himself, he caused build flat-boats of a most excellent construction, into which he resolved to embark his army; and if he should be driven to that necessity, he was determined by means of these, to retreat through among the islands and shoals of the Chesapeake, and endeavour to regain the harbour of New York. He found means to let Sir Henry Clinton know the state of affairs in Virginia, who, resolving to relieve him to the utmost of his power, gave orders for a body of two thousand men, consisting mostly of the light troops of his army, to hold themselves in readiness to embark, under the command of Major-General



General Phillips, and to proceed to his assistance, as soon as the Admiral should order a proper escort for them.

In the mean time, General Washington became quite impatient, when he learned that the French ships had returned to Newport, without so much as attempting to do any thing in the Chesapeake. He therefore repaired to Newport, and accompanied by the Count de Rochambeau, went, on the 6th of March, on board of the Chevalier d'Estouches's ship; where it was concerted, that considering the present disabled state of the British fleet at Gardiner's Bay, the Chevalier d'Estouches should sail immediately, and that a detachment from the army, under the Baron de Viomesnil, should embark on board the squadron. Every exertion was used by the French to hasten the departure of their fleet; but it was the 8th in the evening, before they sailed from Newport. Advice of this important movement was conveyed immediately to Admiral Arbuthnot, and it reached him the 10th. He had fortunately on the 9th, ordered his squadron to fall down to the entrance of Gardiner's Bay: and here it was, that he received the news of the French fleet sailing from Newport, as also letters from Sir Henry Clinton confirming that news, and informing him, that General Washington was sending considerable reinforcements to the southward. The Admiral, in consequence of this intelligence, sent orders to Captain Hudson, the senior Captain of the navy at New York, that if Sir Henry Clinton should judge it necessary to send troops to the southward, he should escort them with such ships as he had then with him.

Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot sailed with his squadron early on the 10th,\* and proceeded to the southward with a press of sail, in pursuit of the enemy. On the 13th, when in lat.  $39^{\circ} 30'$  N., within a few leagues of the coast, the Admiral spoke a vessel from London to New York; and was informed by her, that she had seen the French squadron on the preceding day, about a degree to the southward, and that it then consisted of eight sail of large ships, three frigates, and a tender. This intelligence

\* See Note 227.

intelligence raised the spirits of the British tars. The Admiral steered the course, by which he thought it most likely that he should fall in with them: and that same evening the wind increased to a gale from the N. W.; this was extremely favourable to the pursuit, and made the Vice-Admiral entertain hopes, that he would be able to overtake the enemy's squadron before they entered the Chesapeake; or, if practicable, to attack them whilst at anchor there. On the 16th, the *Iris* frigate, at six in the morning, made the signal for discovering five strange sail to the N. N. E.; and soon after came within hail and informed the Vice-Admiral, that they were large ships and steering for the Capes of Virginia, and supposed them to be only about a league distant: on which, the Vice-Admiral prepared his squadron for battle, by making the signal for a line of battle ahead a cable's length asunder, on a wind, which was then fresh; and not doubting but the ships seen were the French squadron, he made towards them with a press of sail. At this time Cape Henry bore S. W. by W., distant about fourteen leagues, the wind at west, the enemy's fleet bearing E. N. E., the weather so hazy that the line of the British line could scarcely be discerned. About eight o'clock, the wind veered to N. W. by W., and soon after to N. by W., by which means the enemy obtained the weather-gage; and about this time several of their ships were discovered to windward, manœuvring to form their line. At half an hour after eight, the *Guadaloupe* frigate ranged under the Vice-Admiral's lee, and brought the same intelligence that the *Iris* had given: he ordered her to make sail and to keep sight of the enemy. The haze appearing to thicken, the Vice-Admiral ordered the *Iris* by signal to make sail ahead and keep sight of the enemy. The British line was by this time completed, formed, and close hauled on the larboard tack. The headmost ships of the enemy's squadron, at twenty minutes after nine, tacked; as did the rest in succession, and formed their line on the starboard tack.† At thirty-five minutes after nine, the weather being very squally, the

† See Note 222.

the Vice-Admiral made the signal for his squadron to form a line of battle ahead, at two cables length afunder; and at a quarter after ten, he made the signal for the squadron to tack, the headmost and weathernmost ship first, and gain the wind of the enemy. A little before eleven o'clock, the headmost ship of the French line tacked; but one of their ships having missed stays, the rest wore, and formed their line on the larboard tack. At forty minutes after eleven, Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot made the signal for his squadron to form the line at a cable's length afunder; and at twelve o'clock, there being a prospect of the van of the British line reaching the enemy, he made the signal for the squadron to tack, the van first, and for the van ship continuing to lead on the other tack. At one o'clock, the enemy's squadron, consisting of eight two-decked ships, having completed their line of battle ahead, but being apprehensive of the danger and inconvenience of engaging to windward, from the high sea and the weather squally, the French Admiral about half an hour after one o'clock, made the signal for his squadron to wear, and form their line to the leeward of the British line.

At two o'clock, the van of the British squadron wore in a line, and in a few minutes the *Robust*, which was the leading ship, bore down in the most gallant manner and was warmly engaged with the enemy's van: the van and centre of the British squadron were all engaged by half past two o'clock, and by three o'clock the French line was broke; their ships began soon to wear and to form their line again, with their heads to the south-east. At twenty minutes after three, Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot made the signal for his squadron to wear and stand after them; but by that time, the *Robust*, *Prudent*, and *Europe*, which were the headmost ships, and had received the most of the enemy's fire at their rigging as they bore down to engage, were so entirely disabled, and the *London's* main-top-sail-yard being carried away, (the two first unmanageable, lying with their heads from the enemy,) so as to be incapable of pursuit, and of following up the advantage gained, and obtaining  
a decisive



a decisive victory. At half an hour after four o'clock, the haze came on so very thick, as entirely to intercept the enemy's fleet from view. The Vice-Admiral sent frigates to observe their motions, and proceeded with his squadron to the Chesapeake, and anchored next day in Lynn-haven Bay, to get his crippled ships repaired.

This indecisive battle did not last quite an hour, and the manner in which it was conducted on the part of the British Commander was very severely censured; for, instead of making his ships observe a particular distance from each other, and for keeping the signal for the line abroad all the while the action lasted, it was the general opinion, that if he had made the signal for a close engagement, and for each ship to bear down and engage the ship opposite to her in the enemy's line, little doubt was entertained that a most complete victory would have been obtained. The frigates, sent to look after the enemy's squadron, could never obtain either sight or intelligence of them: and the French Admiral, deeming himself fortunate in the escape he had made, gave up all thoughts of opposing the British arms in Virginia, and steered to the northward with a press of sail, and regained his former moorings at Newport in Rhode Island.

In the evening of the 18th, they anchored in Lynn-haven Bay. The loss of men sustained by the enemy must have been very considerable, as their ships were crowded with troops, and as they directed their fire principally at the rigging of the British ships, while they, on the contrary, directed theirs at the hulls of their opponents. Soon after this action, the command of the French fleet was conferred on the Count de Barras, who was sent from France to replace M. de Ternay, who died at Newport in November, 1780.

Sir Henry Clinton, having heard nothing of Admiral Arbuthnot since he sailed with the fleet from Gardiner's Bay, became extremely anxious about the fate of General Arnold, and the corps under his command in Virginia. He therefore had a corps of two thousand men embarked, under the command

mand of Major-General Phillips, and ready to proceed to sea as soon as the wind should become fair. He regretted that he could not send more men, but was prevented from doing this by the want of transports, General Arnold having detained those which carried his troops to the Chesapeake. The wind at last proving favourable, General Phillips and his corps put to sea on the 20th of March, and were escorted by a squadron commanded by Captain Hudson.† They reached Lynn-haven Bay on the 26th, and proceeded immediately to Portsmouth, where they formed a junction with Brigadier-General Arnold.

The troops having been landed and properly refreshed, General Phillips lost no time in putting his orders in execution, after he had gained intelligence of the enemy's strength and position. Having made all the necessary arrangements, he embarked the light-infantry, part of the 76th and 80th regiments, the Queen's Rangers, Yagers, and American Legion, on the 18th of April; and fell down the river to Hampton road. On the 19th, he proceeded up James's river to Barwell's ferry. On the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, with the light-infantry, proceeded up the Chickahomany in boats; Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe with a detachment marched to York; Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas with another detachment landed at the mouth of the Chickahomany; and the General, accompanied by Brigadier-General Arnold, landed with part of the army at Williamsburgh, when about five hundred of the enemy's militia, who were posted there, retired on the approach of the King's troops. The militia which the enemy had posted at York, crossed the river before the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, who made a few prisoners, spiked and destroyed some cannon, and the next day rejoined General Phillips at Williamsburgh.

On the 22d, General Phillips marched the troops with him to Chickahomany: and, about five miles from the mouth of the river, was met by Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and his detachment.

† Ambuscade, Chatham, Orpheus, Savage, Halifax, Bonetta, and Vulcan fire-ship.

tachment. In the evening, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery, along with the General, were embarked: and next morning were joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie with the light-infantry, who had been ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany, and had destroyed several armed ships, the ship-yards belonging to the rebel Congress, warehouses, &c.

On the 23d, at ten o'clock, the fleet unmoored, and proceeded up James's river, within four miles of Westover, where they came to an anchor: and on the 24th, at eleven o'clock, they once more got under way, and run up to City Point, where the General disembarked the troops at six in the evening. On the 25th, at ten o'clock, General Phillips put the troops in motion for Petersburg, and reached that place about five in the evening. When within a mile of the town, the troops met some opposition from a body of militia under Brigadier-General Muhlenberg, supposed to be about a thousand men; but they were attacked with so much vigour, that they soon gave way, and were obliged to retire by the bridge, with the loss of one hundred men killed and wounded. In order to prevent a pursuit, the enemy pulled up the bridge as soon as they had passed it, and thereby saved the remainder of their corps from destruction. The loss of the British on this occasion was one man killed and ten wounded. On the 26th, the troops were employed in destroying four thousand hogsheads of tobacco, one ship on the stocks, and a number of small vessels in the river.

On the 27th, Major-General Phillips, accompanied with the light-infantry, part of the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers, and part of the Yagers, marched to Chesterfield Court-house, where they burned a range of barracks capable of containing two thousand men, and three hundred barrels of flour, &c. At the same time, Brigadier-General Arnold, with the 76th and 80th regiments, Queen's Rangers, part of the Yagers, and American Legion, was detached to Osborn's, where he arrived about noon. Finding that the enemy had a very considerable force of ships, four miles above Osborn's, drawn up in a line  
to



to oppose the King's troops, he sent a flag of truce to the Commodore, proposing to treat with him for a surrender of his fleet: but to this he would not consent, returning for answer, "That he was determined to defend himself to the last extremity." General Arnold, therefore, immediately ordered down two six and two three pounders, brass field-pieces, to a bank of the river nearly level with the water, and within one hundred yards of the Tempest, a twenty gun state-ship, which began directly to cannonade the Kings troops, as did the Renown of twenty-six guns, the Jefferson, a state-brigantine of fourteen guns, and several other smaller armed ships and vessels; while a body of between two and three hundred militia, also kept up upon them a heavy fire of musquetry across the river. Notwithstanding this formidable force, the effect of the fire from the British artillery, directed by Captain Fage and Lieutenant Rogers, was such, that the ships were soon obliged to strike their colours, and the militia were driven from the opposite shore. The want of boats on the part of the British, and the wind blowing hard, were circumstances favourable to the enemy: for by these means, the General was prevented from boarding and securing his prizes, and the American seamen availed themselves of these advantages, by effecting their escape on shore. Before they quitted their ships, however, they scuttled some of them, and set fire to others, which were consumed: so that of this fleet, only two ships, three brigs, five sloops, and two schooners loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were taken. Four ships, five brigs, and a number of small vessels were burnt or sunk. On board of this fleet, none of which escaped being taken or destroyed, there were about two thousand hogheads of tobacco, &c. &c. Fortunately, not a man of the King's troops was hurt; but the loss of men on the part of the enemy must have been very considerable, as they were quite exposed to the well directed fire of the British artillery. Major-General Phillips, suspecting that General Arnold had met with more opposition than was at first apprehended, and fearing that he might be overpowered, hastened

hastened to his assistance, and joined him with the light-infantry about five in the evening.

On the 28th, the troops remained at Osborn's waiting for boats from the fleet; and part of them were employed in securing the prizes, and conveying them to Osborn's as a place of safety. The boats arrived on the 29th, and General Phillips immediately put the troops in motion. He marched at the head of the main body, while Brigadier-General Arnold proceeded up the river with a detachment in boats, and met him between Cary's Mills and Warwick.

On the 30th, the troops marched to Manchester, and destroyed twelve hundred hogheads of tobacco. The Marquis de la Fayette, who, on the preceding day, arrived with his army at Richmond, opposite to Manchester, and was joined by the militia from Petersburg and Williamsburgh, was a spectator of the conflagration, without giving any molestation to the King's troops, or having it in his power to prevent it. In the evening, the troops returned to Warwick, where they destroyed a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour; in the burning of which, Colonel Cary's fine mills took fire and were consumed. Several warehouses, containing one hundred and fifty hogheads of tobacco; a large ship, a brigantine afloat, and three vessels on the stocks; a large range of ropewalks and storehouses; and some tan and bark houses, full of hides and bark, were also completely destroyed.

On the 1st of May, the army marched to Osborn's, and were employed in dispatching the prizes and boats down the river: and in the evening, they marched to Bermuda Hundred, opposite to City Point. Here General Phillips was unfortunately seized with a fever, which deprived the army of his abilities, and was a great loss to the public service. On the 2d, the troops embarked, and next day fell down the river to Westover. On the 4th, they proceeded down to Toppahanock. On the 5th and 6th, part of the fleet fell down to Hog island. On the 7th, in consequence of a letter from Earl Cornwallis to General Phillips, orders were given for the fleet  
to

to return up the river again, and they arrived at Brandon about five in the evening; and although it blew a strong gale, yet most of the infantry and cavalry were disembarked that night. On the 8th, the debarkation was completed. As General Phillips continued so ill as to be unable to travel on horseback, a post chaise was procured for him: and on the 9th, the light-infantry, and part of the Queen's Rangers, were ordered, under the escort of the Spitfire and Formidable galleys, to proceed to City Point, and to land there. The rest of the army were put in motion for Petersburg, where they arrived late in the night, having marched that day near thirty miles. When the British troops left Bermuda Hundred and proceeded down the river, the Marquis de la Fayette with his army immediately moved towards Williamsburgh: and making forced marches, had crossed the Chickahomany at Longbridge, when the British fleet returned to Brandon. This retrograde motion disconcerted him very much, and obliged him to return as rapidly by forced marches to Osborn's, which he reached on the 8th, and was preparing to cross the river to Petersburg, when General Phillips with his army arrived there. This was so little expected by the enemy, that the King's troops surprised and made prisoners two Majors, (one of them aid-de-camp to Baron Steuben, the other to General Smallwood;) one Captain, three Lieutenants of dragoons, two Lieutenants of infantry, a Commissary, and a Surgeon. Some of these gentlemen arrived only two hours before the British troops, with an intention of collecting boats for the Marquis, to convey his army across the river. Unfortunately for his country, General Phillips's disorder proved too strong for the power of art to remove, and he breathed his last on the 13th of May. In him his King and the nation lost a most excellent officer. He was succeeded in his command by Brigadier-General Arnold.

We must now interrupt our narrative of the operations in Virginia, and proceed to give a detail of those carried on in the province of West Florida. The success of the Spaniards during the last campaign, in subduing, in the western parts of



this colony, the British posts at Baton Rouge and Fort Panmure on the river Mississippi, and at Mobile on the Gulph of Mexico, where they made Captain Durnford, the chief engineer, a prisoner, greatly encouraged them to make an attempt this season to conquer the eastern part. On this subject, Don Bernard de Galvez, the Captain-General of the Spanish colony of Louisiana, an officer of very great abilities, had made strong representations to his Catholic Majesty: and, to ensure success to his plan of operations, had requested a reinforcement of troops, to join those already under his command. Having great reason to think that his request would be granted, he was very active in making every preparation in his power for the enterprize, that his forces might be ready to act, in conjunction with such troops as should be sent him from Spain. The command of his Majesty's forces in the province of West Florida, was intrusted to Major-General John Campbell, and consisted of detachments from various corps, viz. from the 16th and 60th regiments of British infantry, the regiment of Waldeck, (Germans) the Maryland and Pensylvanian Loyalists, two provincial corps, a small detachment of the royal regiment of artillery, some of the inhabitants that chose to take arms, and a few negroes. With this small body of men, he took post at Pensacola, the seat of government and the only place of consequence in the province, remaining under his Majesty's dominion. Being early informed of the intentions of the Spaniards, and of the preparations making by Don Bernard de Galvez, he exerted himself to the utmost, in taking every precaution in his power, to repel the attack with which he was threatened, by strengthening the fortifications, and adding new works to Fort George. In these operations, he severely felt the loss of Captain Durnford's assistance.

In order to hasten the arrival of his promised reinforcements, Don Bernard de Galvez sailed from New Orleans to the Havana; leaving orders with Don Joseph Espeleta, the Governor of Mobile, to be in readiness to join with the troops he had collected, immediately on his return. Don Galvez, on his arrival

arrival at the Havannah, was much disappointed, by learning that there had been a very great mortality among the soldiers and sailors lately arrived from Europe, as it was on them that he had placed his chief hope of success. It afforded him, however, some consolation to find, that as soon as orders had arrived from Madrid, for giving him every assistance in his plan of reducing Pensacola, Don Joseph Solano, who, in that place, commanded the fleet of Spain, had his ships refitted with all possible dispatch, and that the Governor had orders to support him with all the troops he could spare. Their good allies the French had been requested to lend their assistance in this enterprise, and in consequence of that request, the Chevalier de Monteil, with four sail of the line from Cape François, had repaired to the Havannah; but on his voyage thither, had encountered a severe storm, by which some of his ships had been dismasted. These were not completely refitted, on the 23d of February, when Don Solano, with twelve sail of the line, accompanied by Don Galvez and the troops in transports, sailed from the Havannah for Pensacola. On the following day, however, M. de Monteil and his Squadron joined them. On the 25th, it began to blow very strong; and by midnight, the gale increased to such a violent storm, that before morning the fleet was very much dispersed. At day-break the weather became more moderate; but such of the ships as were in sight, appeared to have suffered considerably, particularly those of the line, four of which were dismasted, and other four were missing. They had received so much damage in the gale, and were so long in regaining the Havannah, that very great apprehensions were entertained for their safety. Don Solano made the signal for all the Captains to come on board his ship: and, by the reports which they made of the state of their respective ships, he found that they were so much crippled, as to render it absolutely necessary for them to return to the Havannah, to repair the damages they had sustained. On re-entering that port, he was so fortunate as to find four ships newly arrived from Spain, with naval stores of all sorts.

These afforded his fleet a most seasonable supply : but before it could again be put in a condition for going to sea, a considerable time must elapse. This gave Don Galvez great uneasiness : for, dreading that an account of the disaster that had befallen the Spanish fleet would speedily reach Jamaica, he was apprehensive, that such reinforcements would, in consequence of that event, be sent to General Campbell at Pensacola, as might defeat all his plans for reducing that place. It was therefore resolved, to send off Don Galvez with the troops, amounting to five hundred cavalry and five thousand infantry, escorted by five ships of war that had sustained the least damage in the storm, and by some frigates, the command of which was given to Don Joseph Calvo. This fleet accordingly put to sea on the 1st of March, on the 9th of that month arrived off the entrance of the harbour of Pensacola, and in the course of that night, Don Galvez made good his landing on the island of Santa Rosa. On the 10th, he was employed in landing tents, ammunition, and provisions. On the 11th, the Spanish squadron made an attempt to force the entrance of the harbour ; but so warm a cannonade was kept up on them from the forts, batteries, and shipping, that they were obliged to desist, and to retire with considerable loss of men, and with their ships much damaged. The British naval force in the harbour, consisted only of his Majesty's ship *Mentor* of twenty, and the *Port Royal* sloop of sixteen guns. The enemy, having made themselves masters of the little fort on the island of Santa Rosa at the mouth of the harbour, on the 19th renewed their attempt to enter the port : and, proving successful, all their transports, and several of their war ships came in, but kept without the range of the guns of Fort George. On the 20th, the reinforcements from Mobile, under the command of Don Joseph Espeleta, arrived and joined Don Galvez. This enabled him, with the assistance of the fleet, to transport his army, cannon, and stores, from the island of Santa Rosa to the continent, and to land them in the neighbourhood of Fort George, close to the town of Pensacola.

General



General Campbell had neglected nothing that could contribute to the defence of the place; and the works he had raised gave the enemy so much labour and fatigue, that they were not able to secure their communications with their shipping, and to break ground before the fort, until the twenty-fifth of April. A report, which reached the Havannah, that an armament was preparing at Jamaica for the relief of Pensacola, hastened the departure of Don Joseph Solano from that place with the Spanish and French squadrons, on board of which were embarked a body of land-forces, commanded by Don Manuel de Cigagal. This powerful aid enabled Don Galvez to carry on the siege with greater briskness than he had hitherto done: and the naval department, afforded not only cannon for his batteries, but also men to work them. Don Calvo kept the port so effectually blocked up, that the Childers sloop of war, which Sir Peter Parker had sent from Jamaica, with dispatches for Peter Chester, Esq; the Governor of the province, and for General Campbell, could not get into the harbour, and was in great danger of being taken. The Spanish batteries being nearly ready to play against the place, Governor Chester wished much to have some Spanish prisoners in his possession, and also the women and children, removed out of danger. He therefore wrote on this subject to Don Galvez, which brought on a correspondence between them.\* On the evening of the fourth of April, General Campbell ordered a sally to be made from the fort. The small detachment of troops he could spare for this service, was headed by Major M'Donald; who, with the greatest spirit and resolution, at the head of the provincials, stormed the enemy's trenches, routed a corps of four hundred men that defended them, spiked up some cannon, and levelled the works. The reserve was led by Lieutenant-Colonel de Horn, and so well was this sortie conducted, that the detachment returned to the fort with very little loss. These were the only field-officers in the garrison, and they gave great assistance to the General.

\* The particulars of this correspondence, the reader will find in the Appendix, Note 223.

Major Penkell, of the Waldeck regiment, commanded in the Royal Navy Redoubt, where he distinguished himself very much. Captain-Lieutenant Heldring, of the Waldeck regiment, supplied the place of engineer, and performed the duties of that important office with great zeal, honour, and applause. Both officers and men of the royal artillery, along with twelve artillerymen of the Waldeck regiment, were indefatigable in their exertions : and, although they had been incessantly on duty, from the time when the enemy's batteries were first opened, so far were they from suffering their spirits to sink, that they became more animated and zealous in the service, as the danger of performing it increased. The same may be said of the various corps of which the garrison was composed. The example and good conduct of General Campbell, tended in no small degree to cause the greatest regularity to be observed, and the duty to be done with promptitude and alacrity : and it afforded him much satisfaction, that during the whole of the siege, no murmuring or discontent appeared in the garrison ; but all seemed animated with vigour to the last, and eager to merit approbation. Even the dispiriting circumstance of frequent desertions, appeared not to discourage those who remained, but to enflame their resentment. Every inch of ground was obstinately disputed : and, by the heavy incessant fire from the fort and outworks, the enemy's progress in the siege was greatly retarded. Although, from the force they had assembled against the place, its fate seemed inevitable, as the besieging army amounted to near nine thousand men, and the fleet to fifteen sail of the line, besides a great number of frigates and vessels of inferior force, they were compelled to act with the greatest caution. To accelerate their progress, Don Galvez and the Spanish Admiral designed to make a grand attack on the fort by sea and land at the same time, and had concerted a plan for this purpose. The attack by sea was to have been conducted by Don Juan Tomafo, having under his command a division of the Spanish fleet, which was to have been assisted by the French squadron under the Chevalier de Monteil : but an unlucky and unfore-

unforeseen accident, precipitated the subjugation of the remaining part of West Florida to the dominion of Spain, at least some days sooner than it would have otherwise happened. On the morning of the 8th of May, a shell, that accidentally burst, near the door of the magazine of the advanced redoubt, set fire to the powder within : and such was the explosion, that in an instant, the body of the redoubt was a heap of rubbish, no fewer than forty-eight military, twenty-seven seamen, and one negro were killed, and twenty-four men wounded, most of them dangerously. Two flank works, which had been added to the redoubt since the commencement of the siege, still remained entire. The fire from these, owing to the intrepid coolness of the artillerymen, particularly of Captain Johnstone who commanded them, repulsed the enemy in their first attempt to advance to the assault, and gave time to carry off the wounded, two five and half inch howitzers, and three field-pieces. No sooner was this accomplished, than the enemy brought up their whole army, and obliged the British to abandon these works, after first spiking up the pieces of artillery in the flank works, viz. two ten and two eight inch mortars, three eight and one five and half inch howitzers, and one field-piece, a three pounder, and one twenty-four pounder : but six twelve pounders, and one nine pounder, were lost in the redoubt. The enemy at this time assumed a countenance, as if they would storm the remaining works : but finding the garrison prepared and ready to receive them, they dropped their design, and only kept up so heavy and incessant a fire from their small arms, under cover of the remaining works of the advanced redoubt, that the seamen could not stand to the guns in the middle redoubt, in which several, both seamen and soldiers, were wounded. The Governor and General Campbell now saw themselves driven almost to the last extremity : they had not the smallest hope that the place would be relieved ; most of their cannon shot were expended, except what the enemy had furnished for four twenty-four pounders ; they knew, that resistance could avail, at the utmost, only for a few days ; that during that



short period, many valuable lives must be lost, which could be compensated by no visible advantage to their country; and therefore judged this to be a proper time for attempting to obtain an honourable and advantageous capitulation. Accordingly, a little before three o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th, General Campbell ordered a flag of truce to be displayed on Fort George, and sent out Captain Campbell, Major of Brigade, with a letter to Don Galvez, containing proposals for a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time to draw up articles for surrendering the place.

This being verbally granted, articles were accordingly prepared, by his Excellency Governor Chester and Major-General Campbell, which were sent out to the Spanish General by seven o'clock that evening; but, before it was possible to get these properly arranged and drawn up, Don Galvez sent in a list of terms and conditions, with which he could not dispense in the proposed capitulation. These, however, were not at that time noticed. In about two hours, answers to the proposals that had been sent out were returned: and by these it appeared, that the garrison must surrender prisoners of war, otherwise, there could be no capitulation. General Campbell, therefore, immediately drew up the first and seventeenth articles of the capitulation, in the words in which they now stand,\* and sent them to Don Galvez with a message, that unless these were assented to as principal and preliminary articles, the cessation of arms was at an end, and hostilities might recommence as soon as he thought proper; but if these should be agreed to, in all probability there would be no difficulty in adjusting the other articles on the following day. They were accordingly returned, conditionally ratified; but the conditions were afterwards withdrawn. The cessation of arms being by these means prolonged, General Campbell, early on the morning of the 9th, prepared a new draft of articles of capitulation, in which the stipulations of the preceding day were attended to, and some new clauses which occurred, and were deemed necessary additions

\* See Note 224.

additions to the former, were inserted. Governor Chester having assented to these, they were carried to Don Galvez, by Brigade-Major Campbell; who was made thoroughly acquainted by General Campbell with his sentiments respecting them, and empowered to explain and discuss them, with his Excellency the Spanish General. Accordingly, upon an investigation and discussion of them, article by article, Don Galvez agreed to them verbally, with some insignificant reservations. He was of course permitted to take possession of the fort that evening; and being indisposed, was allowed a guard to his person. Brigade-Major Campbell was left in the Spanish camp, with General Espeleta and Don Galvez's Secretary, to put the answers to the articles in writing. Notwithstanding Don Galvez's verbal ratification of them, they started objections to the fourteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-fourth articles; which, however, were next day removed by Don Galvez himself: and two additional articles, viz. the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, being likewise agreed upon and inserted, the whole as it now stands, was ratified and exchanged, and in the course of that evening, formal possession was given to the Spanish troops of Fort George and its adjoining works; and on the day following, of the Royal Navy Redoubt. Thus, after the trenches had been open twelve days, and after sixty-one days from their landing on the island of Santa Rosa had elapsed, did the enemy make themselves masters of Pensacola, and the remaining part of the province of West Florida. In the different forts and works, they found one hundred and forty-three pieces of cannon, four mortars, six howitzers, and forty swivels, with a great quantity of ammunition and warlike stores. During the siege they had ninety men killed, and two hundred and two wounded. The British had ninety-five men killed, and about fifty wounded. The garrison, exclusive of people of colour, amounted to about twelve hundred men.\* They were allowed the honours of war, to be conducted to any port belonging to Great Britain except the port of St. Augustine in East Florida, or the island of Jamaica, and were not to serve against the crown

\* See Note 225.

crown of Spain or its allies, until properly exchanged. The Americans were displeased, that this exception was not extended to all the ports possessed by Great Britain in North America; as by the terms of capitulation, the British were at liberty to convey the garrison where they thought most convenient, the two places mentioned, only excepted; and accordingly, a part of it arrived in a polacre at New York, on the 4th of July. During the siege, his Majesty's ship *Mentor* of twenty guns, Captain Robert Deans, was burnt; and the Port Royal sloop of war, Captain William Henry Kelly, was, agreeable to the articles of surrender, delivered up to the Spaniards.

The reader will remember, that when Major-General Leslie, with the troops under his command, were withdrawn from Virginia, he was ordered to proceed with them to Charlestown, South Carolina. Here, he found orders from Earl Cornwallis, to march and join him with the greatest dispatch, and to bring all the troops that could be spared along with him. These orders, General Leslie most punctually obeyed. Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour was left to command in Charlestown: and when Earl Cornwallis marched to the northward, after he had gained the battle of Camden, Lord Rawdon was detached with a body of forces, to protect the frontiers of South Carolina and Georgia from the incursions of the enemy, who still had a very great number of adherents and friends in arms, in the interior parts of these provinces. Both of these noblemen were doomed to struggle with more than ordinary difficulties. Much do we regret, that the detail of their operations and conduct, does not fall within the plan of these Memoirs. No military man could read them, without being struck with admiration: and when the reasoning on which they acted is properly considered, together with the abilities, courage, and perseverance, with which they executed their respective plans, we may venture to affirm, that history cannot produce an account of a campaign, in which greater merit is displayed. Earl Cornwallis, ever zealous for the honour and interest of his country, was convinced, that defensive measures would be the  
certain



certain means of losing the southern colonies to Great Britain forever. He therefore resolved to push the most bold and active plans, although his forces were greatly inferior to those which he had to oppose, even after he was joined by the reinforcement brought by General Leslie. It was near the end of January before his Lordship was able to advance. General Green, the favourite officer of General Washington, had succeeded General Gates in the command of the enemy's southern army, and had a very considerable force under his command. The march performed by the army under Earl Cornwallis, considering the shortness of the time in which it was accomplished, is truly astonishing. Never indeed was an army so little encumbered with baggage: it had many hundred miles to advance, and many forced marches to make, and it therefore became absolutely necessary, that it should be disencumbered of every superfluous article. These were all burned before it left Camden: and in this meritorious sacrifice, his Lordship set the example. With inimitable fortitude did he march his army, at least twelve hundred miles, through a country, every part of which was hostile to his progress: and, with invincible patience and firmness, did he surmount the impediments which nature had thrown in his way. He forded many rivers and creeks; and, to pass such obstacles, was frequently compelled to take very circuitous marches, to climb over mountains, and to wade through swamps innumerable. Even a severe indisposition proved no check to his arduous progress; for, during the greatest part of the march, he was so ill as to be unable to sit a horse, and was under the necessity of being conveyed in a waggon. Although hunger and thirst were frequently felt by the troops, not a murmur was to be heard amongst them. They saw their officers, from the highest to the lowest, share in the general hardships, and all underwent them with uncommon spirit. On the 15th of March, his Lordship brought General Green to an engagement at Guildford. This was one of the hottest and best fought actions throughout the war. The numbers of the British had  
been

been reduced by various causes to sixteen hundred and ten men, and the force of the enemy was at least nine thousand; for only a few days before the battle, General Green had received a reinforcement of about four or five thousand men. This made him confident of success; and without this, he would not have hazarded a battle. The admirable disposition which Earl Cornwallis made of his little force, and the astonishing exertions of the troops, gained his Lordship the victory. The enemy behaved with great intrepidity, made wonderful efforts, lost their cannon and regained them; but finally, they fell into the hands of the British, who, after a hard conflict, remained masters of the field. The Americans left between two and three hundred killed on the spot, and their wounded were proportionally numerous. The loss of the King's troops was only ninety-three killed; but among these, were several officers of rank.\* Brigadier-General O'Hara and about four hundred men were wounded. With an army thus encumbered, now reduced to a thousand men, and these in want of almost every necessary, it was impossible to follow up the victory. No supply was to be had nearer than Wilmington, which was two hundred miles off; but thither his Lordship resolved to march. General Green now gave up thoughts of following Lord Cornwallis any longer, and bent his whole force southwards, with a design of effectually crushing Lord Rawdon. Here, we shall leave these armies for a little time, and turn our attention to the transactions at Charlestown.

It was foreseen, that if Earl Cornwallis should continue to advance to the northward, his troops must be in want of provisions and other necessaries: and it was known, that the only method of conveying these to him, was to send them by sea to Cape Fear in North Carolina, from which they could be sent up Cape Fear river, if he was then arrived so far north; and if not, they could wait his orders there. It was therefore agreed to detach Major Craig from Charlestown, with three hundred men of the 82d regiment, under escort of the *Blonde*, Captain Barclay,

\* See Note 226.

Barclay, accompanied with the Delight and Otter sloops of war, some galleys and gun-boats. They sailed from Charlestown on the 21st, and arrived in Cape Fear river on the 25th of January. Contrary winds, and the intricacy of the navigation of the river, prevented the armament from getting to the place where the landing was intended to be made, until the 28th. In order to make the land-force appear as formidable as possible, Captain Barclay ordered the marines of his little squadron, consisting of eighty-one men, and commanded by Lieutenant Griffiths of the Blonde, to join the troops under Major Craig.

On the evening of the 27th, deputations arrived from the town of Wilmington, with proposals for delivering up that place; to which Captain Barclay and Major Craig returned an answer.\* Next morning the troops were landed at Ellis's plantation, nine miles below the town; and at the same time, Captain Barclay pushed up the river with the galleys and gun-boats.

*\* Wilmington, January, 27, 1781.*

Proposals offered to the Commanding Officers of the British navy and troops, in Cape Fear river, by some of the inhabitants of the town of Wilmington, and others, who chuse to remain there:

Article I. The inhabitants, and others remaining there, to be prisoners of war until regularly exchanged,

Article II. The inhabitants to remain in town, and to have their properties of every denomination secured to them, and their persons protected.

Mr. James Walker, and Mr. John Dubois, appointed to present these proposals.

#### The Answer sent to the above proposals.

The Commanding Officers of his Majesty's navy and troops in Cape Fear river, in answer to a message received from the inhabitants of Wilmington, have only to observe, that, in the present situation of affairs, they are not entitled to a capitulation, nor are the articles offered them such as could be received in that light. When his Majesty's forces appear before the town, they must submit to be prisoners of war at discretion, or take the consequence of resistance. In the former case, every exertion will be used to prevent plunder, or personal ill usage to any person whatever.

On board the Betsey and Polly transport, the 27th of January, 1781.

(Signed)

ANDREW BARCLAY.

J. H. CRAIG, Maj. 82d Regt.



boats. In the afternoon, possession was taken of the town of Wilmington, without opposition. Such of the enemy as were in arms, amounting to about one hundred and fifty men, marched out of it, early in the morning of the same day.

At Wilmington, the King's forces found two batteries erected towards the river; one of ten guns, twelve and nine pounders, the other of seven twelve pounders, most of them spiked. The commanding officers, having received information, that several vessels had been sent up the north-east river, with provisions and ammunition, the effects of the enemy who were in arms, and likewise the effects of some Spaniards and French who had settled at Cape Fear, Major Craig marched out with a detachment of the troops to assist in seizing them: and, for the same purpose, Captain Barclay sent one of the gallies, with two gun-boats, up the river. They were so fortunate as to get possession of these vessels next morning, and to bring the whole down to Wilmington, except a schooner and a sloop, both loaded with provisions and ammunition, which they were obliged to burn.† The inhabitants who remained in the town and neighbourhood, delivered up their arms, and gave their paroles. Major Craig fortified the place in the best manner that circumstances would admit, and completed the different batteries.

We shall now return to Lord Cornwallis, who marched from Guildford on the morning of the 18th of March, and next day arrived at Bell's Mills, where he gave the troops two days rest, and procured a small supply of provisions. From Bell's Mills, his Lordship proceeded by slow marches towards Cross creek, paying great attention to the subsistence of the troops, and to the conveyance of the wounded. On his march, he issued a proclamation, inviting such as had taken arms against the King's lawful authority, to return to their duty, and assuring them, in that event, of protection to their persons and properties: he also used every other means in his power to reconcile enemies, and to encourage friends to join the King's forces. Finding that the country about Cross creek was in a great measure

† See Note 227.

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measure exhausted, he was obliged to change his route. He accordingly marched for Wilmington, and arrived in the neighbourhood of that place on the 7th of April, where he found Major Craig, with whose conduct his Lordship was well pleased. Having refreshed and supplied his troops in the best manner he could, he determined to form a junction with Major-General Phillips at Petersburg in Virginia, began his march for that place on the 25th of April, and accomplished it on the 20th of May. This last march alone, was three hundred miles: and when we compute the marches, which this little army performed in the space of a few months, viz. from Charlestown to Camden, from Camden to the Dan river, from the Dan through North Carolina to Wilmington, and from Wilmington to Petersburg, they amount to near twelve hundred miles, without computing the deviations. Lord Cornwallis was much concerned, to hear that Major-General Phillips had died a few days before his arrival at Petersburg; but as some compensation for so great a loss, he learned that the army in Virginia, had just received a reinforcement of near one thousand seven hundred men from New York, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh of the 43d regiment. He now found himself at the head of an army of near five thousand men, and was resolved that they should not be inactive. As a small squadron remained in the Chesapeake, under Captain Thomas Symonds, to attend and second the operations of the army in Virginia, it becomes a part of the plan of this work, to give now a particular detail of the movements of the army under Earl Cornwallis.

The Answer published by Lord Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative, made the public acquainted with many curious particulars relative to the war in America, some of which were only suspected, but not generally known. That Administration had been deceived, with respect to the number, as well as to the importance and inclination of the friends of Government in North America, appears beyond a doubt. In the Introduction to the Answer, his Lordship says, "The un-  
" expected

“ expected failure of our friends, rendered the victory of  
“ Guildford of little value. I know that it has been asserted  
“ or insinuated, that they were not sufficiently tried upon this  
“ occasion : but can any dispassionate person believe, that I did  
“ not give every encouragement to people of all descriptions to  
“ join and assist us, when my own reputation, the safety of the  
“ army, and the interests of my country, were so deeply con-  
“ cerned in that junction and assistance ? All inducements in  
“ my power were made use of without material effect ; and  
“ every man in the army must be convinced, that the accounts  
“ of our emissaries had greatly exaggerated the number of those  
“ who professed friendship for us ; as they must have observed,  
“ that a very inconsiderable part of them could be prevailed  
“ upon to remain with us, or to exert themselves in any form  
“ whatever.

“ This disappointment, and the wants and distresses of the  
“ army, compelled me to move to Cross creek ; but meeting  
“ there with no material part of the promised assistance and  
“ supplies, I was obliged to continue my march to Wilming-  
“ ton, where hospitals and stores were ready for us.” In an-  
“ other part, his Lordship says, “ But I trust it will appear,  
“ from the correspondence now laid before the public, that our  
“ failure in North Carolina was not occasioned by our want of  
“ force to protect the rising of our friends, but by their  
“ timidity, and unwillingness to take an active part : that the  
“ move to Wilmington was rendered necessary from the dis-  
“ tresses of the troops, and the sufferings of the numerous sick  
“ and wounded.” His Lordship, in a letter to Sir Henry  
Clinton, dated Camp near Wilmington, April 10th, 1781,  
says—“ The fatigue of the troops, and the great number of  
“ wounded, put it out of my power to pursue beyond the  
“ Reedy Fork, in the afternoon of the action : and the want of  
“ provisions and all kinds of necessaries for the soldiers, made  
“ it equally impossible to follow the blow next day. I there-  
“ fore issued the inclosed proclamation ; and, having remained  
“ two days on the field of battle, marched to Bell’s Mills on  
“ Deep



“ Deep river, near part of the country where the greatest number of our friends were supposed to reside. Many of the inhabitants rode into camp, shook me by the hand, said they were glad to see us, and to hear that we had beat Green, and then rode home again; for I could not get one hundred men in all the regulator’s country to stay with us even as militia.”

In his letter to Lord George Germain, dated Wilmington, April 18th, 1780, his Lordship says—“ I think it incumbent on me to be explicit with your Lordship, as his Majesty’s Minister, on one or two capital points.

“ The principal reasons for undertaking a winter’s campaign were, the difficulty of a defensive war in South Carolina, and the hopes that our friends in North Carolina, who were said to be very numerous, would make good their promises of assembling and taking an active part with us, in endeavouring to re-establish his Majesty’s Government. Our experience has shewn, that their numbers are not so great as had been represented, and that their friendship was only passive; for we have received little assistance from them since our arrival in the province: and although I gave the strongest and most public assurances, that after refitting and depositing our sick and wounded, I should return to the upper country, not above two or three hundred have been prevailed upon to follow us, either as provincials or militia.

“ This being the case, the immense extent of this country, cut with numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of internal navigation, which renders it impossible for our army to remain long in the heart of the country, will make it very difficult to reduce this province to obedience by a direct attack upon it.

“ If, therefore, it should appear to be the interest of Great Britain to maintain what she already possesses, and to push the war in the southern provinces, I take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a serious attempt upon Virginia would be the most solid plan; because successful operations might not only be attended with important consequences there,

“ but would tend to the security of South Carolina, and ultimately to the submission of North Carolina.”

By the letters, with which Lord Cornwallis has favoured the public, it appears, that Sir Henry Clinton did not approve of his Lordship's marching his army into Virginia : but his Lordship has clearly demonstrated that this was the only step he could take, that would tend to promote his Majesty's interests in North America, and that it was what the enemy most dreaded. If the Commander in Chief had seen the impropriety of it in due time, he had it in his power to have withdrawn and embarked the forces which Earl Cornwallis brought with him to Petersburg, and to have sent them either to the southward from which they came, or to New York. As Earl Cornwallis appears to have possessed the most clear and distinct notions of the measures which ought to have been adopted, it would be doing injustice to the reader, not to lay his sentiments on this subject before him. A proposal for an expedition to the upper part of the Chesapeake, and from that, by a sudden irruption, to carry the city of Philadelphia by a *coup de main*, had been laid before Sir Henry Clinton : and he had so far adopted it, as to prepare measures for putting it in execution. It was to have been conducted by Major-General Leslie, if he had still been with Lord Cornwallis's army : and the force with which he was to have been furnished, was to consist of a detachment from the army at New York, to which was to be joined a detachment from that under Lord Cornwallis. The naval part was to have been under the direction of Captain Henry Duncan. If Major-General Leslie should have proceeded to South Carolina, the command of this enterprise was to have been intrusted to Major-General Robertson. But the Commander in Chief, before determining finally on a step of such importance, wished to have the opinions of General Phillips, to whom Lord Cornwallis had succeeded, and of Brigadier-General Arnold. General Arnold had requested permission, on account of his health, to go to New York ; and by him, Earl Cornwallis wrote a letter to Sir Henry Clinton,

Clinton, dated Byrd's Plantation, north of James's River, May 26th, 1781, in which he says:—"Your Excellency desires Generals Phillips and Arnold to give you their opinion, relative to *Mr. Alexander's* proposal. As General Arnold goes to New York by the first safe conveyance, you will have an opportunity of hearing his sentiments in person.

"Experience has made me less sanguine, and more arguments seem to me to be necessary for so important an expedition, than appear to occur to General Arnold.

"*Mr. Alexander's* conversations bear too strong a resemblance to those of the emissaries from North Carolina, to give me much confidence; and, from the experience I have had, and the dangers I have undergone, one maxim appears to me to be absolutely necessary, for the safe and honourable conduct of this war—which is, that we should have as few posts as possible; and that wherever the King's troops are, they should be in respectable force. By the vigorous exertions of the present Governors of America, large bodies of men are soon collected; and I have too often observed, that when a storm threatens, our friends disappear.

"In regard to taking possession of Philadelphia by an incursion, (even if practicable), without an intention of keeping or burning it, (neither of which appear to be advisable), I should apprehend it would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain.

"I shall take the liberty of repeating, that if offensive war is intended, Virginia appears to me to be the only province in which it can be carried on, and in which there is a stake. But to reduce the province, and keep possession of the country, a considerable army would be necessary; for, with a small force, the business would probably terminate unfavourably, though the beginning might be successful. In case it is thought expedient, and a proper army for the attempt can be formed, I hope your Excellency will do me the justice to believe, that I neither wish nor expect to have the command of it, leaving you at New York on the defensive. Such



“ sentiments are so far from my heart, that I can with great truth assure you, that few things could give me greater pleasure than being relieved by your presence, from a situation of so much anxiety and responsibility.”

His Lordship, when he wrote the above letter, seems to have been inspired with a prophetic spirit : but we will now give an account of his operations in Virginia, until he took post with what was left of his army at York town. About the end of May, Earl Cornwallis, after passing James's river at Westover, moved to Hanover Court-house, and crossed the South Anna. The Marquis de la Fayette marched to his left, keeping above, at the distance of about twenty miles. His Lordship, by pushing his light troops over the North Anna, alarmed the enemy for Fredericksburgh, and rendered them apprehensive that the intended junction of the French with General Wayne, who was then marching through Maryland, might be frustrated. From the intelligence received of the present state of Hunter's iron manufactory, it did not appear to Earl Cornwallis to be of so much consequence, as the stores on the other side of the country. He found that he could not prevent the junction between Wayne and Fayette ; but he took advantage of the latter crossing the Rhappahannock, and detached Lieutenant-Colonels Simcoe and Tarleton, to disturb the Assembly then sitting at Charlotteville, and to destroy the stores there, at old Albemarle Court-house, and at the Point of Fork. His Lordship moved, at the same time, with the infantry, to the mouth of Byrd creek, near to the Point of Fork, to meet those detachments on their return. On the 4th of June, Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton had very nearly made the whole of the Members assembled at Charlotteville prisoners. They had removed from Richmond to this place, to be free of danger from Lord Cornwallis ; and had received information of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton's approach, just in time for the greatest part of them to make their escape. A few of them fell into his hands : and the remainder crossed the mountains, and convened in Assembly at Stanton. The British conven-

convention prisoners had been early marched from Charlotteville toward Pennsylvania. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton destroyed at Charlotteville, and on his return, one thousand stand of good arms, some cloathing and stores, and between four and five hundred barrels of gunpowder, without opposition.

Baron Steuben, who, at Point of Fork, commanded a corps of the enemy, consisting of about eight hundred twelve-month's men and militia, retired with precipitation, on the approach of the King's forces. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, after making every exertion to attack his rear guard, destroyed there, and at places adjacent, about three thousand three hundred stand of arms, most of which were unserviceable, but then under repair, some salt, harness, &c. and about one hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder. Earl Cornwallis then marched to Richmond, and arrived at Williamsburgh on the 25th of June; having, in addition to the articles already mentioned, destroyed on this expedition, at different places, above two thousand hogsheds of tobacco, and a great number of iron guns; and brought off four brass thirteen inch mortars, five brass eight inch howitzers, and four long brass nine pounders, all French. Near Hanover Court-house, his troops found ten French brass twenty-four pounders, which they could not carry off, and had not time to destroy, farther than by spiking them, and throwing five or six of them into the Pamunkey. At Williamsburgh, they found a considerable quantity of shot and shells, which they put on board their vessels. General Wayne effected a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette at Racoonford on the 7th of June: and soon after that, was joined also by Baron Steuben and the forces under him. These officers, with their united forces, took post about twenty miles from the British army, and narrowly watched its motions, but gave it no material disturbance by detachments, except in one attack on Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, on the 26th of June, when he was returning with his corps and the Yagers, from the destruction of some boats and stores on the Chickahomany. In this attack the enemy, though much superior in

numbers, were repulsed with considerable loss: three of their officers, and twenty-eight privates, were made prisoners. The Rangers had three officers and thirty privates killed and wounded. Lieutenant Jones, who was killed, behaved with the greatest spirit, and was greatly lamented by his Commandant.

Sir Henry Clinton did not acquiesce in Earl Cornwallis's opinion, that the chief operations of the war should be carried on in Virginia, notwithstanding the cogent reasons urged by his Lordship for that plan. His experience made all ranks, both in America and in Great Britain, expect that he should say something on this subject. Indeed, after the experiment he had made, he might have incurred no small degree of blame, if he had failed to point out the only mode by which, in his judgment, the reduction of the southern parts of America could be effected. His idea was, that until Virginia should in some degree be subjected, the British could neither reduce North Carolina, nor could have any certain hold of the back country of South Carolina. He plainly saw, that the want of inland navigation rendered it impossible for Britain to maintain a sufficient army in either of those provinces, at a considerable distance from the coast, while the great population and riches of Virginia, furnished ample means for Congress to support and keep up a very formidable military force to the southward: and on this was founded his opinion, that the first and great attempt should be the reduction of Virginia. As coming in the place of General Phillips, he thought himself called upon also to give an opinion of the enterprise designed against the city of Philadelphia. This attempt, he thought, would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain; because, supposing it practicable to get possession of the town, which the redoubts, if kept up, and other obstacles, would render exceedingly difficult, the troops could not arrive there, without the enemy having had sufficient warning of their approach, to enable them to secure their specie, and the greatest part of their valuable public stores, by means of their boats and shipping. These would also give them



them certain possession of the river from Mud Island upwards. To discriminate the owners, and to destroy any considerable quantity of West India goods, and other merchandize dispersed through a great town, without burning the whole together, would be a work of much time and labour. The appearance of the King's troops there, without an intention to stay, might give false hopes to many friends, and occasion their ruin; and any unlucky accident on their retreat, would furnish matter of great triumph to the enemy. Earl Cornwallis says, in the same letter to Sir Henry Clinton, "Your Excellency being charged  
"with the weight of the whole American war, your opinions  
"are of course less partial, and are directed to all its parts.  
"To those opinions, said his Lordship, it was his duty implicitly to submit."

Intercepted letters, and the most certain intelligence received by Sir Henry Clinton, that the great design of the enemy was an attack on the post at New York, made him abandon all thoughts of an expedition to the upper part of the Chesapeake; and the troops which he had directed Lord Cornwallis to detach from his army on that service, he therefore now ordered to be sent to New York, to reinforce the garrison there. From the high probability, that the enemy might be possessed of a naval force superior to that of the British, the Commander in Chief wished to strengthen New York as much as possible: and, therefore, until Lord Cornwallis could be enabled to act upon the offensive, there was a necessity for his remaining strictly upon the defensive. His Lordship was accordingly ordered to take such a position with the army left under his command, as might, when fortified, afford protection to ships of the line; and Williamsburgh and York were mentioned to him, as proper defensive stations. As the first had no harbour, and as its situation was such, as would render a large army necessary to its defence, all idea of possessing it was relinquished. To make the last a secure harbour for vessels of any burthen, it would be requisite to possess Gloucester along with it: and to fortify both, would require much time, as well as great

assistance from the troops. As his Lordship would most cheerfully have removed to any station, which, in his opinion, would suit the ideas of the Commander in Chief, he gave orders to the engineer to examine and survey Point Comfort, and the channels to it. He went also in person, along with the Captains of the King's ships then lying in Hampton road, who were employed to inspect that place, and report accordingly. The engineer concurred in opinion with the Captains of the navy, who, on the 26th of July, made their report to Lord Cornwallis, that after surveying old Point Comfort with the greatest accuracy, they were unanimously of opinion, that from the width of the channel at that place, and the depth of water close to it, a superior force coming in might, with little damage, pass any work that could be established there, or destroy it, with the ships that might be there, under its protection. This was likewise Earl Cornwallis's own opinion of this place. He had therefore no alternative left, but to take post at York and Gloucester, and to fortify them in the best manner that time and circumstances would admit, as York was the next place mentioned after old Point Comfort by Sir Henry Clinton, from whose opinion, Earl Cornwallis thought he had no right to deviate.\*

The boats and other naval assistance, having been sent to Earl Cornwallis by Captain Hudson of the Richmond, he marched on the 4th of July, from Williamsburgh, to a camp which covered a ford into the island of James's town. The Queen's Rangers passed the river that evening. On the 5th, he sent over all the wheel carriages; and on the 6th, the bat horses and baggage of every kind, intending that the army should pass over on the 7th. About noon on the 6th, his  
 Lordship

\* "If the Admiral, disapproving of Portsmouth, and requiring a fortified station for large ships in the Chesapeake, should propose York town or old Point Comfort, if possession of either can be acquired and maintained without great risk or loss, you are at liberty to take possession thereof: but if the objections are such as you shall think forcible, you must, after stating those objections, decline it, till solid operations take place in the Chesapeake."

Sir Henry Clinton's Instructions to Major-General Phillips, dated Head-quarters, New York, March 10th, 1781. Received by Earl Cornwallis in Virginia.

Lordship received information of the approach of the enemy : and about four in the afternoon, his outposts were attacked by a large body of them. He concluded, that the enemy would not bring a considerable force within reach of the King's troops, unless they supposed that nothing was left but the rear guard. He was therefore careful to convince them of his weakness ; and, for this purpose, suffered his piquets to be insulted and driven back. Nothing, however, appeared to the troops, but riflemen and militia, until near sun-set, when a body of continentals with artillery, began to form in front of the British camp. Earl Cornwallis then ordered the troops under arms, and directed the army to advance in two lines. The attack was begun by the first line with great spirit. There being nothing but militia opposed to the light-infantry, the action was soon over on the right : but Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas's brigade, consisting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, which formed the left wing, meeting the Pennsylvanian line, and a detachment of the Marquis de la Fayette's continentals with two six pounders, a smart fire ensued for some minutes, when the enemy gave way, and abandoned their cannon. The cavalry were perfectly ready to pursue ; but the darkness of the evening was such, as prevented his Lordship from being able to make that use of them he wished.

Earl Cornwallis was so well pleased with his little army, that in his public letter he said, that he could not sufficiently commend the spirit and good behaviour of the officers and soldiers of the whole army, but the 76th and 80th regiments, on which the brunt of the action fell, had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves particularly ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas's conduct and gallantry deserved the highest praise. The force which the enemy had in the field was about two thousand men : and their loss was between two and three hundred, in killed and wounded.

About the beginning of July, the enemy began to draw their forces down to the low country of Virginia ; but the British naval and military force in that province, having, by the destruction



struction of their naval craft, rendered it extremely difficult for them to pass James's river below Tuckahoe, and the militia of the upper countries on the east side of the river being with them, Earl Cornwallis was of opinion, that their situation afforded him a good opportunity to endeavour to destroy their magazines which lay between James's river and the Dan, and were destined for the use of their southern army. On the 9th of July, he accordingly detached Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with the legion cavalry, and upwards of a hundred mounted infantry, from Cobham, with orders to call, among other places, at Prince Edward and Bedford Court-houses, where his Lordship was informed their principal military stores were collected. This was a duty attended with considerable fatigue: but as in all probability, it would be the last incursion which the cavalry would make in the country during this campaign, they would have time to rest at their return. Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, with a part of the 80th regiment, was also detached to destroy the enemy's shipping and stores at South Quay. Earl Cornwallis was much pleased with the conduct of these two officers, whose spirit and bravery never failed to give him satisfaction: and, while they were on the above services, his Lordship took post at Suffolk, in order to accelerate their march back to the army.

He then marched, and took post at York town and Gloucester, and exerted his utmost endeavours to render both places as strong as the extent and nature of the ground would admit. On the 22d of August, he was joined by Brigadier-General O'Hara with the troops and stores from Portsmouth, that place being completely evacuated, without any interruption from the enemy. Earl Cornwallis had every reason to be displeased with his situation; for, after all the battles he had fought, the fatigues he had undergone, the hardships he had suffered, and the exertions he had made, he found that his conduct did not meet the approbation of the Commander in Chief. This treatment was as undeserved, as it was unexpected by his Lordship. His march from Wilmington in Vir-

ginia

ginia was the first thing that displeased Sir Henry Clinton, who said, that it was undertaken without his concurrence; but Lord Cornwallis, in his Introduction to his Vindication, justly observes—"that the march into Virginia was undertaken for urgent reasons, which would not admit of his waiting for the approbation of the Commander in Chief." Disabled as his diminished army was, Sir Henry Clinton wished that he should return into the heart of the Carolinas, by the same route by which he had advanced into Virginia. The measures adopted by Lord Cornwallis were, however, highly approved of by Administration, and Sir Henry Clinton was directed to support him. His Lordship says, in the Introduction to his Defence, that he did not establish the station in Virginia, but only reinforce it. When the Commander in Chief wished to withdraw near three thousand men from the army under his command, his Lordship thought, that with the force left with him, he would be compelled to remain in an unactive state. He therefore wished for leave to return to Charlestown, and to resume the command of the forces in the Carolinas; but this favour Sir Henry Clinton refused him. Although he occupied the posts of York and Gloucester by order, yet this measure did not meet with the approbation of the Commander in Chief. These posts were pointed out to him, by instructions given by Sir Henry Clinton himself to the late General Phillips, and he was induced to remain in them, by the prospect of relief, uniformly promised to him in that General's letters.

On the 30th of August, the French fleet, under the command of M. de Grasse, entered the Chesapeake, where they chased the Guadaloupe frigate and Loyalist sloop. The former escaped to York town; but the latter was taken. A ship of the line and some frigates and small craft, blocked up the mouth of York-river on the 31st; but Sir Henry Clinton was immediately informed of this incident. We shall now turn our attention to the transactions at New York.

In our detail of the operations of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, and of the military movements under Generals

als Arnold, Phillips, and Earl Cornwallis, what occurred in the army, more immediately under Sir Henry Clinton, has been in a great measure anticipated. The sending reinforcements at different times to these Generals, constituted the principal military business at New York in the beginning of the campaign. Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, having obtained permission to return to Europe, sailed for England on the 2d of July, and the command of the fleet devolved of course on Rear-Admiral Graves. Several of the large ships were greatly in need of repair: and the Royal Oak was in so bad a state, that she had been obliged to go to Halifax to be docked. Sir Henry Clinton was extremely anxious to obtain certain information of the enemy's motions; and, for this purpose, sent out a small detachment of Delancy's brigade of provincials on the 14th of May. This party consisted of one hundred cavalry, and two hundred infantry. It marched very early in the morning from King's-Bridge: and, about sun-rise, surprised a party of the enemy, posted near Croton river, under the command of Colonel Green. In this attack, the enemy sustained some loss of men and officers. Among the latter, Major Flagg was killed, and Colonel Green badly wounded.

The Comte de Barras, who was appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport in Rhode Island, sailed from France in the *Concorde* frigate, and arrived at Boston on the 6th of May. He brought out instructions for the Comte de Rochambeau, information of which was immediately sent to General Washington, who, with Generals Knox and Du Portail, repaired to Weathersfield, three miles from Hartford, the capital of the province of Connecticut, where they met the Comte de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Chastelleux, on the 21st. At this interview, after considering all the present circumstances, and also the future prospect of the co-operation of M. de Grasse with the French fleet from the West Indies, by which they would certainly attain a great naval superiority, the plan of attacking New York was adopted in preference to any other. They were led to form this resolution,



tion, by the intelligence which they had received of the weakness of its garrison, owing to the large detachment made from it to the southward ; by the probability, that the few troops in the place could scarcely be able to defend its numerous works ; and by the hope, if their scheme should succeed, of seizing the immense magazines accumulated there, and of destroying the British squadron. The central position of that town, made it also easy for the rebels to unite their army in its vicinity, and to bring from the adjacent provinces, all the implements and supplies necessary for the troops, while carrying on the siege. Measures were accordingly concerted, without delay, for raising their militia and completing their regular troops. The French auxiliaries were ordered to march as soon as circumstances would permit ; leaving two hundred of their men at Providence, with their heavy stores and baggage, and five hundred militia to secure the works of that place. The rebel troops, who began to assemble from all the northern provinces, encamped, on the 21st of June, at Peek's-kill. On the 1st of July, they marched near to King's-Bridge ; and on the day following proceeded to White Plains, where they were joined on the 6th, by the Comte de Rochambeau and the French troops. These were soon considerably reinforced ; for, on the 8th of June, there arrived from France at Boston, a French fifty gun ship, three frigates, and fourteen transports, having on board one thousand five hundred men. The Generals of the combined forces, under the protection of strong escorts, reconnoitred the works on New York island ; and, by all their movements, induced Sir Henry Clinton to believe, that an attack was seriously designed against the town. Under this impression, he took his measures, and wrote pressingly to Earl Cornwallis to send him a reinforcement of three thousand men. The enemy could not begin their operations before the arrival of the French fleet from the West Indies : and it was not until the middle of August, that a frigate came with dispatches from the Comte de Grasse, signifying his intentions of fulfilling the express orders of the King his master, by giving effectual assistance

assistance to the United States of America, and informing them, that his instructions were, to proceed to the Chesapeake. As this left them no alternative, a joint answer from General Washington and the Comte de Rochambeau was returned, on the 17th of July, telling M. de Grasse, that the whole of the French army, accompanied by as large a military force of the Americans as could be spared, would meet him on his arrival there. This change of the plan of the enemy's military operations, was as carefully concealed from Sir Henry Clinton as possible. Every appearance of an attack upon New York was continued; and, with this view, a force was drawn into the Jerseys, which took post on the Rariton, opposite to Staten Island, on which it threatened to make a descent. At Elizabeth-town, the French erected their ovens, and gave every indication of continuing there. On the 24th of July, the combined forces crossed the North River, and pressed forward to the Delaware, all their detachments joining them on their route: and, on the afternoon of the 30th, they reached the city of Philadelphia, where they were received with every demonstration of joy. Having stated the plans of the enemy, we shall now resume our narrative of the measures adopted at New York, by the two Commanders in Chief. Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, before his departure for England, had received intelligence, that reinforcements of troops for the French army were daily expected at Boston, under convoy of some frigates. In hopes of intercepting these, he therefore sent a squadron, early in the month of June, to cruize off that port. This squadron consisted of the Assurance, Charlestown, and Amphitrite frigates, with the Vulture and Savage sloops. To strengthen this force, the Royal Oak was directed to take the same route with it, when on her way to Halifax to be repaired. This little fleet took some storeships, and made other considerable prizes, but was not so fortunate as to prevent the arrival of the French reinforcements.

On the 29th of June, a small party, consisting of thirty-eight of the 1st battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, with about thirty-

thirty-four militia-men and refugees, under the command of Captains Durham and Robins, were detached at night from the garrison of New York; they landed at Trembley's Point, near the mouth of the Raway river, and immediately surrounded Tairil's tavern, in hopes of taking prisoners three of the enemy's light-horse, whose duty it was to patrol down to the Sound, and to give notice of any troops who might come from Staten Island. As these men had gone to Westfield, the party missed their aim; but pushing on to the house of Captain Amos Morse, they surprised him in bed, and made him prisoner, with some more of the enemy. The party next went in search of cattle, and were so fortunate as to capture near forty head of them, besides about eighty sheep. These they drove to Trembley's Point: but on their way, the country being now alarmed, their rear was harassed by about forty of the enemy. To get rid of these, Lieutenant Hutchinson of the New Jersey Volunteers formed an ambuscade, into which fifteen of the enemy fell. They were advancing with great briskness, and hallooing, "*damn the refugees, cut them down;*" when, to their astonishment, the troops arose from the place in which they were secreted, and compelled them immediately to throw down their arms and take to flight. Ten of them, however, were made prisoners. After this, the enemy kept a more respectful distance, until the party had reached Trembley's Point, and were embarking their prisoners and cattle, when about twenty of them came pretty near, and fired at them in order to interrupt the embarkation. These were immediately charged with so much impetuosity by the refugees, that several of them were made prisoners, and the rest forced to retreat. The party then brought off their booty without further molestation, and landed it safely on Staten Island. It is remarkable, that in these skirmishes not one of the refugees were hurt, though the enemy had several men killed and wounded. Early in the morning of the 12th of July, the enemy entered the harbour of Huntingdon in Long Island, with five armed brigs and other vessels, from which they landed near five hundred men,



men, mostly French, at the back of Lloyd's-neck, about two miles from Fort Franklin, where Lieutenant-Colonel Upham of the Associated Loyalists commanded. At eleven, they drew up opposite to the refugees, at the distance of four hundred yards; on which Lieutenant-Colonel Upham ordered some grape-shot, from two twelve pounders, to be fired amongst them. This instantly threw them into disorder, and obliged them to make a very quick and disgraceful retreat to their ships. On the beach, where they had halted to dress their wounded, they left a number of surgeon's instruments, a great many lint bandages, a bayonet, sword, and a large quantity of port-fire, and other materials for burning houses. They were greatly superior in numbers to the refugees; but Colonel Upham, by his skilful management of the little force under his command, had completely deceived them: and their suppositions, that he had discovered their design, and received a reinforcement, were the reasons which they assigned for their sudden retreat.

The Colonel resolved to retaliate on the Connecticut shore, the visit he had received from it: and, for this purpose, on the evening of the 21st of July, embarked at Lloyd's-neck, in the *Sir Henry Clinton* and *Association* armed ships, a party of refugees, under the command of Captain Frost. Thirty-eight of them landed that night on the enemy's coast; after which, the armed vessels steered for the Long Island shore, their Captains having engaged to return at a time agreed on, and having left concealed a sufficient number of boats, to bring off the party in the event of a surprise, or of a superior force compelling them to retire.

Captain Frost led this small party to a wood, about five miles from the place where they had disembarked at, and about half a mile from the Meeting-house in Middlesex, where they kept themselves concealed until two o'clock in the afternoon, by which time the people were assembled at this conventicle. He then surrounded their sanctuary, and took from it fifty of the most active of the enemy. Their horses, forty in number, ready saddled, were taken at the same time, and the whole were

were moved in the most expeditious manner to the shore. On their march, the country people annoyed their rear; but were unable to make any impression on it, or to prevent them from conveying their prisoners and horses on board of the armed vessels, which had returned at the time appointed to their assistance. All the loss which the refugees sustained in performing this gallant exploit, was three men slightly wounded.

On the day on which Rear-Admiral Graves received the command of the fleet, he wrote the following letter to Sir George Rodney at the Leeward Islands:

*“ London, at Sandy Hook, 2d July, 1781.*

“ SIR,

“ I have the honour to forward to you by Lieutenant Dela-  
“ noe, in the Active brig, his Excellency General Clinton’s  
“ messenger; also my dispatch, containing the latest intelli-  
“ gence obtained here, as well as that from Europe. The  
“ importance of that obtained here, which was taken from an  
“ intercepted post, will shew you the apprehensions of a con-  
“ siderable force expected from the French Commander in Chief  
“ in the West Indies, in concert with whom M. de Barras  
“ seems to act; and will demonstrate how much the fate of  
“ this country must depend upon the early intelligence, and  
“ detachments which may be sent by you hither, upon the  
“ first movement of the enemy.

“ I shall certainly keep the squadron under my command as  
“ collected as possible, and so placed as to secure a retreat to  
“ New York, where our stand must be made: and will keep  
“ cruizers to the southward.

“ The French have the addition of a fifty-four gun ship.  
“ We are weaker by the absence of the Royal Oak, now at  
“ Halifax heaving down; in lieu of which the Warwick has  
“ arrived sickly, and is not yet fit for service.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ THO. GRAVES.”

Lieutenant Delanoe was enjoined in his orders, to proceed without a moment's loss of time, and to make the best of his way back with whatever dispatches he might be charged, taking care not to be spoken to by any vessel on his passage.

On the 19th of July, the *Hornet* sloop arrived at Sandy Hook from England, and brought dispatches from the Admiralty, dated the 22d of May, to the Admiral. These dispatches contained advice of "large supplies of money, cloathing, and military stores, which young Laurens was preparing to send for the use of the rebel army in North America. "They stated, that he would in all probability sail from France "before the end of June, with a number of merchantmen, "under the convoy of one ship of the line, another armed *en flute*, and two stout frigates: that there was every reason to "believe, that this was one of the most important supplies "which the French had ever sent to the rebels; and that it "was considered by themselves, as furnishing them with the "only possible means of carrying on the war." The Lords of the Admiralty also gave their directions to the Admiral, to cause a good look out to be kept for the ships and vessels having the said supplies on board; but left it to his judgment, to determine upon the most likely places to station cruisers for the purpose of intercepting them.

In obedience to these instructions, Rear-Admiral Graves, then lying ready without the bar at Sandy Hook, sailed as soon as the wind permitted, which was on the 21st, taking with him six sail of the line, and ordering the *Adamant* of fifty guns, which only wanted water, to get supplied, and to come over the bar and follow him. She did this, and overtook him the next day at sea. The *Royal Oak* coming from Halifax, joined his fleet near St. George's Bank, on the 28th of July. He kept this vessel, judging it necessary to increase the strength of his squadron as much as possible, because in his cruise to the northward, there was a great probability of his having an engagement with M. de Barras's fleet from Rhode Island, which was reported to consist of eight sail of the line.

Before



Before he sailed, he made the most judicious arrangement of the ships and vessels under his command, and strengthened the cruizers, both off the Delaware and to the northward. The Assurance and Amphitrite frigates, and General Monk sloop, were appointed to cruize in Boston Bay. To the convoy for Canada, he added the Warwick of fifty guns, having received intelligence that the French had a ship of that force and four frigates at Boston, and that they were very much upon the watch to intercept all convoys from Europe for Halifax and Quebec. The Warwick had orders to return to New York, so soon as the convoy should get above the range of privateers, which was generally about the Isle du Bec. This convoy was peculiarly important; for it consisted of German recruits, exchanged prisoners, convalescents, stores, and cloathing, under the care of General Reidesfell, and contained the whole provision for the army, which Government had sent out the preceding year for Canada, and for which General Haldimand, who commanded there, had been very pressing. It sailed on the 26th of July: and the King's ships were directed by the Admiral, to call at Halifax on their return, and to bring under their protection, whatever mast or storeships were ready there; particularly the Prince William mast-ship, which had been lying in the Bay of Fundy six or seven months in expectation of convoy. These orders were highly important, because the dock-yard at New York was then extremely ill provided in all kinds of naval furniture, without cordage, rigging, stores, or provisions, every thing having been bought for a long time past in the town of New York. The Solebay frigate was stationed from the Navisink to Cape May; and the Medea, Richmond, and Iris frigates, off the Delaware, with orders to look out for the French fleet from the West Indies. The Charon, Guadeloupe, and Fowey frigates, and Bonetta and Loyalist sloops, were in the Chesapeak. The Savage sloop sailed from New York on the 28th of July, and had orders to call at the Chesapeak, and then to proceed to Charlestown, and there to join the Carysfort frigate and Cormorant sloop. These three vessels

being coppered, had directions to cruize alternately from a fortnight to three weeks, and to look out for the enemy then expected. One of them was ordered to go out every week, one to stay on her station, and one to return into port; so that there might be a rotation of intelligence kept up by them, exclusive of what might be carried to and from the Chesapeake by the general runners. To quicken the intercourse with the squadron, each station had orders to send duplicates of their dispatches; one part to be forwarded by the Captain of the guardship at Sandy Hook to the Commander by sea at New York; whilst the other should be sent immediately in quest of the squadron, according to a rendezvous deposited for that purpose in the guardship at the Hook.

The Admiral appointed Commodore Affleck to command the naval department at New York during his absence, and instructed him to send to the ships on the southern stations, all requisite orders and information for their direction. In short, every regulation that could tend to forward his Majesty's service, was made by the Admiral before he sailed; and the strongest exhortations were given to the officers on the various stations, to be diligent and alert. On the 27th of July, the Swallow sloop arrived at New York with dispatches from Sir George Rodney at the Leeward Islands. His letter was addressed to Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, as he did not know that that officer had resigned his command and gone for England, and it was dated, Sandwich, at Barbadoes, 7th July, 1781.

In this letter Sir George says, "As the enemy have at this time  
"a fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line at Martinique, a part of  
"which is reported to be destined for North America, I have  
"dispatched his Majesty's sloop Swallow to acquaint you there-  
"with; and to inform you, that I shall keep as good a look  
"out as possible on their motions, by which my own shall be  
"regulated. In case of my sending a squadron to North  
"America, I shall order it to make the Capes of Virginia, and  
"proceed along the coast to the Capes of the Delaware, and  
"from thence to Sandy Hook, unless the intelligence it may  
"receive

“ receive from you should induce it to act otherwise. You  
“ will please to order cruizers to look out for it, off the first  
“ mentioned Capes, giving orders to hoist a Dutch Ensign re-  
“ versed at the fore-top-gallant-mast-head, and an English Jack  
“ at the mizen-top-mast-head, and firing two guns, which  
“ will be answered by a Blue Flag pierced White at the main-  
“ top-gallant-mast-head, and three guns. The enemy’s squa-  
“ dron, destined for America, will sail, I am informed, in a  
“ short time; but whether they will call first at Cape François,  
“ I cannot learn: however, you may depend upon the squa-  
“ dron in America being reinforced, should the enemy bend  
“ their force that way.”

Intelligence of so much importance, Commodore Affleck resolved to communicate to Admiral Graves as speedily as possible: and detaining the *Swallow* only until he could take a copy of the dispatches, he gave her Captain orders to proceed directly with the originals, to the Admiral then cruising off Boston. He likewise, without loss of time, communicated part of the letter, and Sir George Rodney’s signals, to all the cruizers to which he could get access. Various cross accidents intervened, which prevented the Captain of the *Swallow* from delivering to Admiral Graves, the packet with which he was intrusted; for unfortunately, soon after he had left Sandy Hook, a rebel privateer hove in sight. His bravery immediately got the better of his prudence: he gave chase, overtook the privateer, fought and took her. This was scarcely accomplished, when three more of the enemy’s privateers made their appearance. The *Swallow* was then chased in turn, and not being able to combat so superior a force, in order to avoid being taken, was run ashore on Long Island, where she was wrecked, the dispatches having been previously thrown overboard. The Captain and crew were saved, and soon after their misfortune reached New York. A strange fatality at this time attended the delivery of very important advices to Admiral Graves. The *Active* brig, which he had sent to the West Indies, with letters to the Admiral commanding on that station,



was ordered directly back to New York, with dispatches from Sir Samuel Hood to him; but this vessel, when she had nearly accomplished her voyage, was taken and carried into Philadelphia. Lieutenant Delanoe, her Commander, therefore never had an opportunity of obeying his orders. The *La Nymphe* frigate, which Sir Samuel Hood had sent to inform Admiral Graves of his arrival with a squadron from the West Indies on the American coast, reached Sandy Hook only about an hour before that squadron came to an anchor without the bar. By the *La Nymphe*, Admiral Graves received a duplicate of the dispatch that was sent by the *Active* brig. Thus, by a chain of crosses and unforeseen accidents, was the Admiral prevented from receiving the intelligence sent him of the enemy's motions in due time: and this, in a great measure, put it out of his power to counteract them so effectually, as he might otherwise have done.

On the 16th of August, he returned from his cruize off Boston, crossed the bar directly, and came up to New York with the squadron, the greatest part of which stood in great need of repairs. These he was anxious to have completed with the utmost expedition. On the 17th, the *Robust* began to get her guns out. This ship, and the *Prudent*, were ordered to the dock-yard in the East River. The bottom of the former being very faulty, extremely leaky, and not coppered, she was ordered to be taken to the wharf, stripped, and caulked, and her bottom thoroughly examined, to render her capable, if possible, of proceeding to Halifax to be careened. The latter was to get in new masts, those which she had being rendered unserviceable, by the wounds which they had received in the action of the 16th of March, which had opened during the late cruize to such a degree as to endanger their falling. The *Europe* being only sheathed with fir, was brought close into the shore, lightened and heeled as much as possible, in order to repair her sheathing and stop her leaks. In hopes of intercepting the reinforcements expected by the enemy at Boston from France, the Admiral ordered the *Chatham* of fifty guns, as  
soon

soon as she could be reëquipped and got ready, to cruize from Cape Sable as far as Cape Anne. While on this station, she captured a French frigate, the particulars of which shall be afterwards related. On the 11th of August, the *Amphion* frigate arrived at New York, and brought with her two armed ships and twenty-three transports, on board of which were two thousand five hundred German troops and recruits from Bremer-Lehe. The arrival of this long expected reinforcement made Sir Henry Clinton extremely desirous of the Admiral's return from sea, as he had formed a plan for an expedition against the town of Providence, the capital of Rhode Island. He had learned by intercepted letters, that the French, when they marched from Newport to the southward to join the army under General Washington, had left there, a magazine of stores and artillery, under a guard of some militia and a few regular troops, and that their fleet also remained there with orders, as soon as it should be repaired, to retire to Boston for security. By private intelligence, he was likewise informed, that the works at Newport were in a great measure dismantled; that there were only a few invalids and militia left to guard them; and that the enemy, both at that place and at Providence, were under the greatest apprehensions of being attacked by the King's forces. These considerations, combined with a thorough knowledge of the posts which the enemy occupied there, led him to think, that he might look for the most ample success in an attempt against them. He therefore proposed to Rear-Admiral Graves, a conjunct expedition against Newport, in which it was determined, to attempt to take or destroy the French squadron then at that place. To this the Admiral readily consented. The plan was to be put in execution as soon as the fleet could be assembled, and as soon as the General should be joined by the reinforcement of troops from Europe which he had reason daily to expect. The Admiral did not return from his cruize to the northward until the 16th, when Sir Henry Clinton lost no time in renewing his proposal for the intended expedition. The Admiral's answer was, "that he

“ was under the necessity of sending the Robust to the dock-  
“ yard to be refitted, and that he should take the opportunity,  
“ while that was doing, of shifting a mast or two in the Pru-  
“ dent ; and when these repairs were accomplished he would  
“ acquaint the General.”\* Rear-Admiral Hood, with the  
fleet from the West Indies, arrived off the mouth of the Chesapeak on the 27th of August. Not finding Admiral Graves, he stood on for Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th, and came to an anchor without the bar ; but the ships of Rear-Admiral Graves’s squadron under repair, were not then ready for sea. Sir Henry Clinton immediately ordered the troops to be embarked ; and waiting on the Admirals, proposed to them, that the expedition should instantly take place : but that very evening, certain intelligence was received, that the Comte de Barras had sailed, with the fleet under his command, from Newport on the 25th ; and the attack against Rhode Island was of course laid aside. This was a most unfortunate event ; for, by it, a glorious opportunity was lost of giving the enemy a severe blow. As General Washington had for some time asserted, that he was going to meet the Comte de Grasse in the Chesapeak, no doubt could be entertained, that the French squadron from Newport had sailed with an intention of forming a junction with their fleet from the West Indies. This opinion was confirmed by the boasting of the enemy, that they would be assisted by a naval force, superior to any thing that the British could bring against it in North America. Much indeed it is to be regretted, that the squadron under M. de Barras was not intercepted, before it reached the Chesapeak. On board of his ships, were the principal battering cannon, mortars, and implements for carrying on the siege of York and Gloucester. His defeat would, therefore, have enabled Earl Cornwallis to have held out until such time as the British fleet could have come to his assistance, and either have beaten M. de Grasse, or compelled him to retire.

It is also to be lamented, that Sir Samuel Hood, with the fleet

\* See Note 228. General Clinton’s Narrative, page 16.



fleet from the West Indies, was not some days later of arriving. From the course which the fleet under his command, and that under the Comte de Barras steered, it is more than probable that they might have encountered off the coast of Virginia; and in that event, the known abilities, and often tried courage of the British Admiral, would have foreboded a most favourable issue to the conflict.

It gave great uneasiness to Rear-Admiral Graves, that neither the Robust nor Prudent were ready for sea, as it deprived him of the assistance of two very able officers, Captains Burnet and Cosby: but, as he thought, that the utmost dispatch ought to be made for getting off the Chesapeak, and, if possible, bringing the enemy to a battle, before all their fleets had formed a junction, he resolved to sail without loss of time, even although five of the line of battle ships which came with Sir Samuel Hood, were not in a condition for going on active and severe service. A line of battle was delivered out on the 30th of August;\* and the wind serving next day, Rear-Admiral Graves proceeded over the bar, with five sail of the line and a ship of fifty guns, and without coming to anchor, joined the squadron under Sir Samuel Hood. The British fleet then pushed with a press of sail for the Chesapeak: but before relating its farther operations with a view of assisting Lord Cornwallis, it will be proper to mention an expedition sent by Sir Henry Clinton to the northward.

While the large ships of the squadron were employed to the southward, Sir Henry Clinton embarked in transports a body of troops, the command of which he gave to Brigadier-General Arnold; and escorted by the Amphion frigate, Captain Bazely, some sloops of war, and some armed vessels, he dispatched them on an expedition against New London, in the province of Connecticut. They proceeded by the Sound; and, at two in the afternoon of the 5th of September, anchored off the Long Island shore, about ten leagues from New London. Having, in concert with Captain Bazely, made the necessary arrange-

\* See Note 229.

arrangements, the fleet weighed anchor at seven o'clock, and with a fair wind proceeded to the place of their destination. About one in the morning of the 6th, it arrived off the mouth of the harbour; but the wind unluckily shifting to the northward, it was nine o'clock before all the transports could beat in. The war ships had got to an anchor two hours before that time; and Captain Bazely had disposed of the naval force under his command, in such a manner as effectually to cover the debarkation of the troops. This was effected as soon as the transports came to an anchor. Agreeable to General Arnold's wishes, the descent was made in two places, viz. one on each side of the harbour, and about three miles from the town of New London. The 40th and 54th regiments, and the 3d battalion of New Jersey Volunteers, with a detachment of yagers and artillery, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, were landed on the Groten side. The 38th regiment, the Loyal Americans, the American Legion, refugees, and a detachment of sixty yagers, were landed on the New London side. The whole were immediately put in motion. At eleven o'clock, when the division under General Arnold was within half a mile of Fort Trumbull, which commands New London harbour, he detached Captain Millet, with four companies of the 38th regiment, to attack the fort. He was joined on his march by Captain Frink, with one company of the American Legion. At the same time, General Arnold advanced with the remainder of his division, to the west of the fort, on the road leading to the town, to attack a redoubt that had kept up a brisk fire upon the troops; but the enemy abandoned it, at the approach of the King's forces. In this work, were found six pieces of cannon mounted, and two dismounted. Soon after it was taken, Captain Millet forced his way into the fort with the greatest bravery. Although the enemy had loaded most of their cannon with grape-shot, which they poured on the King's troops as they advanced, they attacked with so much impetuosity, that they had only four or five men killed or wounded, when their opponents fled to their boats

boats and escaped. After leaving one company in the fort and another at the redoubt, Captain Millet, agreeable to the orders he had received, rejoined General Arnold, who now pushed on for the town of New London. On his march to it, he was opposed by a few of the enemy with a small field-piece; but they were soon obliged to give way and retire, after having spiked the guns. On the opposite side of the river was a fortification called Fort Griswold, of considerable strength, erected for the defence of the river and shipping. General Arnold was informed soon after his landing, that the works on this fort were incomplete, and that there were not more than thirty people in it; that at day-break, the forts had fired the alarm guns, as a signal of the descent making by the King's forces; and that almost all the people were busy in removing their property and shipping up the river. The General was induced to give credit to this report, when he perceived the enemy hard at work on board their ships and privateers, in bending sails, and in using all their endeavours to get them beyond the reach of the King's troops. As they had little wind, and the tide against them, they were again obliged to come to an anchor. These circumstances also prevented the armed vessels and boats, under the direction of Captain Shepherd of the *Recovery* sloop, from getting up the river and attacking such vessels as were at anchor in the stream. When the General took possession of Fort Trumbull, he could easily discern, that unless he could also carry Fort Griswold, all the enemy's vessels that were afloat would escape. He therefore dispatched an officer to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, to communicate to him the intelligence he had received respecting Fort Griswold, and to request him to attack it as soon as possible. 'When he sent this message, he had hopes that the howitzer was up, and that it would have been used in the assault. General Arnold, however, soon had an opportunity of viewing Fort Griswold from a height behind the town of New London, found it much more formidable than it had been represented, and perceived that the men, who had escaped in boats from Fort Trumbull, had thrown themselves into it. As a favourable breeze of wind sprang up about  
that



that time, the enemy availed themselves of it: and notwithstanding the fire from Fort Trumbull, and from a six pounder which the General had along with him, they escaped up the river with their shipping. Considering the strength of Fort Griswold, the General wished to recal the order he had sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre for attacking it: and for this purpose, immediately dispatched a boat and an officer, with counter-orders to him. Unfortunately this officer came a few minutes too late, for before his arrival, Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre had sent Captain Beckwith, with a flag to demand a surrender of the fort, and on receiving a peremptory refusal from Colonel Ladyard, the enemy's Commandant, had commenced the attack; and, by the superior bravery and perseverance of the British troops, carried the place, after an obstinate defence of near forty minutes. The disposition made for the assault was extremely judicious, and the courage and spirit which the officers and men displayed in conducting it, will for ever redound to their honour. They had vied with each other who should be the first in danger. The fort was a square with flanks: the troops assailed it on three sides, made a lodgement in the ditch, and, under a heavy fire which they kept up on the works, effected a second lodgement upon the fraising. This was attended with great difficulty, for only a few pickets could be forced out or broken in one place, which was so high, that the soldiers could not ascend it, without assisting each other. Here, their coolness and intrepidity were remarkably conspicuous. The first who ascended the fraise were obliged to silence a nine pounder, which enfiladed the place on which they stood, and to maintain their ground until a body of men had got up, sufficient to enter the works. When this was accomplished, they forced their way through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, notwithstanding a most obstinate resistance with long spears on the part of the enemy. In the conflict, the King's troops sustained considerable loss, before they made themselves masters of the place: two officers and near forty men were killed in the assault, and eight officers and about one hundred and forty men wounded. Among the former, was  
Major

Major Montgomery of the 40th regiment; and among the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre of the 54th regiment, who behaved with great resolution, and led on the attack with spirit. Being wounded near the enemy's works, he was succeeded in command by Major Montgomery, who was killed by a spear as he was entering the fort. The command next devolved on Major Bromfield, whose behaviour did him great honour.

The loss sustained by the enemy was very great, notwithstanding the advantages they had in being so much under cover. Colonel Ladyard and most of the officers who were in Fort Grifwold were killed; and, in that place, eighty-five private men were found killed, and sixty wounded, most of the latter mortally. Their loss in the other attacks was very considerable; and exclusive of the wounded, about seventy were made prisoners. In Fort Grifwold, thirty-five pieces of ordnance were found.\* The shipping which remained at the wharf, amounting to ten or twelve, were burned. Among these, were three or four armed vessels, and one loaded with naval stores. In the storehouses in the town, there was an immense quantity of European and West India goods, all of which were burnt: and unluckily, there was among the stores, a great quantity of gunpowder, of which circumstance the General and troops were entirely ignorant. The explosion occasioned by it, aided by a change of wind, communicated the flames to a part of the town, which, though every effort was made to prevent their progress, was unfortunately destroyed.

Upwards of fifty pieces of cannon, exclusive of those appertaining to the ships, were rendered useless. The General also designed, that the magazine, which contained a considerable quantity of gunpowder, and the barracks in Fort Grifwold, which were capable of containing three hundred men, should have been demolished; but owing to some mistake, this service was not performed.

In this expedition, the greatest harmony subsisted between the naval and military departments: and General Arnold, in his

\* See Note 230.

his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, said, "I should be wanting in justice to the gentlemen of the navy, did I omit to acknowledge, that upon this expedition I have received all possible aid from them. Captain Bazely has made every exertion to assist our operations, and not only gave up his cabin to the sick and wounded officers, but furnished them with every assistance and refreshment that his ship afforded."

General Arnold sent his dispatches to the Commander in Chief by Captain Lord Dalrymple, (now Earl of Stair), of whom he spoke in the strongest terms of praise. Indeed, so favourable was the report which he made of the behaviour of the officers and men under his command, that when the armament returned to New York, Sir Henry Clinton, in the general orders which he issued on the 17th of September, returned his thanks to General Arnold, and to the officers and men of the several corps who had been on this service, for their very spirited and good behaviour; and, after lamenting the destruction of the town of New London, concluded with the following paragraph: "His Excellency also feels himself greatly indebted to all the officers of the regulars and provincial corps, who accompanied General Arnold on that service, but more particularly to Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, Major Bromfield, and Captain Millet, who commanded the attacks, and to Lord Dalrymple, Captains Beckwith and Stapleton, of whose very able assistance and distinguished gallantry, Brigadier-General Arnold makes the most honourable mention."

We will now proceed to give an account of the grand fleet, which France had sent to the aid of their American allies.

The fleet under the Comte de Grasse, with a convoy of about two hundred merchant ships from Martinico and the other French islands to windward, arrived at Cape François in the island of Hispaniola, on the 16th of July, and there formed a junction with the squadron under the Chevalier de Monteil. On the 23d, the *Intrepide* of seventy-four guns caught fire, by an accident in drawing off some rum, and blew up. The  
Inconstante



Inconstante frigate shared the same fate, from a similar cause, off the Isle de Vache.

The Comte de Grasse, having embarked three thousand three hundred land-forces, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, on board his fleet, which now consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line, and two of fifty guns, besides the *Hector* of seventy-four guns, not quite ready for sea, sailed on the 5th of August for North America. He was conducted by Spanish pilots through the Old Straits of Bahama; because, by this course, he could most conveniently receive a supply of money from the Havannah. This, to the amount of two millions four hundred thousand livres, was brought to him on the 18th by l'*Aigrette* frigate. The *Hector* having joined him on the preceding day, on the 21st, his fleet was wholly clear of the Old Straits. While on his passage, he fell in with and captured, off the coast of Carolina, a British packet-boat from Charlestown, bound for England, having on board Lord Rawdon, late Commander of the British troops in South Carolina. He likewise took the *Sandwich*, an armed ship of twenty guns. On the 30th, in approaching the Chesapeake, where his fleet that day anchored, the *Glorieux* of seventy-four guns, l'*Aigrette* of thirty-two, and *Diligente* of twenty-six guns, were sent ahead, and gave chase to the *Guadaloupe* British frigate of twenty-eight, and *Loyalist* sloop of fourteen guns, which were then at anchor under Cape Henry. The *Loyalist*, being a heavy sailer, was taken; but the *Guadaloupe* escaped up York river. At the entrance of this river, those three French ships came to an anchor, and were next day reinforced by the *Vaillant* and *Triton* of sixty-four guns each. The *Experiment* of fifty guns, and *Andromache* of thirty-two, with several sloops, were stationed in James's river, not only to block it up, but to prevent Lord Cornwallis from retreating into the Carolinas, and to protect their own boats in landing the troops from the fleet, which they effected, on the south side of that river, about eighteen leagues above Lynn-haven Bay, where M. de Grasse had anchored.

On the 5th of September, while the enemy were still employed on this service, and in watering their ships, the fleet under Rear-Admiral Graves arrived off the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, with the wind at N. N. E., and fair weather. The Solebay frigate, being advanced ahead of the squadron, about half past nine in the morning made the signal for seeing an enemy's fleet to the S. W.; and soon after that, the Admiral made the signals to prepare for action and to call in all cruizers. The fleet seen proved to be the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse. About eleven o'clock, they could be seen as they lay at anchor within the Capes of Virginia. The line of battle ahead, at two cables length asunder, was immediately formed by signal from Admiral Graves: and in a short time, the French fleet was discovered to be getting under way, leaving their anchors behind them, and standing out to sea from Lynnhaven Bay, in a line of battle ahead, which they formed as they got under sail. A frigate which was cruising in the offing, and making signals, was now standing in to join them; and it plainly appeared to the British fleet as it advanced, that the enemy's force consisted of twenty-four sail of the line, standing about E. or E. by S., with their larboard tacks on board. About one o'clock, Admiral Graves made the signal for an east and west line, in order to bring his fleet nearly parallel to that of the enemy, but upon the opposite tack; as he continued to stand in toward Lynnhaven Bay, from whence they were standing out. Soon after that, he made the signals for the rear division, (under Rear-Admiral Drake) to make more sail, and for the leading ship to lead large, or toward the enemy. When Admiral Graves found that the van of his fleet was advanced as far as a shoal called the Middle Ground would admit, he made the signal and wore all his ships together; bringing his fleet by this movement, on the same tack with the enemy, to windward and nearly parallel to their line, having Rear-Admiral Drake's division in the van, and Sir Samuel Hood's in the rear. In order to bring on the action as speedily as possible, the signal was made, and frequently repeated, for the leading ship, to lead

lead more to starboard, or toward the enemy.\* Between two and three o'clock, the fireship's signal was made to prime, and soon after for the rear of the fleet to fill. At half past three, the signal was made for the ships astern to make more sail, and at forty-six minutes past three, for the line ahead at one cable's length asunder.

About this time, the Admiral perceiving that his fleet was well formed, while the van ships of the enemy were much extended, and their rear not quite clear of the Middle Ground, determined to make an immediate attack; and for this purpose made the signal, first for the fleet to bear away, and soon after to engage the enemy.

At a quarter past four, the headmost ships of the British fleet having approached pretty close to the van of the enemy, under M. de Bougainville, and the centres of both fleets being at no great distance from each other, the action commenced with much spirit on both sides, and soon became general, as far as the seventh ship from the rear. But in bearing down, when the signal was made for that purpose, the London, by taking the lead, had advanced farther toward the enemy, than some of the ships which were stationed immediately ahead of her in the line of battle: and upon luffing up, to bring her broadside to bear, they having done the same thing, her second ahead was nearly brought upon the weather beam. The other ships ahead of her were likewise too much crowded together. From these considerations, and in order to extend the van of the fleet, it was judged necessary, once more to hoist the signal for the line; but it was soon hauled down again, and the signal for engaging close kept flying.†

At different times, during the action, M. de Grasse with his own ship, and his centre division, edged away; and by these means increased the distance from the British ships which were opposite to them. This obliged him, in order to support his

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\* Vide a Copy of the Minutes taken from the Log-book of the London — (Appendix, Note 231.)

† Ditto, ditto.



van ships, which were very closely engaged, and roughly handled by the van of the British fleet, to make their signals to bear away :\* and they bore away accordingly before the wind, with all the appearance of a flight. At thirty-five minutes past five, Admiral Graves made the signal for the *Solebay* and *Fortunée* frigates to come within hail, with an intention of sending messages by them to the rear and van divisions, to bear down, and continue the action ; but the day drawing very near a close, he thought it most advisable to send orders, for the ships to keep in a parallel line with the enemy, and well abreast of them during the night. At twenty minutes past six, he made the signal for the line ahead at a cable's length asunder, and hauled down the signal for close action. The enemy, by bearing away, made the firing become distant, and a little after sunset, it totally ceased on both sides. At this time, Cape Henry bore N.W., about three leagues distant.

Scarcely had Admiral Graves taken the measures above-mentioned, for the purpose of more speedily renewing the action in the morning, when the *Montagu* hailed, and informed him, that she could not keep the line, being in danger of losing her masts. At ten, the *Fortunée* told the Admiral, that the *Shrewsbury* had her Captain and many men wounded, and her First Lieutenant killed ; both her top-sail-yards shot away, and that she was employed in getting one up : that the *Intrepid* was disabled in every respect ; that the *Terrible* could hardly be kept free from water ; that the *Ajax* was much damaged ; and that the *Princessa* had her main-top-mast so much wounded, that it was expected every moment to fall. The *London* had likewise been considerably damaged : her main and fore-masts were dangerously wounded, her sails and rigging much cut, and three of her guns dismounted. Considering the disabled state of the fleet, and its inferiority in numbers to that of the enemy, by no less than five sail of the line, it is very evident, that Admiral Graves was in no condition

\* Vide a Translation of M. de Grasse's Account of the Action, from the Paris Gazette.—(Appendix, Note 232.)

tion to force the French to renew the action in the morning as he had proposed; especially, as their ships had received much less damage in their masts, sails, and rigging, than those under his command. This might be owing to their engaging to leeward; and consequently firing from the high, or weather side; whilst the British ships, on the contrary, fired on them from the low, or lee side: the hulls of the ships were probably the marks fired at by both.

The loss of men sustained in this action by the British, was ninety killed and two hundred and thirty-six wounded. Among the former, was the First Lieutenant of the *Shrewsbury*: and among the latter, Captain Robinson of the same ship, who had one of his legs shot off.\* The French had M. de Boades, the Captain of the *Reflechée*, and several Lieutenants killed: and they acknowledged, that they had two hundred men killed and wounded in the action.

In the course of this work, we have often had occasion to comment on the very defective state of the signals used in conducting our fleets. In this action, it appears that there was no established signal, for directing a particular division of the fleet, to bear down and attack the enemy. Owing to this circumstance, or to the signals which were used not being distinctly seen, or to the full intention of them not being properly understood, the rear division of the fleet, under a celebrated Commander, was not brought into action; or if it was engaged, it was at such a distance that it could do no execution. Even when the signals employed are the very best adapted to the purpose intended, unless they are, on such occasions, conveyed through the fleet, and not only answered as being seen, but as being understood, mistakes will unavoidably happen, which may be productive both of discredit to the Commander in Chief, and of irreparable injury to the public service.

The two fleets continued during the whole of the 6th, in sight of each other, repairing their damages. Rear-Admiral Drake shifted his flag into the *Alcide*, until the *Princessa* should

get up another main-top-mast. The Shrewsbury had to reef (shorten) both top-masts, shift her top-fail-yards, and had sustained very great damage. Captain Colpoys of the Orpheus was ordered to take the command of her, and to put her in a state for action.

The Intrepid had both her top-fail-yards shot down, her top-masts in great danger of falling, and her lower masts and yards very much injured. The Admiral, in his public letter to the Admiralty, observes, that the ships in general did their duty well; but particularly, mentions the very gallant behaviour of the Captain of the Intrepid in covering the Shrewsbury.

The Montagu was employed in securing her masts, which were in danger of falling: she likewise made a good deal of water. The Terrible and Ajax were extremely leaky. The former had kept five pumps going during the whole voyage from the West Indies: and the Admiral learned, with concern, that a good many of the squadron, from that country, were in want of provisions and water. Notwithstanding the mutilated state, and bad condition of many of his ships, and without regard to his inferiority in numbers, with great firmness and resolution, he kept cruising, for four successive days after the action, in sight of the French fleet, and frequently very near it. He could not compel his opponents to fight, but it is evident, from M. de Grasse's account of the battle, that his ships had received less damage, and could carry more sail than those of Admiral Graves: and it follows, that as he often had the wind, and every advantage, he might have brought on a second engagement, if he had dared to make the experiment.

It is necessary, however, to take notice of a circumstance, which could not be known at the time to Admiral Graves. The French ships had left behind them in the Chesapeake most of their boats, and about fifteen hundred men, who were employed in watering and in landing the troops. But this seeming disadvantage was far from being so great a loss to them as might be apprehended. Boats lumber the deck, and occasion splinters with the shot: and the French have generally too  
many



many men on board, making up by numbers their deficiency in maritime skill. Be this as it may, the French will still be found, on a comparison of the state of the two fleets,\* to have had a very great superiority, even in this respect.

In the night of the 9th, the French fleet taking advantage of a favourable wind, left the British in possession of the field of battle, and stood away for the Chesapeake, where it anchored next day. M. de Grasse found there M. de Barras, with his squadron,† consisting of eight sail of the line, from Rhode Island. He had arrived on the morning of that day, having surprised and captured the Richmond and Iris frigates, as he stood into the Bay. They had been dispatched by Admiral Graves, for the purposes of cutting away the buoys from the anchors left by M. de Grasse's squadron, and of conveying intelligence to Lord Cornwallis.

It being determined in a Council of War held on the 10th, to evacuate the Terrible and destroy her, the Admiral employed the whole of the 11th in distributing her stores and provisions. On the evening of that day she was set on fire: and at one next morning she blew up.

As soon as the removal of the stores from the Terrible was finished, Admiral Graves stood with his fleet toward the Chesapeake, having sent the Medea frigate ahead to reconnoitre. Captain Duncan on his return, reported to the Admiral, that he had seen the French fleet at anchor within the Capes. The decided superiority of the enemy's naval force, now amounting to thirty-six sail of the line, was such, that it would have been the greatest temerity to have hazarded another action. As a defeat would have been attended with the most ruinous consequences, and as many of the ships of his squadron stood greatly in need of repairs, Admiral Graves bore away for Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 19th, having been joined on the 10th by the Lively sloop, from England with dispatches, and on the 15th, by the Prudent of sixty-four guns from New York. On the day of his arrival at Sandy Hook, the Medea sailed for

\* See Note 234.

† See Note 235.

England with his dispatches, giving an account of his endeavours to succour Earl Cornwallis. In our detail of the particulars of this unfortunate business, we are apprehensive that the reader may accuse us of too much prolixity; but we considered it as incumbent upon us, to give as full an account of this important transaction as lay in our power, from the best materials and information we could obtain. Much has been advanced on this subject, by writers of very opposite views; but we have given, what appears to us to be a just account of the whole transaction, avoiding every bias, and leaving the reader to judge of its merits for himself. The want of success on the part of the British appears to have originally proceeded, from the secrecy with which the enemy concerted their plans. If these had been discovered in due time, surely Admiral Graves would have been furnished with a naval force fully sufficient to have enabled him to oppose with success, any fleet that the French might have sent to the coast of America. On the very day on which Admiral Graves assumed the command of the squadron, he gave notice to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and also to the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships at the Leeward Islands, that he had discovered by an intercepted post of the rebels, that a considerable naval force might be expected from the West Indies, to act on the coast of America, in concert with the Comte de Barras. Perhaps, this intelligence did not reach them early enough, to admit of their sending the proper reinforcements in sufficient time to act with effect; for it evidently appears, from such parts of the correspondence as have been published, that neither the British Ministry, nor the Commander in Chief of the fleet in the West Indies, ever apprehended that the French had any intention of detaching so great a naval force from the West Indies, as the Comte de Grasse brought with him to America. So little did the Ministry suspect their adopting this measure, that the Admiralty drew the attention of Admiral Graves to some ships of force, and vessels with stores, which, they had heard, were to sail from France to Boston, and did not even advise

advise him of the reinforcements which they had ordered to join him. The Commander in Chief of the fleet at the Leeward Islands appears to have been strongly impressed with the same opinion, as to the force which the French meant to send to America: and, therefore, detached Rear-Admiral Hood with only a few ships to join Admiral Graves. What greatly increased this misfortune was, that many of the ships sent were in very bad condition.

Admiral Graves, immediately on his return to New York, gave the necessary orders to have his fleet refitted with the greatest expedition. The delays which occurred in this arduous work, gave him much uneasiness. The want of a proper dock was a great obstacle to his progress: and the smallness of the dock-yard was an inconvenience no more to be remedied than the scarcity of artificers, which was proportioned to his other accommodations. The repairs of two or three ships might be taken in hand at once, but as twelve or fourteen ships of the line were to be fitted, many of them wanting masts and yards of different sizes, iron work of every kind, shot-holes to be stopped, and decks and boats to be repaired, with so scanty accommodations, much time must be required, especially as the lower masts and bowsprits needed were to be made.

The Comte de Grasse returned to the Chesapeake on the evening of the 10th of September, and there found the Comte de Barras with the Squadron under his command,\* which had arrived the day before, having left Rhode Island the 25th of August. The Comte de Barras, immediately on his coming to an anchor with his Squadron, had, at the request of Generals Washington and Rochambeau, detached all his frigates and transports, and even the prizes made by the Comte de Grasse's fleet, under the command of M. de Villebrune, Commander of the Romulus, to Annapolis in Maryland, to take on board the troops under the command of M. de Viomesnil, and to proceed with them to Williamsburgh creek. This service was performed with great dispatch. M. de Villebrune and his convoy

s 47 reached

\* See Note 236.



reached their destination on the 25th, and on the 26th and 27th the troops were disembarked. On the 28th, the allied army marched from Williamsburgh for York: and in the course of that and the day following, they completely invested Lord Cornwallis's intrenched camp, for it deserved no other name. About the same time, a large detachment of French troops, under the command of the Duc de Lauzun, marched and blockaded the port of Gloucester. This corps was soon after that, reinforced by eight hundred marines from the fleet. These marines were sent at the request of the Comte de Rochambeau: and M. de Choisy, being the bearer of the General's letter, the Comte de Grasse conferred the command of them upon him.

Previous to our entering upon the detail of the gallant defence made by Earl Cornwallis, it will be proper to mention the preparations made by the Commander in Chief at New York, for completely relieving his Lordship from his disagreeable situation. Before the intelligence of the sea fight off the Chesapeake had reached Sir Henry Clinton, he had convened a Council of War, in which it was resolved, that five thousand men should be embarked on board the King's ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis: and, on the supposition that the French were masters of the Chesapeake, it was judged expedient, that this reinforcement should be sent directly. Sir Henry Clinton, having received the information sent him by Admiral Graves, a second Council of War was held, in which it was resolved, that it was advisable to wait for more favourable accounts from the Admiral, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was daily expected at New York with three sail of the line from England; especially as it was known, that Earl Cornwallis had provisions sufficient to support his army until the end of October.

The re-equipment of the fleet, which was to escort the succours destined to be sent to the assistance of Earl Cornwallis, so as to render it sufficiently strong to encounter the French squadron at the mouth of the Chesapeake, was a most arduous task, but Admiral Graves set about it with the greatest alertness.

In

In the evening of the 24th of September, Rear-Admiral Digby arrived at Sandy Hook from England, with the Prince George of ninety-eight, the Canada of seventy-four, and the Lion of sixty-four guns. The fleet was farther reinforced, by the arrival of the Torbay of seventy-four, and the Prince William of sixty-four guns, from Jamaica, on the 11th of October. These last came, in consequence of orders from Sir George Rodney.

Rear-Admiral Digby had been appointed Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels on this station, and brought with him orders for Rear-Admiral Graves, dated June 9th, 1781, to proceed in the London to Jamaica, and there put himself under the command of the senior officer on that station, if senior to himself. At such an important crisis as this, so capital a ship as the London, could ill be spared from the fleet at New York, especially as there was reason to apprehend, that another sea fight would take place. It also appeared, that the officers of the fleet, as well as of the army, were desirous that Admiral Graves should continue in the chief command of the fleet some time longer, and no one was more solicitous for his stay than Rear-Admiral Digby himself. In compliance with this desire, Admiral Graves continued to direct and superintend the naval operations, with the same assiduity and vigour which had marked his conduct, before the arrival of Rear-Admiral Digby. When the immense labour of equipping so large a squadron, and of getting it ready for sea in so short a time, under all the difficulties that occurred, is attentively considered, the exertions made on this occasion must appear to have been great indeed. They redound much to the honour of Admiral Graves, his officers and men. Some unforeseen accidents intervened, to retard the fleet getting so soon to sea as was expected. One of these was, that the Alcide fell on board of the Shrewsbury, by which the bowsprit and fore-yard of the latter were carried away, just as the damages which that ship had sustained in the late sea fight had been repaired. On the 17th of October, the whole fleet, by  
the

the help of the evening tide, proceeded down to Sandy Hook. On the 18th, Sir Henry Clinton with the land-forces, amounting to seven thousand one hundred and forty-nine men, embarked. On the 19th, the above three ships joined, and the whole fleet got safely over the bar, and steered for the Chesapeake.

We shall resume our narrative of the operations in the Chesapeake, and there behold a brave man, struggling with the storms of fate.

General Washington assumed the command of the combined army: and their junction gave the enemy so decided a superiority over the British forces in Virginia, that, by the 30th of September, Earl Cornwallis was completely blocked up within his works. Their numbers were upwards of twenty-one thousand men, accompanied with a very formidable train of artillery;\* whilst the most that Earl Cornwallis could muster, was somewhat short of five thousand men.† His Lordship availed himself of every opportunity in his power, to inform Sir Henry Clinton of the arrival of the fleet under M. de Grasse, and of the operations of the enemy: and the latter, as soon as he well assured that the rebels and their allies, intended to direct

\* Strength of the besieging Army:

Rebel Forces.	{	Continentials, - - - - 8000	} 13,000
	{	Militia, - - - - 5000	
French Forces	{	with M. de Rochambeau, 5377	} 8,877
	{	from the West Indies, - 3500	
Total,			21,877

*French Artillery.*

*Rebel Artillery.*

Twenty-four pounders, 12	Twenty-four pounders, - 3
Sixteen ditto, 8	Eighteen ditto, - 18
Twelve ditto, 8	Twelve ditto, - 3
Eight inch howitzers, - 2	Mortars of different sizes, 15
Six inch ditto, 6	Howitzers ditto, 5
Twelve inch mortars, 7	
Eight inch ditto, 4	
	French, 47
47	Total French and American, 91

† See Note 237.



direct their operations against the King's forces in Virginia, put the former on his guard, and pointed out to him the measures which he should pursue. As he was certain that his Lordship was to be attacked, his promises of relief in person were uniform; and he gave his Lordship no discretionary power to abandon the posts of York and Gloucester, even though circumstances should occur, which might render such a measure necessary. Lord Cornwallis therefore concluded, that Sir Henry Clinton spoke from a perfect knowledge of his own resources, and of the force of the enemy: and without orders from him, or at least a discretionary power vested in himself, it would have been unjustifiable in his Lordship to have evacuated York, and thereby to have abandoned to the enemy, a considerable quantity of artillery, besides all the ships of war, transports, provisions, stores, and hospitals. Equally culpable would his conduct have been, if, by hazarding an action, without the most manifest certainty of beating the combined army, and forcing them to raise the siege and retreat, he should rashly have run the risk of hastening so serious a loss.

In determining to remain with the forces under his command at the posts of York and Gloucester, he acted like a wise man: and in their defence, he showed himself to be a brave and an excellent officer. His Lordship, in his Introduction to his Answer to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative, says—"Although the Marquis de la Fayette advanced his light troops early in September to Williamsburgh, he did not take post there with his army, till reinforced with the French troops from the West Indies, under the command of Brigadier de St. Simon. I could at that time, after leaving some slight guards in the works, have marched out little more than four thousand men, partly composed of troops unaccustomed to action. The enemy were in a strong position, and considerably superior in number; but I should have attacked them without hesitation, if I had thought myself at liberty, after a victory, to escape into the Carolinas, with the troops that  
" were

“ were able to march. No other object appeared sufficient to  
“ justify this measure ; for our labour would have been mate-  
“ rially interrupted by an action, and even a victory, unless it  
“ had extended to the annihilation of the Marquis de la Fay-  
“ ette’s corps, without considerable loss on our side, (two  
“ events not to be expected), would not have enabled us to  
“ make a successful defence against the army then approaching  
“ under General Washington : but a defeat would probably  
“ have been followed with the immediate loss of our post,  
“ which, until the end of September, was in a most defence-  
“ less state : and as I could never have proved, that I should  
“ not have been relieved, I should have been exposed to public  
“ execration, as a man who, having reason to expect the early  
“ arrival of the Commander in Chief to supersede him in his  
“ command, had, in hopes of personal reputation from a  
“ victory, sacrificed the essential interest of his country. Far  
“ less could I have ventured an action, without the most evi-  
“ dent advantage, after the junction of General Washington ;  
“ a decision which nothing could have justified, but a certainty  
“ that I could not be relieved : in that case, I should have  
“ fought before I was hemmed in by the enemy’s works, be-  
“ lieving a victory, over great disparity of numbers in the open  
“ field, to be possible ; but a successful defence, without re-  
“ lief, in such a post, and against such an attack, to be im-  
“ possible.”

As a farther corroboration of what Lord Cornwallis says, it is well known, that, on the 30th of September, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to his Lordship a letter, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him ; and communicating to him, some information concerning the measures which he intended to take in order to effectuate that purpose. He also sent a duplicate of this letter by the Hon. Major Cochrane, who left New York on the 3d of October, went in a small vessel to the Capes of Virginia, and from thence, in an open boat, made his way through the whole of the French fleet, reached York town on the 10th, and delivered

vered his dispatches to Lord Cornwallis. This gallant officer did not live to receive the reward of so much merit, and of such important service ; for he unfortunately had his head shot off by a cannon ball, very soon after his arrival.

The French encamped to the left of the rebel forces, on the ground extending from the river above York town to a morass in the centre, where they joined their allies, who occupied the opposite side, from the river to that spot. General Washington endeavoured, as much as possible, to excite an emulation for glory and enterprise among the combined forces under his command ; and with this view, he inserted in his public orders of the 27th of September, the following instruction : “ If the  
“ enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the  
“ General particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal  
“ reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of  
“ the boast which the British make, of their peculiar prowess  
“ in deciding battles with that weapon.”

Before General Washington marched from Williamsburgh, he received a letter from the Comte de Grasse,\* which gave him great uneasiness. In this letter, the French Admiral informs him, that in case of the appearance of a British fleet, he conceived it to be his duty to go out and meet them at sea, instead of fighting them in a confined situation. This information exceedingly alarmed the General, who instantly saw the probability that, in that event, the British fleet might manœuvre in such a manner, as to reinforce or withdraw Lord Cornwallis. To prevent a measure pregnant with so much evil to the American cause, he wrote the following letter to the Comte de Grasse on the 26th : “ I am unable to describe the  
“ painful anxiety under which I have laboured since the reception of your letter of the 23d instant. It obliges me warmly  
“ to urge a perseverance in the plan agreed upon. The attempt  
“ upon York, under the protection of your shipping, is as  
“ certain of success as a superior force and a superiority of  
“ measures can render any military operation. The capture of  
“ the

\* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iv. page 188, &c.



“ the British army is a matter so important in itself and in its  
“ consequences, that it must greatly tend to bring an end to  
“ the war. If your Excellency quits the Bay, an access is open  
“ to relieve York, of which the enemy will instantly avail  
“ themselves. The consequence of this will be, not only the  
“ disgrace, but the probable disbanding of the whole army;  
“ for the present seat of war being such, as absolutely pre-  
“ cludes the use of waggons, from the great number of large  
“ rivers which intersect the country, there will be a total want  
“ of provisions. This province has been so exhausted, that  
“ subsistence must be drawn from a distance, and that can only  
“ be done by a superior fleet in the Bay. I earnestly beg your  
“ Excellency to consider, that if, by moving your fleet from the  
“ situation agreed upon, we lose the present opportunity, we  
“ shall never hereafter have it in our power to strike so decisive  
“ a stroke, and the period of an honourable peace will be  
“ farther distant than ever. Supposing the force said to have  
“ arrived under Admiral Digby be true, their whole force  
“ united cannot be such as to give them any hope of success in  
“ attacking your fleet. I am to press your Excellency to perse-  
“ vere in the scheme so happily concerted between us. Permit  
“ me to add, that the absence of your fleet from the Bay may  
“ frustrate our design upon the garrison at York. For in the  
“ present situation, Lord Cornwallis might evacuate the place  
“ with the loss of his artillery, baggage, and a few men.  
“ Sacrifices that would be highly justifiable, from the desire of  
“ saving the body of the army.” The Marquis de la Fayette  
was the bearer of this letter. He had orders not to pass the  
Capes, if the Comte de Grasse with the fleet should have gone  
to sea. By the arguments used by General Washington, and  
the persuasions of M. de la Fayette, the French Admiral was  
brought to acquiesce in opinion with the former. Accordingly,  
when the combined arms were surrounding York town, the  
French fleet took such a position at the mouth of York river,  
as effectually covered and protected all the enemy's military  
operations on that side, and rendered either the retreat, or the  
succour

succour of Earl Cornwallis's army a thing impossible, until they should remove, or be forced from their station by a superior naval force.

The posts at York and Gloucester seem to have been considered by Lord Cornwallis, as so incapable of being defended, that he would probably have abandoned them, if it had not been for the assurances of relief which he received from the Commander in Chief.\* His Lordship remained on the strong ground in front of York town, for two days after the French and American armies had formed their junction at Williamsburgh, in hopes that they would have attacked him. General Washington, however, proceeded with the greatest caution, and carefully reconnoitred the position of the British army. Lord Cornwallis perceiving that he was taking measures, by which he could not fail of turning his left flank in a short time, withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, resolving to defend them to the last extremity, that he might give time to Sir Henry Clinton to come to his assistance. Though his men were not less exposed in repelling the attacks of the enemy, than in completing the works which he found it necessary to erect; and though his stock of intrenching tools, which did not much exceed four hundred, when the army first began to use them in the latter end of August, was now much diminished, he persisted in his determination to maintain his posts; knowing, that notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which they laboured, he could rely on the spirit of his troops.

The enemy broke ground on the night of the 30th of September, and on that night and the two following days and nights, constructed two redoubts, which, with some works that had been erected by the British forces, where they were posted before they retired within the works, occupied a gorge between two ravines, that came down from the river on each side of the town. On the night of the 6th of October, they made their first parallel, which extended from its right on the river,

\* See Note 238.

river, to a deep ravine on the left, nearly opposite to the centre of York town, and embraced the whole of the British works on the left, at the distance of six hundred yards. They carried on their approaches with the greatest vigour. Having completed the first parallel, the Americans opened their batteries on the evening of the 9th, and next morning the French followed their example. Their fire was directed chiefly against the left of the works. Other batteries fired at the same time against a redoubt, advanced over the creek on the right, where Captain Apthorpe commanded about a hundred and twenty men of the 23d regiment and some marines, who defended this post with the greatest gallantry. The enemy's fire began with forty pieces of heavy artillery: and they augmented the number of these, until they had about ninety cannon and mortars on their works. With these, they kept up an incessant and well directed fire for upwards of two days, during which time most of the guns on the British works, particularly on the left, were silenced. Their loss of men was also considerable, and their works greatly injured; for it was now perceived, that new loose works, even if they had been complete, which was not the case, were not capable of withstanding such a weight of fire. During this attack, the enemy directed part of their cannonade against the little squadron under Captain Symonds. By some red hot shot, which they fired at the *Charon* of forty-four guns, she was set on fire and consumed. The same fate befel the *Vulcan* fireship: and the *Guadaloupe* and *Fowey* frigates, and some of the transports, sustained so much damage, that they sunk. Whilst the enemy were erecting their batteries, several little skirmishes occurred between the hostile armies, in which the British troops displayed great courage; but, owing to the vast superiority of their opponents in point of numbers, they were always worsted.

Earl Cornwallis posted most of his cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river, where the whole of his force did not exceed six hundred men, one half of which were infantry. The enemy had  
blocked



blocked up this post, by a corps of French infantry and marines, under M. de Choisy and the Duc de Lauzun, and a corps of American militia under General Wieden. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton was advanced at some distance from the works with his cavalry, when he was attacked by the Duc de Lauzun's whole force. A retreat became absolutely necessary; and he effected it with great judgment, having sustained very little loss. The cannon from the works compelled the enemy to give over the pursuit: and M. de Choisy withdrew with his troops to near a league's distance, where he took post, keeping advanced posts about a mile in front of the works. A scarcity of forage obliged Lord Cornwallis to order the greatest part of his horses to be drowned.

On the York side, the French made a successful attack on the British piquets, that were posted in a wood in front of the advanced redoubt on the right; but they retired with very little loss to the redoubt, where the enemy did not venture to attack them.

On the night of the 11th, the enemy began their second parallel, about three hundred yards nearer the works. The British troops were now much weakened by sickness, as well as by the fire of the besiegers: and Earl Cornwallis, observing that the enemy had not only secured their flanks, but proceeded in every respect with the greatest regularity and caution, could not therefore venture to make forties of such strength, as might give him reason to expect that they should be productive of any considerable effect. To compensate as much as possible this disadvantage, he employed all the men he could spare to interrupt the enemy's operations, by opening new embrasures for guns; and by keeping up a constant fire with as many of his howitzers and small mortars, as he could find hands to work.

On the evening of the 14th, the enemy attacked and carried by storm two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards in front of the works. These had been erected for the purpose of retarding the enemy's approaches and covering the left flank: but, during the night, they included them

in their second parallel, on which they continued to work with the utmost assiduity. In attacking these two redoubts, they displayed both great courage and conduct. The redoubt on the left, nearest the river was attacked by the Americans, and the other by the French. The Marquis de la Fayette conducted the assault of the first, where Major Campbell of the 71st regiment commanded. In this assault, Lieutenant-Colonels Hamilton and Laurens, who led on the troops, behaved with great bravery, after an obstinate resistance carried their point, and immediately gave quarter to all who ceased to resist. In this humane conduct, while flushed with victory, both officers and men had the greater merit, that the Marquis de la Fayette, if credit be due to a historian\* very partial to the cause of America, had given them very sanguinary injunctions, in which he attempted, in the event of their success, to inspire them with the mean passion of revenge. The Baron de Viomenil had the command of the French troops who attacked the other redoubt; and the Lieutenant-Colonels Comte Guillaume Forback de Deux Ponts, and the Baron de l'Estrade, led them on to the assault. They were also victorious; but these successes cost the combined forces many lives, and in their attempts to repulse them, the British did not escape without considerable loss.

After the enemy had finished their second parallel, Earl Cornwallis clearly saw, from the ruined state of his works, that they could not stand many hours against their batteries, unless some means should be devised to retard their operations. He therefore gave orders to direct the fire of all his cannon and mortars upon their approaches: and, a little before day-break on the morning of the 16th, ordered a sortie, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Abercrombie, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in great forwardness, and to spike the guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie divided his corps into two bodies. The one, consisting of a detachment of the guards and

\* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iv. page 192.

and the grenadier company of the 80th regiment, he put under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Lake of the guards; and the command of the other, which was composed of some companies of light-infantry, he gave to Major Armstrong of the 17th regiment of foot. No troops could behave better than these did: each detachment was successful: they took not only the batteries, but also the redoubts that covered them; they spiked eleven guns, killed and wounded about one hundred French troops who had the guard of that part of the trenches, and retreated within their own works with very little loss. No action could possibly redound more to the honour of the officers and soldiers engaged in it, than this did; but it proved of very little advantage to the besieged: for the cannon having been spiked in a hurry, were either soon rendered again fit for service, or, by the uncommon activity of the enemy, were replaced by others, so that before it was dark, the whole parallel and batteries appeared once more to be nearly complete. The strength of the combined forces, in every particular, was not more conspicuous, than the weakness of the British; for at this time, there was no part of the front attacked in which they could shew a single gun, and their shells were nearly expended. The batteries which the enemy were erecting, could not fail to enfilade the whole of the British works: and the ricochet firing,\* which was every minute expected, must have soon made prodigious havock among the troops. Things were now come to such a

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crisis,

\* Ricochet firing is extremely destructive even to the strongest fortresses. The guns are placed in such a manner, that the shot fired from them may range the whole length of a rampart or street. A smaller quantity of powder is used than in an ordinary charge: only as much is put into the guns, as may be sufficient to carry the balls over the parapet; after which, they bound like flat stones thrown horizontally along the surface of the water. Passing along in this manner, they occasion great confusion and loss among the besieged, dismounting their cannon, breaking their pallisades, and cutting off the communications of the place, &c. Marshal Vauban was the first who invented this method of firing, and used it in 1679 at the siege of Ath. By means of it, in 1714, M. de Valiere, in twenty-four hours, rendered the numerous artillery at Quesnoy almost entirely useless: and in 1747, his son by ricochet firing, obtained a superiority of fire, over all the formidable works of the, till then deemed, impregnable fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom.



crisis, that the brave Earl Cornwallis seemed to regard his fate as certain: and, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, on the 15th, he represents his situation in a very desponding point of view, and says, that he would not recommend it to the fleet and army to expose themselves to much hazard in endeavouring to save his corps. Even situated as he was, he resolved to make one effort more, to save the troops under his command, before he would propose terms of capitulation; wisely reflecting, that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least retard the progress of the enemy, in the prosecution of farther enterprises. Orders were accordingly given for preparing sixteen large boats, on other pretexts than the real one. These were directed to be in readiness to receive the troops precisely at ten o'clock that night, (*viz.* the 16th). By means of these, his Lordship hoped, during the night, to pass the infantry over to Gloucester, abandoning the baggage, and leaving a detachment of troops in York, to make terms of capitulation for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded; on which subject he had prepared a letter, which was to be delivered to General Washington. After making all the necessary arrangements with the utmost secrecy, at the hour appointed, the embarkation commenced with the light-infantry, the greatest part of the guards, and part of the 23d regiment; and most of them were landed at Gloucester: but at this critical moment, the weather, from being moderate and calm, changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain, and drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. It was soon evident, that the intended passage for the remainder of the troops was impracticable, and the absence of the boats rendered it equally impossible to bring back those who had already passed. Thus weakened and divided, by this untoward accident, the army was involved in a state of the most imminent danger.

To increase the anxiety and peril arising from these unfortunate circumstances, the enemies' batteries were opened, with great force and effect, at day-break on the 17th. The passage  
between

between York and Gloucester was much exposed; but the weather becoming a little more moderate, the boats happily got back to York, and were immediately sent for the troops who had passed during the night, and they joined the army in the forenoon without sustaining much loss.

Lord Cornwallis, in explaining his motives for taking the resolution to abandon York town, speaks the language of one who determined to run every risk, which he thought could be conducive to the interest of his country, and says—"My resolution at last, of attempting to escape with part of the army, could only have been dictated by despair. The enemy's immense train of battering artillery had now nearly reduced our fresh earthen works to ruins. The attacks were conducted with so much caution, that we had no opportunity of making any material impression on them. The batteries of the second parallel, which I knew in a few hours would compel us to surrender at discretion, were nearly completed; and I had then lost all hopes of relief. If the sudden gale of wind had not prevented our passage of the river, Brigadier de Choisy, who lay with a small corps a few miles from Gloucester, would have been attacked at day-break by the greatest part of our force; after which, being without baggage, I should have gained the upper country by rapid marches, mounting my infantry, by collecting horses on my way, and leaving my intended route doubtful, until I was opposite the fords of the great rivers. I then intended to have turned off to the northward, expecting that the enemy would principally take their measures to prevent my escape to the southward. The success of this attempt would no doubt have been precarious: and I cannot say that it would have been practicable to have reached New York; but in our desperate situation, I thought it well deserved a trial."\*

Things were now drawing to that unfortunate crisis, which had been for some time foreseen, but which could not be averted;

\* Introduction to Earl Cornwallis's Answer to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative, pages 13 and 14.

ed; the works were going rapidly to ruin, and there were no means of repairing them, except by a slight fraising, which the enemy's artillery almost instantly demolished. Earl Cornwallis coincided in opinion with the engineer and principal officers of his army, that the works were in many parts assailable in the forenoon, and that by a continuance of the same fire for a few hours more, they would be in such a state as to render it desperate, with their reduced numbers to attempt to maintain them; for at this time the garrison could not fire a single gun, and only one eight inch, and little more than one hundred cohorn shells remained. The troops were not only diminished by loss and sickness, but the strength and spirits of those who were left to defend the shattered works, were exhausted and worn down by constant watching and unremitting fatigue. In this debilitated state, they had other dangers to dread than what arose from the army which assailed them: and this proceeded from a co-operation of the French squadron at the mouth of York river, with the land-forces. As they devised their measures with great judgment, and executed them with the utmost prudence, their success in a general assault could not admit of a doubt.

In such circumstances, it would have been cruelty in the extreme, to have persevered in a fruitless defence, and to have sacrificed the lives of a small but gallant body of soldiers, who had ever behaved with the greatest fidelity and courage, by exposing them to the dangers of an assault, which, from the numbers of the enemy, and the ruined condition of the works, must have ended in their destruction. Earl Cornwallis therefore determined to propose terms for a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours: and in the afternoon of the 17th, wrote to General Washington, desiring that Commissioners might be appointed on both sides, for settling the terms of capitulation.\*

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\* See Note 239.—The reader will find the correspondence which this produced in the Appendix, together with all the other papers relative to this unfortunate, but necessary transaction.



Such was the hard fate of the remains of this gallant army, which in the course of the war in the southern provinces, had often been highly distinguished by the most brilliant victories. The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th of October. Earl Cornwallis did all that lay in his power to obtain favourable conditions for the troops under his command; but his endeavours were not successful. The terms which Sir Henry Clinton allowed to General Lincoln at Charlestown, seem to have furnished the rule, by which General Washington acted to Earl Cornwallis; and the troops were of course made prisoners of war. The land-forces became the prisoners of the Americans; and General Washington, in his letter to Earl Cornwallis of the 18th of October, says—"the benevolent treatment of prisoners, which is invariably observed by the Americans, will be extended to them." Such of his Majesty's ships and vessels, as also all the transports that remained in York river, were delivered up to the Comte de Grasse, together with about fifteen hundred seamen, who, by the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. The enemy, by the surrender of York and Gloucester, obtained a numerous artillery of various sorts and calibres; but none of them of weight sufficient for their late purpose of defence in a siege. The British General, prompted by his great goodness of heart, endeavoured to obtain some favourable terms for the inhabitants of York town, and for such Americans as had espoused the Royal cause, and were along with him. This favour, however, was refused, on the specious pretext, that it was a thing appertaining to civil matters, and did not therefore fall within the authority of the military commanders. But Lord Cornwallis resolved not to leave the Loyal Americans in the power of their exasperated countrymen, which would have exposed them to the most imminent danger, made it a condition of his surrender, that his Majesty's sloop Bonetta, which was to convey his dispatches to New York, should pass without search or examination, he being answerable only, that the number of persons which

she conveyed, should be accounted for as prisoners of war upon exchange.\*

Justice

\* Copy of the Decision of the Court of Enquiry, which sat upon Captain Dundas, on board of his Majesty's ship Warspite, in Portsmouth harbour.

At a Court of Enquiry, assembled and held on board of his Majesty's ship Warspite, in Portsmouth harbour, on Tuesday the 12th day of March, 1782, by virtue of an order from John Evans, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Spithead and Portsmouth, in order to examine into the conduct of Captain Ralph Dundas of his Majesty's late sloop the Bonetta, respecting his behaviour to some Loyalists in America, at the time of the capitulation of York town in Virginia, dated the 11th day of the present month of March:

P R E S E N T,

Captains JOHN MOUTRAY, Esq; Commander of his Majesty's ship Edgar, and Senior Captain (on the spot) of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Spithead and Portsmouth, PRESIDENT.

HOB. FREDERICK MAITLAND.

RICHARD ONSLOW.

ANTHONY HUNT.

THOMAS PASLEY.

EDWARD THOMPSON.

The Court in pursuance of said order, for examining into the conduct of Captain Dundas of his Majesty's late sloop the Bonetta, respecting his behaviour to some Loyalists in America, at the time of the capitulation of York town in Virginia, having proceeded into the said enquiry, and maturely examined the charge of inhumanity, *secretly* brought against the said Captain Dundas, for not receiving his Majesty's Loyal American subjects on board, and giving them that protection their necessities and distresses demanded: and after thoroughly investigating the matter, by examining his officers, and reading the letters and orders of Earl Cornwallis, and Captain Symonds of the Charon, we do find, that the charge is MALICIOUS, WITHOUT TRUTH OR AUTHORITY, and exhibited to prejudice the character of Captain Dundas, who, in every circumstance, conducted himself strictly to the orders of Lord Cornwallis, and Captain Symonds, the senior officer, for the public good in that private service, in which he particularly distinguished himself, in his humane treatment and reception of upwards of three hundred and forty of the Loyalists, (besides his ship's complement), whom he used with every attention and humanity.

JOHN MOUTRAY.

FREDERICK MAITLAND.

RICHARD ONSLOW.

ANTHONY HUNT.

THOMAS PASLEY.

EDWARD THOMPSON.

Justice to Lord Cornwallis, to the officers and soldiers of his army, and to the enemy, requires us to insert the following extract from his public letter to Sir Henry Clinton on this occasion.

“ I sincerely lament that better (terms) could not be obtained ; but I have neglected nothing to alleviate the misfortunes and distress of both officers and soldiers. The men are well clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be regularly supplied, by the means of the officers that are permitted to remain with them. The treatment in general that we received from the enemy since our surrender, has been perfectly good and proper: but the kindness and attention that was shewn to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression in the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

“ Although the event has been so unfortunate, the patience of the soldiers in bearing the greatest fatigues, and their firmness and intrepidity under a persevering fire of shot and shells, that I believe has not often been exceeded, deserved the highest commendation and praise.

“ A successful defence, however, in our situation was perhaps impossible ; for the place could only be reckoned an intrenched camp, subject in most places to enfilade, and the ground in general so disadvantageous, that nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy, could have induced any person to have erected works upon it. Our force diminished daily by sickness and other losses, and was reduced, when we offered to capitulate, on this side, (York) to little more than three thousand two hundred rank and file fit for duty, including officers, servants, and artificers ; and at Gloucester about six hundred, including cavalry. The enemy’s army consisted of upwards of eight thousand French,

“ nearly



“ nearly as many continentals, and five thousand militia. They  
“ brought an immense train of heavy artillery, most amply  
“ furnished with ammunition, and perfectly well manned. The  
“ constant and universal cheerfulness and spirit of the officers  
“ in all hardship and danger, deserve my warmest acknowledg-  
“ ments ; and I have been particularly indebted to Brigadier-  
“ General O’Hara, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie,  
“ the former commanding on the right, and the latter on the  
“ left, for their attention and exertion on every occasion. The  
“ detachment of the 23d regiment and marines in the redoubt  
“ on the right, commanded by Captain Apthorpe, and the sub-  
“ sequent detachments commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel  
“ Johnson, deserve particular commendation. Captain Roch-  
“ fort, who commanded the artillery, and indeed every officer  
“ and soldier of that distinguished corps, and Lieutenant  
“ Sutherland, the commanding engineer, have merited in  
“ every respect my highest approbation ; and I cannot suf-  
“ ficiently acknowledge my obligations to Captain Symonds,  
“ who commanded his Majesty’s ships, and to the other officers  
“ and seamen of the navy, for their zealous and active co-opera-  
“ tion. I transmit returns of our killed and wounded ; the loss  
“ of seamen and town’s people was likewise considerable.

“ I trust, that your Excellency will please to hasten the re-  
“ turn of the Bonetta, after landing her passengers, in com-  
“ pliance with the article of capitulation.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie will have the honour to  
“ deliver this dispatch, and is well qualified to explain to your  
“ Excellency, every particular relating to our past and present  
“ situation.”

Earl Cornwallis had seen how shamefully the Convention at Saratoga had been violated : and he resolved to add a condition, which, if observed with strict honour, would prevent either officer or soldier of the troops under his command, from experiencing such vexatious treatment. He therefore had it expressly stipulated—that *no article of the capitulation should be violated, under any pretence of making reprisals.*

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The generous treatment which, after their surrender at York and Gloucester, Lord Cornwallis and his army received from the French officers, cannot fail of affording great satisfaction to every generous mind. Such conduct marks indeed true greatness of soul. It serves to soften the horrors of war, to hide its deformities, and to alleviate all its concomitant calamities.

The news of the unfortunate catastrophe of the campaign in Virginia, were received with great and visible concern in Great Britain. Every person felt for the noble Commander, and seemed convinced, that he had left nothing untried, which could have procrastinated, and if possible prevented, the fatal event. Neither he nor his army forfeited any part of their former reputation: and it is but justice to the present age to say, that it knows how to distinguish the want of success from the want of merit.

During the time it lasted, perhaps the siege of York town is one of the severest upon record. The enemy did not open their batteries until the 10th of October, and the cessation of hostilities took place on the evening of the 17th. In this short period, the French expended sixteen thousand shot and shells, three thousand of the latter being of their largest dimensions, and the expenditure of the same articles by the Americans was not less.

The loss of the British during the siege was considerable: two Captains, four Lieutenants, thirteen serjeants, four drummers, and one hundred and thirty-three rank and file, were killed: five Lieutenants, one Ensign, twenty-four serjeants, eleven drummers, and two hundred and eighty-five rank and file, wounded: one Major, two Captains, one subaltern, three serjeants, and sixty-three rank and file, missing.

The French said, that they had fifty rank and file killed, and a hundred and twenty-seven wounded. Nine of their officers were wounded, among whom was Brigadier-General Marquis de St. Simon; two of their officers died of their wounds.

The Americans said, that their loss, from the 28th of September to the 16th of October, amounted to one officer, one serjeant, and sixteen rank and file, killed; and nine officers, one serjeant, and forty rank and file, wounded: militia, four rank and file killed, and sixteen rank and file wounded.

The military-chest belonging to Earl Cornwallis's army, was perhaps the poorest that ever accompanied such a respectable body of British troops. Its contents amounted only to 2113l. 6s., estimating the dollar at 4s. 8d.: and agreeable to the terms of capitulation, it was delivered to the enemy.\*

Having finished the detail of the military operations in Virginia, we shall now resume the narrative of those carrying on at New York, where the Commanders in Chief of both departments were straining every nerve, to get the promised succours in readiness to proceed to the Chesapeak. On the 18th of October, the troops which were on board of transports were all embarked on board of the ships of war, to the number of seven thousand one hundred and forty-nine, (officers included), and commanded by the Commander in Chief in person. On the 19th, the fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, two fifty gun ships, and eight frigates,† got under sail for the Chesapeak: and on the 24th, they arrived off the Capes, where

\* The Commissioners for drawing up the Articles of Capitulation on the part of the enemy were, the Viscount de Noailles, for the French, and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens for the Americans. While settling the terms, the Viscount wished Lord Cornwallis to state, upon his honour, the value of the military-chest. His Lordship declared, that the value might be about 1800l. sterling. The Viscount observed, that the sum was so trifling, that it was not worth bringing into the account, and therefore was for leaving it entirely at Lord Cornwallis's disposal. Mr. Laurens interfered, and observed to his colleague, that though it was natural for a subject of one of the greatest monarchs in the world to think 1800l. an inconsiderable sum, yet, for his part, being a subject of an infant state, struggling with infinite inconveniencies, and where money was very rare, he must deem it a very considerable sum: and therefore he insisted, that it should be accounted for, which was accordingly done.†

† Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. iv. page 195.

‡ See Note 240.



where the Admiral received intelligence from the pilot of the *Charon*, who came off in a boat for the purpose of communicating it, that Lord Cornwallis and his army had surrendered on the 18th. On the 25th, the *La Nymphe* frigate joined the fleet from New York, and brought a letter, dated October the 15th, from Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton. From its contents every thing unfortunate was to be apprehended, and what it foreboded was too soon confirmed.\* Admiral Graves proceeded, with the fleet under his command, to reconnoitre the strength and position of the French squadron in the Chesapeake. He found it at anchor, drawn up in a line extending from the Horseshoe sand to York-spit, so that the entrance into York river was entirely blocked up; and observed, that its force amounted to thirty-four sail of the line, and a great number of frigates. It would, therefore, have been the height of temerity in him to have attacked it, when he saw that it possessed so many advantages, and such an evident superiority. The Comte de Grasse discovered no inclination to come out and hazard a general engagement: and as the British fleet could do no service, merely by cruising off the Chesapeake, it was judged proper that it should return to Sandy Hook, and that the troops should proceed to New York, and rejoin the army. Soon after this, Rear-Admiral Graves resigned the command of his Majesty's ships on this station to Rear-Admiral Digby, and agreeable to the orders he had received, proceeded in the *London* to Jamaica.

Earl Cornwallis, as soon as he had settled all matters relative to the capitulation of York town, went to New York, where he remained until the 15th of December, when he embarked for England, on board the *Robust* of seventy-four guns. That ship, and the *Janus* of forty-four guns, being appointed convoy to a large fleet bound for Europe, put to sea that day. On the 18th, they were overtaken with a violent storm, which scattered the fleet: and the *Robust* being greatly out of repair, and making six feet water in an hour, was obliged to steer for Antigua.

\* See Note 241.

Antigua, to get her leaks stopped. His Lordship therefore quitted her, and went on board the Greyhound transport. The first land made by the Greyhound was the Scilly Islands; but it being the evening, it was thought prudent to stand off the land until next morning, when she unfortunately fell in with a French privateer, mounting ten six pounders. As she had only six three pounders, and as her crew consisted mostly of men on parole, she could attempt no resistance, and therefore struck on the first summons. The enemy took most of the crew into the privateer, and put a prize-master and some of their own people on board of the Greyhound, with orders to conduct her to the first port in France which they could make. The privateer then proceeded on her cruize: and the weather becoming very tempestuous, the Greyhound was thought to be in very great danger. The Frenchmen on board being very indifferent sailors, were greatly at a loss how to act: and the British prisoners were not forward in giving them any assistance, as from the direction of the wind, the unskilfulness of the crew, and the confusion that was visible amongst them, they entertained hopes, that they were more likely to make the English than the French coast. In this dilemma, Lord Cornwallis proposed, that the prize-master should resign the management of the ship to the British sailors, who would conduct her to the nearest port in England, and gave him his word of honour, that as soon as this was accomplished, the vessel should be re-delivered to him, and that he and his crew should be permitted to depart with her for France, without molestation. With this proposal the Frenchmen gladly closed, and the Greyhound was, by these means, brought into Torbay on the 17th of January, 1782; when, after his Lordship and all the British were landed, she was restored to the French, and suffered to depart, according to agreement.

The cruising ships on the North American station were extremely active: and although many of the frigates were employed on the conjunct expeditions, they greatly distressed the enemy's trade, and took a considerable number of their priva-

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teers and ships of war. Some of the battles which they fought, on these occasions, redound much to the honour of the British navy. On the 14th of April, the *Roebuck* and *Orpheus*, commanded by Captains Orde and Colpoys, took, off the Capes of the river Delaware, the *Confederacy*, a ship of war belonging to the Congress, mounting twenty-eight twelve, and eight six pounders, and having a crew of three hundred men. This vessel was on her voyage from Cape François to Philadelphia; and her cargo consisted of sugar, coffee, indigo, and a large quantity of cloathing for the army under General Washington, which made the capture severely felt by the enemy. The Admiral having sent the *Roebuck* and *Medea*, commanded by Captains Orde and Henry Duncan, to reconnoitre the French squadron at Newport in Rhode Island, they took, on the 6th of May, on their way back to Sandy Hook, a ship called the *Protector*. She belonged to the State of Massachusetts Bay, mounted twenty-six guns, and had two hundred and fifty men. Being found fit for his Majesty's service, she was purchased, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the *Huffar*.

On the 8th of July, the *Charlestown* of twenty-eight guns, the *Allegiance* and *Vulture* sloops of fourteen guns each, commanded by Captains Evans, Phipps, and George, together with the *Vernon* and *Jack* armed ships, having sixteen vessels under convoy, sailed for Spanish river in the Island of Cape Breton, to load coals for the use of the King's forces. When near their destination, on the 2d of July, they were chased by two large French frigates.\* Captain Evans, finding that the enemy gained ground, formed his little squadron into a line of battle ahead, the *Charlestown* being in the centre, and kept between the enemy and the convoy, all of which made good their entry into Spanish river. The French ships got up with the British squadron about eight in the evening, and immediately began to engage. The *Jack* (the smallest of the two armed vessels) struck, soon after the action commenced: but the

\* *L'Atrée* of forty guns, M. de la Perouse; and *L'Hermione* of thirty-six guns, M. de la Touche.



the other British ships kept up an incessant and well directed fire for two hours, when the enemy sheered off, taking their prize with them. Captain Evans, who had conducted himself with great skill and bravery, was unfortunately killed, together with seven of his crew : twenty-nine men were wounded on board the Charlestown. The Allegiance had one man killed, and five wounded ; the Vulture one man killed, and two wounded ; and the Vernon seven killed, and six wounded. The British ships were much shattered. The enemy must have sustained considerable loss of men ; and their ships must have been greatly disabled. On the death of Captain Evans, the command devolved upon Captain Phipps. The evening of the day on which the action was fought proving very dark, he made the signal for the ships to alter their course in the night : and at day-light next morning, the enemy's ships were not to be seen. The Chatham of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Andrew S. Douglas, being on a cruize, on the 2d of September, fell in with the Magicienne French frigate in Boston Bay, immediately gave chase to her, and in a few hours came up with her. An action then took place, which lasted thirty minutes, when the enemy's ship, mounting thirty-two guns, and having a crew of two hundred and eighty men, commanded by the Chevalier Bouchetierre, struck her colours. She had thirty-two men killed, and fifty-four wounded. The Chatham had one man killed, and one wounded. The Magicienne proved to be a very fine frigate, was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. Captain Douglas also took the General Monk, a rebel privateer of twenty-two guns and ninety-four men. On the 7th of August, the Medea of twenty-eight guns, Captain Duncan, took, off the mouth of the river Delaware, the Belisarius, a privateer belonging to Salem, (a remarkable swift sailer), mounting twenty guns. She was purchased by Government, and added to the navy by the same name. On the same station, on the 9th of August, the Iris of twenty-eight guns, Captain Hawker, fell in with the Trumbull, a frigate belonging to Congress, of thirty-

thirty-two guns, and two hundred men. After a running fight of about an hour's continuance, in which the *Iris* had one man killed and six wounded, the enemy struck, having had four men killed, and three officers and seven men wounded, in the action.

On the morning of the 6th of September, Captain Stirling of the *Savage* sloop of war, while on a cruize, ten leagues to the eastward of Charlestown in South Carolina, saw a ship bearing down upon him, and supposed that she was a privateer, of which he had received information. As she approached, he perceived that her force was too much superior to that of the *Savage*, to warrant his hazarding a battle; and therefore judged it expedient to attempt an escape by flight. The enemy, however, gained so fast upon him, as to convince him that his efforts, completely to avoid an action, would be vain. He therefore resolved to endeavour to place his ship in the most advantageous position, in hopes, that a few fortunate shot might so disable the rigging of his opponent, as to afford him an opportunity of effecting his escape. At half past ten, the enemy began to fire his bow chaces: and at eleven came close on the quarter of the *Savage*, and commenced the action with musquetry, which was soon followed by a warm cannonade on both sides. In an hour's time the rigging of the *Savage* was completely destroyed; but the brisk fire which she still kept up, prevented the enemy from perceiving how much she was disabled. Some accident now happened on board the privateer, which obliged her to drop astern: but the *Savage*, being little better than a mere wreck, was, in the mean time, with the greatest difficulty, got into a position, in which she might avoid being raked, as the enemy lay for some minutes athwart her stern. As soon as the privateer had repaired the damage which she had sustained, she came, once more, alongside of the *Savage*, and the action recommenced with great spirit on both sides: but, by loss of men, and the state of the sloop, which had become completely ungovernable, Captain Stirling was obliged to submit, at a quarter before three in the afternoon.

The enemy's ship was called the Congress. She mounted, on her main-deck, twenty twelve pounders, and on her quarter-deck, four six pounders. Her crew, at the commencement of the action, consisted of two hundred and fifteen men, of whom eleven were killed, and about thirty wounded, several of them mortally. Her masts, sails, and rigging, were so much damaged, that she was under a necessity of returning to port to repair. Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of Captain Stirling's well fought battle, this circumstance served in some measure to favour the principal object he had in view, which was the protection of a great part of the Carolina trade, then daily expected on the coast, on which this fast sailing privateer was cruising.

The Savage had the master and seven men killed; the Captain, Lieutenant, three midshipmen, and twenty seamen wounded. Captain Stirling was much pleased with the courage and activity shewn by his Lieutenant, Mr. Shiels, as also by his gunner, Mr. Guyam. Mr. Wightman, the master was killed early in the action, which deprived him of the assistance of an able officer. Captain Stirling said, in his letter to the Admiral, that his men fought with a cool determined valour, which would ever redound to their credit: and that Captain Geddis, and the officers of the Congress, after fighting them bravely, behaved to them, when prisoners, with great humanity. The Savage was soon after that retaken by the Solebay frigate.

In addition to these, the Medea, which, as we formerly mentioned, took the Belisarius, also captured three privateers belonging to the rebels, viz. the Rover of eighteen guns and one hundred and forty men, the Revenge of ten guns and eighty men, and the Favourite privateer, of eighteen guns and one hundred men.

The Chatham, Captain Douglas, took the General Monk privateer of twenty-two guns and ninety-four men. She was purchased by Government, and made a sloop of war by the same name in the Royal Navy.

The Amphitrite of twenty-four guns, Captain Biggs, took  
the



the Experiment privateer of twenty guns and one hundred and twenty men, and Revenge privateer of eight guns.

The Pearl took the Senegal privateer of eight guns.

The Carysfort took a ship of five hundred tons, sixty men, and six guns, a most valuable prize. She was from Piscataway, bound for Cape François, loaded with masts for the use of the French fleet.

The Nymphe and Amphion frigates took the Royal Louis privateer of four hundred and fifty tons, twenty-two guns, and one hundred and eighty-eight men; and the Rambler privateer of ten guns.

The Assurance took the Rattlesnake privateer of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men.

The Royal Oak took the Aurora privateer of eighteen guns and one hundred men.\*

The General Monk took the Salem Packet of one hundred tons, twelve guns, and twenty-three men. She was laden with silks.

The Garland and Warwick took the Greyhound privateer.

The Pegasus and Rattlesnake took the Deane privateer of sixteen guns and one hundred and ten men.

The Solebay took the Dan of three hundred tons, eight guns, and eighteen men, laden with wine.

Besides these, a great number of merchant ships, both French and American, were taken, many of them of very great value: exclusive of the valuable prizes that were taken or destroyed on the several expeditions.

## NEWFOUNDLAND.

REAR-ADMIRAL EDWARDS commanded on this station, and was exceedingly active in protecting the trade, and in  
 OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND taking

\* Of the above privateers, the Royal Louis, by the name of the Albacore; the General Monk; the Aurora, by the name of the Mentor; the Savage, (re-taken) and Rattlesnake, by the name of the Cormorant, were purchased by Government, and converted into sloops of war.

taking and destroying a number of the enemy's privateers.†

The following gallant action does great honour to the conduct of Captains Edwards and Smith, and Lieutenant Arden. His Majesty's sloops *Atalanta* and *Trepassey*, commanded by Captains Edwards and Smith, being on a cruize, got sight of a sail on the 27th of May, at three o'clock in the afternoon, distant four leagues to the S. E. ; on which they bore up, and came within one league of her. Perceiving her to be a large ship, they hauled their wind, and failed in sight of her all night. At noon on the 28th, it being almost calm, the strange ship, which was about half a mile to leeward, soon convinced them that she was an enemy, by hoisting Congress colours, and firing a broadside at the two sloops, which were then very near to each other. They then bore up close alongside of the enemy; the *Atalanta* on the starboard, and the *Trepassey* on the larboard quarter, and began to engage. About an hour after the commencement of the action, Captain Smith of the *Trepassey* was killed, and Lieutenant King of that ship took the command, and continued the combat for two hours and a half longer, when the sloop being quite disabled was obliged to strike. She had five men killed and ten wounded in the action. The *Atalanta* continued the action some time longer, but was likewise obliged to submit, after having a good many men killed and wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Samuel Arden, who lost his right arm. His bravery was very conspicuous during the battle: and the instant his wound was dressed, he resumed his station on deck, where he remained until the sloop struck. There was no proportion between the enemy's force and that of the British in this action. The victorious ship proved to be the *Alliance* of forty guns and three hundred men.\* She was commanded by Captain Berry, who took Captain Edwards, Lieutenants Arden and King into his

† See Note 242.

\* The *Alliance* carried forty guns and three hundred men. The *Atalanta* sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men; and the *Trepassey* brig, fourteen guns and eighty men.

his own ship, and having disarmed the Trepassey brig, converted her into a cartel, on board of which he put the crews of the two sloops, under the direction of Mr. Philip Windfor, the master of that sloop, and sent her to Halifax. He ordered the Atalanta to Boston; but she was fortunately retaken, as she was entering that port, by the Assurance, Charlestown, and Amphitrite frigates, which were cruising on that station. On the 25th of May, the Cygnet sloop of war took a rebel privateer called the Fish Hawk, of six guns and fifty-two men. In the month of June, the Oiseau frigate, Captain Lloyd, being on a cruize, took the ship Congress, a rebel privateer of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty men; also, the Active rebel privateer, of fourteen six pounders and seventy-two men, and retook a British brig; all which he sent to the harbour of St. John's. On the 12th of July, the Portland and Vestal took the Royal Louis rebel privateer, of sixteen guns and one hundred men, also the Lion privateer, of ten guns and forty men, both belonging to the port of Salem. The Surprise and Danae frigates took the ship Venus, of sixteen guns and eighteen men; and two rebel privateers, the Independence of sixteen guns and eighty-three men, and the Diana of ten guns and fifty-seven men. The Portland, Æolus, and Vestal, being on a cruize, took the ship Disdain, of sixteen guns and seventy-six men, also a brig called the Captain, of six guns and thirty-two men, both rebel privateers, and retook a British ship from Jamaica.

The loss which the Royal Navy sustained on the North American station this year was very considerable, and an account of it is subjoined. The Romulus of forty-four guns was taken by M. de Ternay's squadron. The Iris and Richmond of thirty-two guns each; the Sandwich and Germain armed ships of twenty guns each; the Cormorant of sixteen guns; Bonetta and Loyalist of fourteen guns each, were taken by the French squadron under M. de Grasse: and the Port Royal of sixteen guns, by the Spaniards at Pensacola. The Atalanta and Savage of sixteen guns each, and Trepassey of fourteen



guns, fell into the hands of the rebels. The Terrible of seventy-four guns was burnt at the mouth of the Chesapeake; the Mentor of twenty guns at the siege of Pensacola; and the Charon of forty-four, and Vulcan fire-ship, were burnt at the siege of York town: the Guadaloupe of twenty-eight, and Fowey of twenty guns, were sunk at the siege of York town. The Culloden of seventy-four guns, was wrecked on the east end of Long Island; and the Swallow of sixteen guns, on the same island. The Hope of sixteen guns foundered off Charlestown. The Duchess of Cumberland of sixteen guns, was wrecked on Cape St. Mary, Newfoundland. The Delight of sixteen guns, foundered on her passage to North America. The Rover of fourteen guns, foundered on the coast of that country; and on the same coast the Conflagration fire-ship was also lost.

We have now given a full account of the naval and military operations in North America, which fall within the plan of this work. We have encountered the painful task of relating the great disasters, which befel the British arms in the course of this campaign—disasters, which made a great impression on the nation in general, and brought the people at last to see, that the revolted colonies were not to be reduced to obedience by coercive measures. The great increase of the public debt, most of which was to be attributed to this unfortunate contest; the enormous load of taxes; the principal maritime powers of Europe combined against Britain; her trade decayed; her total want of any ally who could afford her the smallest assistance; her people clamorous, and her Senate distracted by faction, all called aloud for a change of men and measures. Nor, if all these circumstances are duly weighed, is it to be wondered, that her then Ministry had lost the confidence of the nation.

## AFRICA.

THE armament, the progress of which falls now to be related, has afforded scope for severe animadversion: for such  
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was the manner in which it was conducted, that it was productive of the most fatal effects on the naval transactions of Britain in the East Indies. The reports of great insurrections in the Spanish colonies in South America, created a general belief, that the object of this expedition was to join the insurgents either in the Rio de la Plata or the South Seas: and this was regarded as an attack on the Spanish dominions in their most vulnerable part, which would be pregnant with the most ruinous consequences to that monarchy. Such a design may, perhaps, have been seriously thought of in the British Cabinet; but the multiplicity of public affairs, and the great increase of the enemies of the state, rendered it utterly impossible for the kingdom to furnish men and ships for enterprises against every place, on which it might otherwise have been practicable to make an impression. The war, which commenced at the beginning of this year between Great Britain and Holland, probably induced Government to lay aside the expedition designed against the Spanish colonies, and to substitute in its place, an attack on the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. It might also have served as an additional inducement to prefer this enterprise, that if it should prove successful, after garrisoning that place, a strong reinforcement of both troops and ships might be sent to the East Indies. Unfortunately, at this time, France had a spy in London, who spared no cost to obtain intelligence;\* and the change of the object of this armament, was early suspected both by France and by the States General. The command of the fleet destined for this service was given to Commodore Johnstone, and that of the land-forces to Brigadier-General Medows, who had greatly distinguished himself at the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies. The Dutch beheld the preparations for this exploit with the greatest terror; and seemed quite aware of the fatal consequences which must follow, if they should lose that valuable settlement, which, in the present debilitated state of their navy, they were wholly unable to protect. Under

\* M. de la Mothe—afterwards discovered, tried, convicted, and executed.

these impressions, they made strong representations to their new ally of the danger which they apprehended, and requested such assistance, as might effectually avert the intended blow. France viewed the matter in the same light : and was not sorry, that an opportunity so soon presented itself, of convincing her new and unexpected ally, how very sincere she was in her professions of friendship. She therefore resolved, at this critical time, to grant such a powerful aid, as might serve, not only to justify the very extraordinary part which that republic had taken in the war, but also to secure her future friendship, and to render her obsequious to all the measures which might afterwards be proposed by the French Ministry.

Immediate orders were accordingly issued, for embarking on board of transports, a considerable body of regular forces, under the command of the Comte de Conway. These were to be escorted by a squadron of four sail of the line and some frigates, the command of which was given to the Chevalier de Suffren ; and the destination of which was, to counteract the operations of General Medows and Commodore Johnstone against the Cape of Good Hope. By order of M. de Grasse, the French squadron was reinforced at sea by the *Artesien* of sixty-four guns, on intelligence being received that the *Hero* of seventy-four guns had been added to the British armament, which was before that time of superior strength to the other ;\* but clogged, by having to escort thirteen sail of outward bound East India Company's ships. The naval part of the French armament was ultimately designed to reinforce the squadron under M. d'Orves in the East Indies, in order to enable him to act with effect against Sir Edward Hughes in that quarter of the world. The Chevalier de Suffren, however, was instructed to consider the counteracting the operations of Commodore Johnstone, and the affording effectual relief to the important settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, as his first and immediate objects.

The British Ministry had early intelligence of the preparations

\* See Note 243.



tions which were making at the port of Brest, and Commodore Johnstone was regularly informed of them. Both squadrons were ready for sea nearly about the same time. The one under Commodore Johnstone, consisting of one ship of seventy-four, one of sixty-four, three of fifty guns, three frigates, and several armed transports, besides storeships, transports, and Indiamen, sailed from Spithead on the 13th of March, along with a strong squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Darby, who was bound for the relief of Gibraltar, and kept company with the Admiral, until he steered for the mouth of the Straits. M. de Suffren sailed from Brest on the 22d of March, in company with a large squadron commanded by M. de Grasse, bound for the West Indies, from whom he parted when the former steered to the westward.

Commodore Johnstone made the best of his way to Port Praya in St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, where he intended to take in wood, water, live stock, and other necessities proper for his voyage. That he might perform this necessary piece of business as soon as possible, he detached a considerable part of his fleet to water at the Island of May, with positive orders to the commanding officer, to rejoin him in a given time. This was done in nine hours less than the time specified by the Commodore, which proved a most fortunate circumstance: for, had the enemy made their attack while the squadron was divided, they would have made an easy conquest of both divisions. It is difficult to assign a reason for the promiscuous manner in which the British fleet were allowed to come to an anchor in Port Praya Bay, unless it was, because there could be no reason to apprehend an attack in a neutral port.

By the best accounts of this extraordinary affair, it appears that it was the information which he had received, of the unprepared state of the British squadron, the negligent position in which it was arranged, and the fatal security into which it was seemingly lulled, that prompted the Chevalier de Suffren to make the attack. The Bay is so formed, that it could have  
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admitted of an excellent disposition of the ships. The depth of water in it gradually increases, as it recedes from the shore, from three to fifteen fathoms, and the points of land at each extremity are something less than a league asunder. In such a situation, the smallest and most defenceless vessels might have been anchored nearest the shore; next to these, as the water deepened, might have been placed the storeships and Indiamen; and without these the Commodore with the war ships, to protect the whole. Instead of adopting so judicious an arrangement, the fleet had unfortunately come to anchor in the most intermixed manner: and in the midst of this heap of confusion was the Commodore's ship, the Romney of fifty guns. Happily, however, the Hero of seventy-four, the Monmouth, of sixty-four, and the Jupiter of fifty guns, were on the outermost range, and these saved the whole from destruction. No vessel was kept cruising in the offing to give early notice of an enemy's approach, and on the 16th of April no such approach seems to have been expected: for, on that day, great numbers of the different crews were ashore, some employed in the various services of watering, embarking live cattle, obtaining fruits and vegetables, others in fishing, and many taking a little recreation. The whole number absent amounting to about fifteen hundred persons. The Commodore, displeased with the situation of his fleet, was also absent, giving directions for some ships which had drifted too near each other to remove, when the Isis of fifty guns, which, with a fireship and a bomb-ketch, had, on their return from the Island of May, anchored farther out in the bay than any of the fleet, made the signal, about half past nine in the morning, for seeing eleven sail in the offing towards the N. E. The Commodore, immediately on observing this, returned on board the Romney, and made the signal for all persons to come from the shore, and to repair on board of their respective ships. This signal was enforced by the repeated firing of guns; and a boat was sent to the shore, with orders to expedite the re-embarkation as much as possible. A signal was likewise made to unmoor, and another to prepare  
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for battle. The Commodore then went on board of the *Isis*, from which he plainly discovered five large ships of the line, and several smaller ships, standing in for the land. By this time, M. de Suffren had separated his line of battle ships from his convoy, and was making signals by superior and inferior flags, which enabled the Commodore to determine with certainty that they were French ships. He then returned on board the *Romney*, calling to the East India ships, as he passed and re-passed, to prepare for battle. A quarter before eleven, the strange ships appeared coming round the east point of land, drawn up in a line of battle ahead and leading into the bay. That they intended to attack the King's fleet was then pretty evident; for they had springs which were passed to their cables along the outside of their ships: and although the port was neutral, it is a well known fact, that the French, when it suited their conveniency, or when they possessed a superior force, were seldom scrupulous in respecting such rights. Besides, as the Portuguese fort and garrison were utterly incapable of affording protection to the fleet, or of maintaining the rights of sovereignty, there was every reason to conclude, that these would be little regarded. The Commodore was not therefore disappointed in conjecturing, that a battle was at hand.

Never was a British fleet attacked at so much disadvantage as this. Besides the injudicious position in which it was found by the enemy, it suffered from various other embarrassments. One of these was, that the decks of most of the ships were encumbered with water casks and live stock, for the removal of which, the suddenness of the attack did not allow sufficient time. It proved a most fortunate circumstance for the British, that M. de Suffren was either badly seconded by his Captains, or that he did not, on this occasion, display those eminent abilities, which shone with so much lustre, in the many hard battles which he afterwards fought with Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies. He deprived himself of the superiority of force which he possessed, by attacking the British squadron with three ships only, and allowing his other two ships to get into  
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the thick of their fleet, for the purpose of making prizes. With great appearance of resolution and courage the French squadron advanced; and their Commodore led on, within two cables length of the Monmouth, Jupiter, and Hero, passing the Diana frigate, Terror bomb, and Infernal fireship, which lay without the rest of the ships. When he had done this, M. de Suffren, in the Heros of seventy-four guns, hoisted his broad pendant, and his squadron displayed their colours. He then hauled up his courses, and fired two shot at the Isis from his larboard bow as he luffed up. Immediately after that, permitting his ship to shoot up in the wind, as far as the force with which she was sailing would carry her, he dropped his anchor abreast of the Monmouth, and began to fire as fast as possible at the different ships. His sails, however, were then flying and in the greatest confusion, so that the spring which he had on his cable did not hold, when the ship was checked to bring up; and he drove abreast of the Hero of seventy-four guns.

No sooner had the French Commodore fired his two guns at the Isis, than that ship, seconded by the Hero, Monmouth, and Jupiter, and assisted by the Diana and other ships, opened every gun they could bring to bear upon the enemy, with great power and effect, Commodore Johnstone making the signal for battle at the same time. The Annibal of seventy-four guns, commanded by M. de Tremignon, was the next ship that followed M. de Suffren, anchored ahead of him, and commenced a furious cannonade. The next of the enemy's ships was the Artesien of sixty-four guns, commanded by a M. de Cardillac. She endeavoured to pass through the British fleet, in order to attack the Romney: but being unable to effect this, she anchored astern of their Commodore, and continued to engage there for a short time, with her sails unfurled and flying about, until she boarded the Fortitude and Hinchinbrook East India ships. Her Captain being then killed, she put to sea. The Vengeur, the fourth French ship, ran on different lines, luffing and bearing up as she passed among the skirts of the British ships,

ships, but in so great confusion, that it was with the utmost difficulty that she was able to clear the reef of rocks, which stretches out from the west point of the bay. The Sphynx of sixty-four guns was their fifth ship. She also run in among the convoy, firing at every one of them within her reach; and as she passed along, endeavoured to board severals, but in every attempt was foiled.

The unfortunate situation of the Romney was such, that she was in a great measure deprived of her share of the glory that fell to the ships which repulsed the enemy. She could fire only a few of her guns, through openings, of which it required great management to avail herself, without injuring the convoy. Being thus cut off from taking an active part in the engagement, Commodore Johnstone, accompanied by General Medows, went on board of the Hero, then in warm action, and keeping up a tremendous fire. When the battle had continued about twenty minutes, most of the India ships and store-ships had recovered from their surprise, and kept up a fire which greatly annoyed the enemy. Nothing could exceed the courage displayed on this occasion, by such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged. Though opposed to ships that carried much heavier metal than they did, fighting near an hour, they rendered the situation of the French Commodore so unpleasant, that he was glad to follow the example of his second attern, by cutting his cable and getting out of the bay in the best manner he could. The Annibal was now the only ship that the enemy had in action: and she of course became the object at which the whole fire of the British fleet was directed. She was soon completely disabled: her sails and rigging were demolished, all her masts went by the board, and even a piece of her bowsprit tumbled along with them into the water. The fire which she returned, when in this dreadful situation, was slow and ineffectual: her colours were shot away; and some supposed that she had struck. This, however, was denied by her crew, who fired some guns after that accident. Having remained in this woeful condition for about a quarter of an hour, she cut  
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her cable, went round on her heel, drove before the wind, which then blew pretty fresh from the shore, and soon rejoined M. de Suffren, who waited for her at the entrance of the bay, in order to cover her retreat, left, in her disabled state, she should have been pursued by the frigates of the British squadron.

Upon the retreat of the *Annibal*, Commodore Johnstone returned to his ship the *Romney*, on which his broad pendant had been flying during the whole time of the engagement, and made the signal for all the Captains to come on board. After hearing the condition of every ship in the squadron, he gave orders for the ships of war to cut and slip, as fast as they could get to sea, in order to follow up the victory: and likewise directed every ship that was in their way to slip their cables also, that nothing might impede his Majesty's ships in the pursuit of the enemy. It is greatly to be lamented, that while this was doing, the Commodore had not left orders with the Captain of some sloop of war, or with the commander of some of the armed transports, to conduct the convoy to a proper rendezvous, whilst he, with all the capital ships, frigates, and San Carlos armed storeship, went to attack the enemy; lest he should be carried so far by the pursuit, or so disabled in the action, as not to be able to beat up again to the island of St. Jago. A few minutes would have been sufficient for giving this order; and no danger could have accrued to the convoy, from being conducted to the rendezvous by so slender an escort, for the fleet under M. de Suffren was the only force from which they had any thing to dread in these seas. This oversight saved the enemy's fleet from destruction.

How it happened, that the large ships were so long of getting to sea, after the action was at an end, the public has never been informed.\* It appears, however, that even after the Commodore and some of his ships had got out of the bay, which was a little after two o'clock, he was detained by waiting

\* It appears by Captain Sutton's Court-martial, that the enemy were only about a league distant.



ing for the *Isis*, Captain Sutton, who did not obey the signal to come out. The enemy were at this time only two miles to leeward : and he was informed, by means of Captain Hawker of the *Hero*, that Captain Sutton had been retarded in his attempts to get out, by the disabled state of his ship in her masts, yards, and rigging, but that he would follow as fast as he could. With this answer the Commodore was not satisfied, but repeated Captain Sutton's signal to come out, which he immediately obeyed. He then formed his ships in a line of battle ahead, and went in pursuit of the enemy, who by this time had collected their squadron, taken the *Annibal* in tow, and even raised a fort of jury-mast in her, on which they had got up a sail. They were going before the wind, in a line of battle abreast. Commodore Johnstone soon after this, also made the signal to bear up in a line of battle abreast. At that instant, the *Isis* lost her fore-top-mast above the top-sail yard, which yard was not injured by the fall, nor was the sail hurt, or any other damage sustained by this accident, that could prevent her from working, her fore-top-sail being close reefed and set. The squadron was brought to, until the *Isis* was cleared of the wreck, which was done in about forty minutes. The chase was then renewed in a line of battle abreast ; but the Commodore found, that when he neared the enemy,\* the *Monmouth* and *Isis* were considerably astern. He therefore made their signals to call them to their stations. The *Monmouth* directly obeyed ; but the *Isis* could not keep up with the squadron.

By this time the sun was set ; and, from the various obstructions and delays which the Commodore had met with, he could not propose a decisive action that night. To have followed the enemy until day-light, he says, in his public letter, that his prospects were very tempting ; but then, continues he, " I must have left my convoy in distress, and separate from the troops, without any fixed determination concerning them " or

\* That the reader may form a clear judgment of the motives which induced him to adopt this resolution, a copy of the letter which he sent to the Earl of Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, will be found in the Appendix, see Note 244.

“ or their destination ; I must also have relinquished the object  
“ of the present expedition ; for these and other reasons I de-  
“ termined to return to Port Praya.”

On the 17th, the fleet retook the Hinchinbrook East India ship, with twenty-five Frenchmen on board, from whom the Commodore received a full account of the squadron that had attacked him.\* The enemy must have sustained great loss of men in the battle, especially in the *Heros* and *Annibal*† and it is very extraordinary, considering the smoothness of the water, and the great violence of the action, that his Majesty's ships suffered so very little as they did. In the *Hero* only two men were wounded, and the same number on board the *Jupiter* : in the *Monmouth* only six were wounded ; and in the *Ifis*, four were killed and five wounded. These ships bore the brunt of the engagement, and continued in action the whole time that it lasted. In the *Romney* seven men were wounded, and in the *Jason* frigate, two were killed and seven wounded. Among the former was Lieutenant George Keith, much regretted. Several were killed and wounded on board of the East Indiamen, some of which behaved with great bravery, particularly the *Osterley* and *Fortitude*. The latter was attacked by the *Artesien*, whose crew, after firing a few broadsides, attempted to board the *Osterley*. Some of the enemy succeeded in getting upon her deck ; but were speedily repulsed. To this repulse Captain Jenkinson, with a company of the 98th regiment, contributed in no small degree ; they kept up a constant fire of small arms, by which several Frenchmen were shot on the shrouds, and two of them were forced overboard : but the victors had afterwards the satisfaction of saving these two men, when the ships separated. In the whole British fleet, there were only thirty-six men killed, one hundred and forty wounded, and twenty made prisoners.

There

\* See Note 245.

† M. de Suffren, in his letter to the French Marine Minister, said, that he had thirty men killed in his own ship the *Heros*, a hundred in the *Annibal*, and about ten in each of the three sixty-four gun ships.

There was something peculiar in the fate of the *Infernal* fireship and *Terror* bomb. They, as has already been observed, lay at anchor considerably without the rest. The *Terror* had sprung her bowsprit, and was fishing it, with her rigging loose, when the enemy appeared, one of whose sixty-four gun ships laid her on board. She then caught fire; and the enemy afraid to take possession of her, though Captain Wood often invited them to do it, were glad to get disentangled from their disagreeable situation. Captain Wood, on observing this, ordered the cable to be cut, and the bomb drove out to sea, where she lost her bowsprit and foremast. In this wretched state, she was again followed by one of the French ships, which fired several shot at her; but, by this time, the British ships were preparing to come out of the bay, and her Captain would not strike his colours, but with great bravery and presence of mind contrived to set some stay-sails, and to slide off in that shattered condition. The *Infernal* fireship went to sea, and was taken by the enemy, who afterwards abandoned her on the approach of the British squadron, when such of her officers and crew as were left on board, conducted her back to St. Jago. Her commander, Captain Darby, and a few of his men, were carried on board of the French squadron, and were the only prisoners made by the enemy from the King's ships. Captain Darby returned to England from the Cape of Good Hope, and was tried by a Court-martial at Portsmouth, for the loss of the *Infernal*: but, having made it perfectly clear to the Court, that he never had received any written orders from the Commodore, to anchor the ship under his command within the large ships at Port Praya, he was most honourably acquitted.

Several of the India ships suffered considerable damage from the enemy, particularly the *Hinchinbrook*, *Lord North*, *Asia*, and *Osterley*. The *Edward* victualler, after having been nearly sunk, was taken by the enemy, carried out to sea, and afterwards abandoned by them. She was retaken by the squadron as it was returning to the island of St. Jago; and, on its arrival



there, it was with great difficulty that the ships recovered their former anchoring ground.

Commodore Johnstone was so much displeased with the conduct of Captain Sutton of the *Isis*, that he put him in arrest, and deprived him of the command of the ship. When the Commodore dispatched the greatest part of his squadron to the East Indies, he sent Captain Sutton along with it, intending that he should be tried for disobedience of orders, on his arrival there; but as that was not thought a proper mode of procedure, the Captain returned to England, and was brought to a Court-martial on board of the *Princess Royal*, at Portsmouth, December 1st, 1783.\* The charge exhibited against him by Commodore Johnstone was—"The delaying and  
"absconding the public service of his country, on which he  
"was ordered on the 16th of April, 1781; the disobeying his  
"verbal orders, and public signals, in not causing the cables  
"of his Majesty's ship *Isis*, then under his command, to be  
"cut, or split, immediately after his getting on board, in order  
"to put to sea after the enemy, as he was by him directed;  
"and also, his falling astern, and not keeping up in the line  
"of battle according to the signal then abroad, after the *Isis*  
"had joined the squadron, and cleared the wreck of the fore-  
"top-mast, when the Commodore bore down upon the enemy,  
"about sun-set of the 16th of April." The trial lasted seven days; and on the 11th, the Court passed sentence, by which Captain Sutton was most honourably acquitted of all the charges exhibited against him.

Much has been said of this strange confused action: and the conduct of the naval Commanders in Chief of both nations, has been very much censured. The French appear to have built too much upon their superiority, and upon the advantages  
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\* The Court was composed of Admiral John Montagu, President: Vice-Admiral John Campbell, Captains Jonathan Faulknor sen. Sir John Hamilton, Bart. Samuel Marshall, William Affleck, James Bradby, Alexander Edgar, Samuel Osborn, Jonathan Faulknor jun. John Wainwright, and Patrick Sinclair, Members. Thomas Binfield, Esq; Deputy Judge Advocate.

of surprise. Their confidence of success, and their rushing on what they regarded as a certain prey, caused them to advance with a temerity, which made them neglect to avail themselves of several adventitious circumstances much in their favour. Their assault, as might have been expected, accordingly ended in a repulse; while, if it had been followed up with prudence, it must have terminated in a complete victory. The anxiety of Commodore Johnstone about the convoy committed to his charge, alone saved M. de Suffren's squadron from destruction.† His conduct was no doubt regulated by his instructions. The French Commodore made some atonement for his blunders at Port Praya, by the expeditious manner in which he conducted his crippled squadron and his convoy to the Cape of Good Hope, by which means, the principal design of the armament under General Medows and Commodore Johnstone was entirely frustrated. M. de Suffren reached the Cape the 21st of July; found the place in a very poor state of defence, with a garrison not exceeding four hundred men, and these ill provided with artillery. Having landed M. Conway and two battalions of troops here, with some cannon and stores, he sailed on the 16th of August for the French islands, to get his ships repaired: not caring to wait for another rencounter with the British squadron, in the then crazy condition of the fleet under his command.

Commodore Johnstone having got his squadron and convoy in the best condition possible, left the island of St. Jago, and steered to the southward on the 1st of May. On the 12th of June, when in lat.  $26^{\circ} 9' S.$  and long.  $20^{\circ} 24' W.$  he detached the *Jafon* of thirty-two guns, Captain Pigot, with the *Active* of the same force, and *Rattlesnake* and *Lark* cutters of sixteen guns each, with orders to proceed towards the southern parts of Africa, and to endeavour to obtain some intelligence of the

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† The French officers who were then on board M. de Suffren's fleet, speaking of this affair to some British officers whom they met with at the Cape of Good Hope, said, when we saw the British in pursuit of us, we thought it was all over for lost with us.

state of the enemy in that quarter. Captain Pigot was instructed where to rejoin the fleet.

On the 1st of July, this little fleet got sight of a large sail to which it gave chase : and on the *Active's* coming alongside of her, she struck her colours, and proved to be the *Heldwoltemade*, a Dutch East India ship, commanded by Captain Vrolyk, bound to Ceylon, loaded with stores and provisions, and about 40,000*l.* sterl. in bullion. This ship had sailed from Saldanha Bay on the 28th of June. The intelligence which she afforded was of still greater value than her cargo ; and, as it was of the utmost importance that the Commodore should be made early acquainted with it, Captain Pigot directly steered for the rendezvous, and rejoined the squadron on the evening of the 9th of July. By means of the prize, certain information was obtained, that M. de Suffren had arrived in False Bay on the 21st of June, with his five ships of the line, and the greatest part of his transports ; and that there were five Dutch homeward bound East India ships at an anchor in Saldanha Bay, which lies about fourteen leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. These ships had retired thither, being afraid to proceed on their voyage without convoy. The reason for their lying at so great a distance from their principal settlement and defence, will appear by attending to the following circumstances. Table Bay, upon which these are situated, is not only much smaller, and not so convenient as that of Saldanha, but is exceedingly dangerous to shipping during the winds that blow in the European summer months. These bad properties of Table Bay, will account for M. de Suffren's anchoring in False Bay, which lies at the back of that long and narrow neck of very high land, which runs far out into the sea, and is the mountain, the head of which forms what is properly called the Cape. The bottom of this Bay lies about the distance of three leagues by land from the Cape town, which is situated a little higher upon the opposite coast than the junction of the continent with the peninsula, although the passage by sea is long, difficult, and dangerous. The timely arrival of the French  
armament



armament saved the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope from changing masters; for, previous to this event, neither the garrison or forts, were capable of making effectual resistance to such a naval and land-force as Commodore Johnstone and General Medows had with them. A successful attack on the place, after it had received the great reinforcement brought to it by M. de Conway, was deemed impracticable by both; and any attempt to molest it, was of course regarded as a mere waste of time. They resolved therefore to attempt to take the Dutch ships in Saldanha Bay. This scheme was well laid, and successfully executed.

The perfect knowledge which the naval officers had of that Bay, as well as of the whole coast, afforded them the greatest advantages in the execution of this design. The Commodore ordered the squadron to steer to the north of the entrance, towards St. Martin's Point, otherwise called the Bay of St. Helen's. The difficulty lay in conducting the enterprise in such a manner as might completely surprise the enemy, and prevent them from having time either to destroy their shipping or make off with it. For this purpose, the Commodore took upon himself the charge of the pilotage; and leading the fleet in the Romney, ran in-shore under cover of the night, judging of the distance by the lead. The weather was very foggy, and continued so until the morning of the 21st of June. This concealed their approach. The wind was at north-east. At eight o'clock in the morning the land was clearly seen, at the distance of only four miles, and the squadron immediately bore up for Saldanha Bay. Though, to enter this Bay, the British ships were forced to turn by traverses, their arrival was so unexpected, and, by the press of sail which they carried, their movements were so rapid, that the Dutch had just time to cut their cables, to loose their fore-top-sails, which had been kept bent for this purpose, to run their ships ashore, and to set them on fire. At the very moment when the Romney dropt her anchor, their crews escaped in boats to the shore, and marched to the Cape town. The boats of the fleet, however, boarded them

with such alacrity, and their crews exerted themselves with so much activity, that the flames were soon extinguished in all of them except the Middleburg. She burnt with incredible fury, and becoming light as she consumed, she got afloat when her masts fell, and had nearly drifted on board two of the other prizes. To prevent this, both sailors and soldiers exerted themselves to the utmost. They manned all the boats in the fleet, and towed her off stern foremost to a proper distance. In this arduous work, the General himself shewed a laudable example and assisted in person. The boats had not left the Middleburg ten minutes, when she blew up, close by the south point of Hotties Bay.

A remarkable instance here occurred of the instability of human grandeur, of the miseries to which royalty, as well as the rest of mankind are frequently subjected, and of the ruin which generally accrues to weak states, from intimate connections with more powerful ones: a ruin which becomes still more inevitable and oppressive, if the stronger state is, under any pretence, allowed to gain a footing in the country of the weaker.

A boat was seen rowing from the shore to the Commodore's ship, filled with people in the eastern garb, who, while yet at a distance, made the most humiliating signs of supplication. These were no less than the two Kings of Ternate and Tidore,\* with the princes of their respective families, who had long been subjected to the extreme of human misery, on account of those blessings and bounties of nature, which, unfortunately for them, had rendered their countries the objects of foreign ambition and avarice. These unhappy princes having upon some jealousy or suspicion been deposed by the Dutch, according to the harsh and cruel maxims which have ever disgraced their Government in the East, had, during several years, been confined within the limits of the parched and desolate island of Robin near this place. This dreary spot serves as a common prison for malefactors, and criminals of all ranks and countries, in their various settlements in India: and here, these Royal personages, with

\* Two valuable spice islands.

with their families, were, without regard to sex or quality, obliged to herd, upon equal terms with the most profligate and abandoned of the human race. It appeared, that they had lately been removed upon some occasion from this island to Saldanha, and that, eagerly seizing the opportunity to escape from bondage and oppression, which the present moment of terror and confusion afforded them, they had fled for refuge and protection to the British squadron.

By the active and uncommon exertions of the sailors assisted by the foldiers, the four prizes were got afloat; and in the course of the 22d, were completely rigged and ready for sea. A circumstance which contributed in no small degree to accelerate this service was, that in the surprise the Rattlesnake had taken a hooker,\* which lay concealed under Schapin Island, and which had been placed there, in hopes that she would remain undiscovered. Into her the enemy had put all the principal sails belonging to their ships, so that the sailors had only to bring them from the hooker, and to fasten them to the yards. In all other respects the prizes were fit to proceed on their voyage.

#### NAMES OF THE PRIZES, &c.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>From whence.</i>
Dankbaarheyt, Capt. Steetsel,	24	1000	Bengal.
Paerl, Captain Plokker,	20	1100	China.
Honcoop, Captain Laud,	20	1100	ditto.
Hoogcarfpel, Capt. Harmeyer,	20	1000	ditto.
Middleburg, Capt. Van Guenip,	24	1100	ditto, burnt.

There were also two other large hookers here, which fell into the hands of the conquerors, and which they did not find convenient to bring away. The Commodore, however, being determined to shew no marks of barbarity towards a settlement in which the wants of the British had so often been relieved, would not permit them to be destroyed.

As soon as the squadron and prizes had got out to sea, the Commodore, having previously settled all the proper arrange-

\* A coast or fishing vessel, peculiar to the Cape of Good Hope.



ments with the General, made the signal for the fleet to separate. Immediately on observing it, the Hero, Monmouth, Isis, Active, and San Carlos, together with the other armed transports and storeships, which had the land-forces on board, and all the East India Company's ships, proceeded on their voyage to India, under the command of Captain Alms, with whom General Medows also went. The Commodore, with the remainder of the fleet and prizes, steered for the island of St. Helena; and soon after his arrival there, was joined by his Majesty's ship Hannibal of fifty guns, Captain Grant. This ship he sent from St. Helena, on the 29th of September, on a cruize off the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 26th of October, she perceived a fleet, (the Cape being then distant between three and four leagues), and gave chase. In an hour's time she discovered, that this fleet consisted of seven large ships and a snow, all under French colours, and that, crowding all the sail they could, they stood different ways. At five in the afternoon, the Hannibal came up with the sternmost, which immediately struck, and proved to be Le Severe, from l'Orient to the Mauritius. She next came up with the snow; but night coming on, and a large deep laden ship being but a short way ahead, it was judged most eligible to make for her. No sooner did the enemy on board of her perceive the Hannibal making for them, than, whether from accident or design, it is not easy to determine, her main-mast, with her fore and mizen-top-masts, went over the side; so that when she came up, she was found to be a mere wreck, and it was with the utmost difficulty, that her officers and a few of her men were got out of her that night. She proved to be a French frigate, likewise from l'Orient for the Mauritius, was called Le Neckar, and mounted twenty-eight guns. Next morning, the Hannibal took her in tow, and in a fortnight afterwards, arrived safe at St. Helena with both prizes, which, being richly laden, turned out very valuable. The Severe was unladed at St. Helena, converted into a cartel, and sent with one hundred and seventy-eight prisoners to France. Le Neckar,  
pierced

pierced for thirty-six guns, was purchased by Government for 12,000*l.*, added to the Royal Navy by the same name, and sent to the East Indies, where her cargo was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the captors. The other French ships seen by the Hannibal, consisted of a frigate of forty guns, having on board a large sum of money; another frigate of twenty-eight guns, and four merchant ships, two of which mounted twenty-four guns each. Commodore Johnstone sent the Hannibal to the East Indies: and Captain Grant being in bad health, resigned the command of her, which was given to Lieutenant Alexander Christie. The Commodore having some business which required his calling at Lisbon, hoisted his broad pendant on board of the Diana frigate, and with his fleet and prizes set sail for England. On their voyage thither, they met with extreme bad weather, were much dispersed, and the same ill fortune which had attended several of our fleets awaited this. While the Commodore was at Lisbon, Lieutenant Reid, who commanded the Dankbaarheyt prize, arrived there, and also Mr. Virgin, a Swedish officer, midshipman on board of the Jupiter, together with eight seamen, who were saved out of that ship.\* They gave the following account of their disaster. The Dankbaarheyt, after losing all her masts, on the 28th of January, 1782, near the Channel, had the pumps so completely choaked on the 29th, that she gradually filled with water to the upper deck, and was on the point of sinking on the 30th at dark, when they left her in a small boat during a hard gale of wind. The remainder of her crew had prepared a raft, and taken every precaution with coolness and active intrepidity, but from many circumstances, it is to be feared that all of them perished. The small boat was forced to keep right before the wind, which then blew from N. N. E. Next morning at ten o'clock, after running about eighty miles to the southward, the weather became temperate, and they were taken up by a Swedish

\* The names of the eight seamen were, John Doitman, John Balfour, Philip Hodge, George Lusignic, Thomas Roe, William Richardson, William Boyer, and David Fell.

Swedish brig bound to Leghorn. She was prevailed upon by a premium given by a bill, to run off the bar of Lisbon, and to send them into the Tagus by a fishing boat. On their arrival at Lisbon, the Commodore and all his Majesty's subjects then in the place, endeavoured to the utmost of their power, to bestow upon them every comfort, which so great misfortunes and such manly perseverance highly merited. As the Honcoop was never heard of, she is supposed to have foundered. The Hoogcarpsel was in great distress, but luckily fell in with the Ariel sloop of war, from which she received all possible assistance. On her way up the Channel, she was chased by a large French frigate, and both were obliged to seek for shelter in Mount's Bay, where she waited until a proper escort was sent to conduct her to Portsmouth. The Paerl arrived there on the 3d of March, 1782, in very poor plight, having fought with great bravery, on two successive days, two French privateers, viz. one of fourteen, and the other of ten guns, in the mouth of the Channel; but the enemy having expended all their shot, at last sheered off.

### EAST INDIES.

AT this time, the British East India Company were engaged in a bloody and expensive war with the famous Hyder Ally, who, by mere dint of his abilities, had raised himself to be one of the most powerful potentates on the peninsula of Hindostan. He was originally a soldier of fortune; and rose by degrees to the chief command of the Rajah of Myfore's army. He made the use of his power that might have been suspected; for, on the demise of that prince, he imprisoned his son, who was destined to succeed him on the throne, and assuming the title of guardian to the young prince, seized the reins of government. Having a very considerable territory, he kept on foot a most formidable military force, which he had spared no pains to regulate and discipline. He possessed great courage and abilities, which have appeared both in his military and civil capacity, and



and which should have taught the servants of the British East India Company, to have endeavoured to make him their friend, and not to have provoked him to become their enemy. M. de Bellecombe, the late Governor of Pondicherry, pursued a very different conduct for the French nation : and the success of his efforts have proved highly detrimental to the interest of Britain. Hyder had defeated a large detachment of the Company's troops commanded by Colonel Baillie, and over-ran the Carnatic so much, that it was found necessary to call Sir Eyre Coote, with a large reinforcement from Bengal, to check his progress. He gave Hyder Ally a great defeat near Porto Novo on the 1st of July, 1781, which obliged him for some time to retire.

At this time, advice was received in India from England, of a rupture having taken place between Great Britain and the Dutch : and this respite from the assaults of Hyder Ally, enabled the servants of the East India Company to take the proper measures for dispossessing their High Mightinesses the States General, of their settlements in Bengal and the coast of Coromandel. To accomplish the first, Sir Edward Hughes dispatched the Nymph sloop immediately for Calcutta, and she proved very instrumental, in assisting the Company's troops to become masters of Chinsurah, where the goods and effects taken, amounted in value to more than half a million of money.\*

The assistance which the Company's troops would derive from his Majesty's squadron under Sir Edward Hughes,† then at Madras, made the Governor and Council at that Presidency, resolve

\* This proved in the end a most beneficial expedition to the Captain, officers, and crew of the Nymph sloop. They claimed one-half of the amount of the capture. This the East India Company refused : and a lawsuit was commenced in London by them against the East India Company for the amount. The suit was litigated for several years successively before the proper Courts, and in the year 1791, the Court of King's Bench, as all the other Courts had done, decided in favour of the claimants. An attempt was made, in November, 1792, to get the Court of King's Bench to rescind their decree, but this was peremptorily refused.

† See Note 246.

resolve to attack Negapatam directly: and for this purpose, Major-General Sir Hector Munro, K. B., was sent to take the command of the Company's troops in the Tanjore country, and to march against it; and Sir Edward Hughes, with the squadron, was to block it up by sea. The land-forces destined for this service were not so strong as the garrison; for it was discovered, that Hyder Ally had sent to it a large reinforcement of his troops, and that the fortifications of the place had been considerably augmented. Although the season for military operations in that country was far advanced, and the shift of the monsoon was at hand, it was determined to invest the place, because the possession of it would prove highly important to the interests of the East India Company. The Company's troops rendezvoused at Nagore on the sea coast,‡ on the 21st of October, and Major-General Sir Hector Monro landed from the squadron and assumed the command. On the same day, Sir Edward Hughes landed all the marines of his ships, amounting to four hundred and forty-three men, officers included, who immediately joined the army, and on the 22d he landed a battalion of seamen, consisting of eight hundred and twenty-seven men, including officers. This corps was under the command of Captain Thomas Mackenzie of his Majesty's ship *Active*, Captain Alexander M'Coy of the *Exeter*, and Captain Henry Reynolds of the Combustion fireship. These likewise were put under the orders of Sir Hector Munro. The artillery necessary for the siege, consisting of four eighteen pounders, and two twelve pounder iron guns, from the transports, with twelve eighteen pounders from the ships of the squadron, two ten inch, and six five and a half inch mortars, with their carriages, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition and stores, were landed by the boats of the squadron on rafts or catamuraro made for that purpose. This severe and important service was accomplished, under the direction of Captain Ball of his Majesty's ship *Superb*, who had great merit in this department. In effecting it, the men with the greatest spirit

‡ Three thousand two hundred men.

spirit and alacrity underwent incredible fatigue, as during its whole progress they had to combat with a great surf.

Sir Hector Munro, having invested the place in the best manner in which his scanty force would admit, deemed it expedient to allow the enemy as little time as possible to recover the surprise and terror, into which the appearance of the British fleet and army had thrown them. Having made all the proper arrangements, on the night of the 29th of October, he stormed and carried the strong lines which the enemy had thrown up, and flanked by redoubts, to cover and defend the approach to the town. The troops of all denominations who were employed in this service, distinguished themselves by a steady and determined bravery. On the 3d of November, the General broke ground before the north face of the fort, and the approaches were carried on with the greatest rapidity.

On the 5th, Sir Edward Hughes moved with a part of the squadron nearer to the fort on the flank of the British lines: and on the 7th, a battery of ten eighteen pounders, within three hundred yards of the walls of the place, was ready to open. The Admiral and General, considering this as the proper time to summons the Governor, Mynheer Van Vliffengen, to submit, wrote to him accordingly to that purpose.\* The Governor being indisposed, Mynheer Mossell returned for answer, that he would not enter into any agreement for surrendering the place, but would defend it with the forces which he had.† During the course of the siege, the enemy made two desperate sallies with the greatest part of the garrison, but were each time beaten back into the town with very great loss. In the afternoon of the 10th, the breaching battery being ready, four eighteen pounders were got into it, and opened with good effect, on the face of the bastion in which the breach was intended to be made. During the night, four more eighteen pounders were got into the same battery, and all opened on the breach bastion at day-light. Soon after this, the enemy demanded a parley: and sent out two Commissioners to the General

\* See Note 247.

† See Note 248.



General in the camp with terms of capitulation, which he sent to the Admiral, requesting his opinion of them. In the mean time a cessation of hostilities took place. Early in the morning, the Admiral landed, and with the General and the Dutch Commissioners, adjusted the capitulation, with which the latter were sent into the town, that it might be ratified by the Governor and his Council. When this was done, it was then countersigned by the Admiral and General: and about two in the afternoon, the gates of both town and citadel were taken possession of by the British troops.\*

The garrison consisted in all of eight thousand men, of which about five hundred were Europeans, regulars and militia; seven hundred Malayas; four thousand five hundred Sepoys; and two thousand three hundred of Hyder Ally's troops, of whom a thousand were cavalry. These fled, on the first charge, at the attack made on the enemy's lines, and never after that came near the place; but kept at a distance, plundering and burning the villages. Most of the Malayas and Sepoys threw away their arms, and deserted the garrison, through the western gate, in the night between the 11th and 12th, during the subsistence of the truce.

The loss sustained by the British during the siege of Negapatam, officers included, amounted to twenty-eight killed, ninety-nine wounded, and nine missing. Many of the wounded died, as did a number of the sailors and marines. These last were carried off suddenly, by violent cramps and spasms brought on by wet and fatigue.

The place had no sooner surrendered than the weather broke, so that it was but seldom that there could be any intercourse between the shore and the fleet. This greatly retarded the sending off some military prisoners and others to Madras. On the 19th of November, there being every indication of an approaching storm, the Vice-Admiral put to sea with the squadron, stood to the N. E. under their courses, until the weather became more moderate, and returned to Negapatam road on the

\* See Note 249.

the 23d. On the 24th and 25th, the weather being moderate, he was enabled to re-embark the corps of seamen and marines, which he had sent ashore to assist the General in carrying on the siege, and likewise to embark some military prisoners, which last he sent to Madras on the 4th of December. From that day to the end of the month, the squadron experienced all the variety of weather, with which the monsoon never fails to be attended, violent gales of wind, heavy rains, with now and then a fair day, of which they availed themselves to get on board water and provisions, and to embark the Dutch East India Company's civil servants, from the late Governor downward, amounting in all to fifty-six, on board of the Company's ship *Rochford*. She sailed with them for Madras, on the 23d of December.\*

A dispatch was forwarded to Bencoolen, to inform the East India Company's servants there, of the rupture with the Dutch: and it fortunately happened, that soon after this intelligence was received, five British ships from China arrived at Fort Marlborough in the island of Sumatra. This accession of naval force, excited the gentlemen of that factory to plan an enterprise against the Dutch settlements on that island, which was immediately put in execution. Mr. Botham, one of the Council, was appointed to conduct the military, and Captain Clements, the senior Captain of the five ships, was, in the character of Commodore, to have the charge of the naval department. All the land-forces, which the fort could spare, amounted only to one hundred men, under Captain Mandeville: but the address and good conduct of the gentlemen employed on this service, effectually compensated the deficiency of numbers. On the 16th of October they appeared before Padang, and having artfully deceived the Governor with respect to their strength, terrified him into a surrender of the place. All the other Dutch settlements on the western coasts of Sumatra, fell successively into their hands.

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\* The letters, various returns, &c. relating to the capture of Negapatam, together with the capitulation, &c. at full length, will be found in the Appendix, see Note 250.

An expedition was also planned against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalé in the island of Ceylon; but that operation comes more properly under the affairs of the year 1782.

### GIBRALTAR.

It occasioned much murmuring against Administration, especially against the Admiralty Department, that they delayed so very long the sending of supplies to the important fortress of Gibraltar. Some circumstances came abroad, with respect to the state of that garrison, which gave great uneasiness to the public. Among these may be mentioned, the distresses which it must have suffered, from a scarcity or a want of provisions. Any part, which might now remain, of the provisions conveyed to that place by Admiral Rodney's fleet in January, 1780, had passed the time for which it was prepared to keep: and besides being spoiled by long keeping, and by the heat of the weather, must necessarily be considerably reduced in quantity. It was likewise known, so far back as October last year, that the provident and vigilant Governor of that place, had judged it necessary to make a considerable reduction in the allowance of bread and meat to the garrison, and to adopt several economical regulations, such as forbidding the use of hair powder, which, though not in itself of great importance, was attended with very salutary consequences, and served to reconcile the men to the hardships of their situation. The garrison had the most perfect confidence in their Governor and officers, of which they gave the most unequivocal proofs, by submitting to their various hardships, not only without murmuring, but with the greatest cheerfulness and good humour.

A change in the fortune of war, made the British experience hardships, to which they had not been accustomed for a number of years. Defensive sieges of any length, were in a manner new occurrences: and the many calamities endured by those who have the misfortune to be attacked, can scarcely be conceived by those who have not been eye-witnesses of them. It



is therefore proper, that the public should be made acquainted with them, that it may be known, how great obligations they are under to the brave officers and men, who so long sustained the honour and interest of their country, by their glorious defence of Gibraltar.

Exclusive of the dangers to which they were every moment exposed from the enemy, and of the immense fatigue which they daily underwent, an account of the market prices of provisions during the siege, will serve to convey some idea of their sufferings. Bad ship biscuit sold at one shilling a pound; flour, and that not in good condition, at the same price; old dried pease, at one shilling and sixpence; the worst salt, half dirt, the sweepings of ships' holds and storehouses, at eightpence; old Irish salt butter, at half a crown. The worst sort of brown sugar brought the same price: and English farthing candles were sold at sixpence a piece. The prices of fresh provisions were, if possible, still more extravagant. Even when their good fortune allowed some vessel to arrive safe from the Barbary shore, and to open a market, turkies sold at 3l. 12s. each; sucking pigs at two guineas; a duck at half a guinea; and a small hen, at nine shillings. A guinea was refused for a calf's pluck; and 1l. 7s. was asked for an ox's head. To augment their distress, their fuel was so nearly exhausted, as scarcely to afford a sufficiency for the most necessary kitchen uses. Soap was accordingly an article, dear in proportion with other things: and during the scarcity of fuel, they were obliged to wash in cold water, and to wear without dressing, the linen appertaining to the garrison, as well as to the town's people. Though this want may seem trifling, it was severely felt in the wet season, which, notwithstanding the warmth of the climate, is exceedingly cold at Gibraltar.

From this state of things, some idea may be formed of the sufferings of individuals: and it will not excite wonder, that many officers, who were not high in command, and who had families to maintain, should have been exceedingly embarrassed in their circumstances. Every person of sensibility must allow,

that such men have the fairest claim upon the benevolence of their country.

But while we attend to the hardships sustained by the garrison, it must not be forgotten, that the distresses suffered by the unfortunate inhabitants, were various and severe. They had no government to provide for their support: and their numbers were so great, that they could find neither accommodation or safety, in the new, disagreeable, and unexpected situation in which they were involved. The town was near a mile in length, and might contain about four thousand people, of which about seven hundred were British, nine hundred were Jews, and the rest from various countries. Many of them were merchants of opulence. Their property in a great measure tied numbers of them to the place, and others were fixed to it by their occupations and connexions. Many had not the means of removing, nor did they know where to go. Their distresses daily increased, and the Spanish squadron watched the place so narrowly, that for upwards of twelve months, not a single vessel had arrived with provisions or necessaries, either from the neighbouring shores of Barbary, or from any of the more distant coasts of Africa. In addition to their other misfortunes, they were at once cut off from those great and long established sources of a cheap and plentiful market, and reduced to depend for relief, entirely on the casual arrival of a few small Minorquin vessels, which brought scanty supplies, and sold at immoderate prices. It would have been comparatively well, if this had been the sum of their miseries; but the town where they resided, and where they had their warehouses and shops, lay so directly in the line of fire of the enemy's batteries, that in the course of a few days after these were opened, it was reduced to a heap of rubbish: their goods and furniture, with many of their persons, were buried in the ruins: the liquors they had in store, became exposed to such as would venture to search for them; and some of the soldiers who found them got intoxicated. The Governor however, ever watchful and attentive to the men's health, sent the Town Major with  
a strong

a strong party, who staved every cask of liquor they could find. The place no longer affording shelter, numbers of the inhabitants dispersed in the best manner they could, some to England, others to Portugal, and others to the Barbary shore.

The voice of the nation never ceased to put Administration in remembrance, that the interests and honour of Great Britain were deeply engaged in affording a timely relief to Gibraltar : and to do them justice, this important matter was not forgotten. The various exigencies of the state, to which it was requisite to attend, may perhaps have increased the impatience of the public, who thought the design too long retarded. It accordingly became the great object of Administration at the commencement of this year, to assemble a large fleet, as soon as the repairs of the ships of war could be completed. A number of hired merchant ships were sent to Corke, to take on board salted provisions ; several ships laden with coals, and others laden with all sorts of ordnance and naval stores, repaired to Spithead ; materials, already shaped for the construction of gun-boats were collected ; and in short, every thing that could contribute to the defence of the fortress, or to the comfort of the garrison, was ordered to be provided at the expence of a generous public. The trade of Great Britain required the greatest attention to protect it from the attempts of her numerous enemies ; and, that it might receive the benefit of a strong escort, for so great a way to the westward, the fleets destined for the West Indies and North America, were ordered to sail along with the grand fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Darby. The squadron under the command of Commodore Johnstone was also ordered to sail at the same time, and along with it a large fleet of East India Company's ships. The operations of the war had now become so widely extended, and the stations on which the British navy was employed were so numerous and detached, that only twenty-eight sail of the line could be spared for so important a service as the relief of Gibraltar.\*

\* See Note 251.



The combined powers of the House of Bourbon were not uninformed of this circumstance, and they loudly boasted at every Court in Europe, that they would not only dispute its passage to Gibraltar, but would completely defeat the designs of the British armament. They made no secret of the means which they had in their power for effecting this purpose; and perhaps, if France had been sincere in her professions of friendship to Spain, and united the fleet, which she had long been preparing at Brest, with that under Don Louis de Cordova at Cadiz, it is more than probable, that Admiral Darby, with the force which he had, would have found it a difficult matter to have accomplished the object of his enterprize. The Spaniards said, that they had a fleet of thirty sail of the line at Cadiz, with which they paraded in and out of that port, and that this force, joined to the French fleet from Brest, and to some ships expected from Toulon, would be sufficient to defeat the squadron under Vice-Admiral Darby, and to intercept the succours destined for Gibraltar. Perhaps this gasconade was circulated, with a design to prevent the relief of that fortress from being attempted in the face of such a powerful navy. But France did not choose to relinquish her own selfish purposes, merely to humour the Spanish Monarch, in his grand but chimerical project of reducing Gibraltar. She had grand schemes of her own to execute in the East and West Indies, and in North America; and was too anxious for their completion, to be diverted from her purpose by any other consideration. The strong squadrons which she was preparing, and to the equipment of which her whole attention and industry was directed, were to form two grand expeditions. The first, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, was to proceed to the West Indies under the command of the Comte de Grasse: and the second, composed of four sail of the line, commanded by M. de Suffren, Knight of Malta, had a double object in view. It was to escort a considerable body of infantry, under M. de Conway for the succour of the Cape of Good Hope; and to reinforce the French army and squadron already in the East

East Indies. Both fleets were to sail in company, as far as their respective voyages enabled them to steer the same course. Thus was Spain left in the lurch, to dispute alone with the British fleet the relief of Gibraltar: and nothing could be more mortifying to her pride than to suffer in the eyes of all Europe, the disgrace of a failure—a disgrace which was greatly heightened by her having boasted that she was able to prevent it.

It was a most fortunate circumstance for Great Britain, that Spain seemed so completely intent on the recovery of Gibraltar, that every other object of the war appeared, as if intended only to second or support this design. On her operations against this fortress, she lavished her treasure with the greatest profusion. The labour of the nation was exhausted in the stupendous works raised against that place; and these were now covered with the most formidable artillery, that perhaps ever was used at any siege, since the invention of gunpowder. Indeed, the whole of her naval and military force, and all her resources of every kind, were exerted and pointed to that single object, the reduction of Gibraltar.

On the 13th of March, Vice-Admiral Darby, with the fleet and the great convoys under his escort, put to sea from St. Helen's. He had under him Rear-Admirals Digby and Sir John Lockhart Ross: his destination was well known, and all Europe was anxious for the event. His first course was for the coast of Ireland, where he met with some little delay, before the fleet of victuallers joined him from Corke. This measure was censured by some, who averred, that it prevented him from falling in with the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse, who sailed from Brest on the 22d of March, and had with him twenty-six sail of the line, and the convoys for the East and West Indies and North America. This circumstance occasioned a question, which was afterwards very much agitated both in and out of Parliament, viz. whether the intercepting of the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse, should not have been the first object of the British fleet under Vice-Ad-

miral Darby, instead of losing time in going to Ireland, by which that opportunity was missed ?

The defeat of the French fleet would certainly have totally disconcerted the great plans, which the enemy had formed in the East and West Indies. It would have ensured the safety of the British West India islands ; the Cape of Good Hope must have fallen into the hands of Britain ; and the campaign in North America might have had a very different termination. In answer to this, it is but fair to state, that the sailing of the *Comte de Grasse* at the time he did, was a circumstance quite unknown to Administration : that any attempt to intercept him must have been attended with great uncertainty, and that even if it had proved successful, it might have been productive of so great delay to the different convoys of trading ships under Admiral Darby's care, as might have proved very prejudicial to the British merchants, and to their commerce. Besides, the great object of this armament would not in that event have been obtained : for if the hostile fleets had engaged, and if fortune had declared in favour of the British arms, numbers of the ships would most probably have been so crippled in the action, that they could not have been able to have proceeded, in their then condition, to the relief of Gibraltar ; especially, when it is considered, that Admiral Darby had every reason to believe, that before he could fulfil his instructions, he would have to encounter the Spanish fleet under Don Louis de Cordova, at the mouth of the Straits, and that his force was supposed to be at least equal to that which he commanded. Of such procedure, the loss of Gibraltar must have been the certain consequence : and after the immense expence, to which the nation had been put to accomplish its relief, this would have more than counterbalanced the advantages of any victory which Admiral Darby might have gained. As matters were conducted, that fortress was prevented from falling under the dominion of Spain. Its conquest by that kingdom would have left her at full liberty, to have turned the whole of her immense force and treasure, which she was idly throwing away at that  
rock,



rock, against Great Britain and her foreign settlements. The manner in which the relief of the garrison of Gibraltar was performed, was highly honourable to the British name : and exclusive of the very great importance of the place, this measure had become absolutely necessary to the support of the dignity and character of the nation, among the other powers of Europe.

The different convoys having separated from Vice-Admiral Darby, he proceeded with his twenty-eight sail of the line, ten frigates, four fireships, and ninety-seven sail of transports, storeships, and victuallers, towards Gibraltar; and though he had great reason to form contrary expectations, met no enemy off Cape St. Vincent. On the 11th of April, early in the morning, the fleet got sight of three sail, at a small distance from each other, on which the Vice-Admiral made the signal for the *Alexander*, *Foudroyant*, and *Minerva*, to chase. Captain Fielding, who got nearest to them, reported, that they were three Spanish frigates; that, on perceiving the British ships in chase of them, they made for the port of Cadiz; and that he counted in that harbour thirty-six sail of large ships, six of which appeared to have flags or distinguishing pendants, besides a number of smaller ships, and craft of all kinds. It is a circumstance since that time well known, that Don Cordova with his fleet, had kept the sea for near a month before, and narrowly escaped having an encounter with the British fleet; but that, getting notice of their strength and near approach, he prudently, on the pretence that his ships were foul, retired into Cadiz. In this manner ended all the mighty vaunts which the Spaniards had so long thrown out of their eagerness to fight, and of their determination to prevent any succours from being thrown into Gibraltar.

In the evening of the 11th, Admiral Darby with the fleet, brought to off Cape Spartel, from which he dispatched the *Kite* cutter, express to General Elliot. In the morning of the 12th he made sail, and about noon the convoy, with four ships of the line and some frigates to protect them, anchored close to

Gibraltar, in and about Rosia Bay. When night set in, he dispatched the *Flora* and *Crescent* frigates, with thirteen sail of storeships and victuallers, for the island of Minorca. As soon as the storeships and victuallers were secured, the greatest expedition was used in unlading them. Finding the wind likely to continue westerly, the Admiral directed Rear-Admiral Sir John Lockhart Ross, who hoisted his flag on board of the *Alexander*, to anchor, with the other two-decked ships of his division, off Rosia Bay, and to protect the convoy from the enemy's gunboats. With the rest of the squadron, he cruised in the Bay and Gut; but the current, which constantly sets to the eastward, sometimes carried his ships a little way into the Mediterranean. On the 19th he came to an anchor, with some of his ships, to the eastward of Europa Point, in order to repair their rigging, and to get off some fresh water.

From the moment in which Admiral Darby's fleet came in sight of the fortrefs, the Spaniards opened all their batteries, hoping, by their tremendous cannonade and bombardment, to prevent the storeships and victuallers from approaching the rock. Perhaps, nothing more awfully loud was ever heard before. A hundred and seventy pieces of heavy cannon, and eighty mortars, disgorging at once their horrid contents on such a narrow spot, made the beholders imagine, that not the works only, but the rock itself, was in danger of destruction. The enemy continued this astonishing fire, night and day, for a considerable time, without intermission: and the garrison returned it, with the most undaunted and persevering resolution. The whole rock resembled a volcano vomiting fire in every direction, and with all its parts enveloped in flame and smoke. It is said, and it may well be supposed, that, to those who observed it from the neighbouring hills of Spain and Barbary, during the night, nothing could be more awfully magnificent, or dreadfully sublime, than the flashing and the thunder of this wonderful scene. The town and its inhabitants were the chief sufferers: and in a great measure felt the whole weight of the enemy's severe cannonade and bombardment. Such of these  
unfortunate

unfortunate people as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn in pieces by the shells, in the general destruction of the first night, fled, many of them almost naked, to the remotest parts of the rock. But the enemy, by putting a double charge of powder into their mortars, threw their shells with such incredible force, that they reached places which had hitherto been deemed secure. Even the most sequestered recesses were not safe from the dangers of the prowling gun-boats of the Spaniards. Nothing could be more deplorable than the complicated scenes of distress which were hourly exhibited. Mothers with their children clasped in each others arms, were at the same instant destroyed by the bursting of the enemy's bomb-shells. The casemates alone afforded places of security to these, and to such of the garrison as were off duty: and happy did the officers' ladies deem themselves, when able to obtain an unoccupied corner in one of these, in order to find a little repose for themselves and for their children, even amidst the noise and confusion of a crowded soldiery.

Time and fear, by degrees led to the discovery of new places of security. Nor was the fire of the enemy at all times fierce and destructive: but when a cessation of its violence took place, the surviving inhabitants were enabled to view how completely miserable they were rendered. They saw their houses and property destroyed, and felt all the calamities and rigours of a siege, famine only excepted. Unable to live longer in the place, they embraced with eagerness every opportunity of shipping that offered for an escape, either to England or to the neighbouring countries.

Although the Spaniards did not find their fleet sufficiently strong to prevent Admiral Darby from throwing succours into Gibraltar, they had devised a new, exceedingly troublesome, and dangerous method, by which they hoped to be able to defeat the design of relieving that fortress. This was by burning or sinking such of the convoy as might presume to make the attempt. When they first began the siege, they had with much expence and trouble constructed at Algeiras, a small seaport on the  
opposite



opposite side of the Bay of Gibraltar, a number of gun-boats, which, by coming from their retreat, and firing on the town and garrison, under the covert of the night, occasioned a good deal of trouble to both. They had now been long practised in this sort of destructive war, which had afforded great scope for invention, and practical improvement. By experience they were grown very expert in the construction and management of these troublesome machines: and daily becoming more sensible of their utility, they had increased their number, so as to form a little fleet of gun-boats. Each of these was worked by twenty oars, and carried in its prow a long twenty-six pounder, which threw shot much farther than any ship guns could reach. This kind of force was rendered still more formidable and dangerous, by the addition of several bomb-boats of a similar construction, only carrying a mortar instead of a cannon. With this sort of naval force they had become extremely daring and troublesome: and unfortunately the garrison had nothing of a similar nature to oppose to it. The enemy had been so long in the uninterrupted possession of the Bay, that by the time when Vice-Admiral Darby arrived to the relief of the place, they had measured all their distances, and knew the effect of their fire in every direction.

During the continuance of the convoy in the Bay, about twenty of these craft, under the direction of Don Bonaventura Morena, who appeared in his barge giving directions, sallied forth every morning from Algeiras, favoured by the early calm, and with a fixed and steady aim, cannonaded and bombarded the British ships; but as soon as the wind at its stated hour began to spring up, they immediately fled, and were pursued in vain. It was to protect the victuallers and storeships from these attacks, that Sir John Lockhart Ross, with all the two-decked ships of his division, was ordered into the road. The *Nonfuch*, Sir James Wallace; the *Monfieur*, Captain Phipps; and the *Minerva*, Captain Fielding, had several trials with them. The *Canada*, Sir George Collier, had a conflict with them, which lasted two hours. Nothing was ever more vexatious to  
the

the seamen, or excited their indignation to a greater degree, than the successful audacity of this seemingly insignificant enemy. As the prows of these boats only were exposed to view, the object was so small, that when they ventured within reach of the British guns, it was still no more than a bare possibility to hit the mark : and the repeated exertions of some of the bravest officers and best seamen in the world to cut off their retreat, was fruitless. The Spaniards however failed in their grand object. Their continued efforts, from the gun and mortar boats, were only capable of producing trouble and vexation ; but so far were they from preventing the succours from being thrown into the garrison, or from burning the convoy, that the only damage of any consequence that they did to the shipping, was the wounding of the mizen-mast of the *Non-such* so much, that it required to be shifted.

The immense quantities of powder and shot expended by the enemy before Gibraltar were great, almost beyond credibility. It was computed by the artillery officers and engineers in the garrison, that during the first three weeks after their batteries opened, they had continued regularly to expend, at least, a thousand barrels of gunpowder, of an hundred pound weight each, and to fire from four to five thousand shot and shells in every four and twenty hours, upon the fortrefs. Spain had no means equal to support so great a consumption of those articles. After discharging seventy-five thousand shot, and twenty-five thousand shells, in the course of this firing, it was lowered to about six hundred of both in the twenty-four hours ; and at this reduced rate, it was continued for several weeks longer. While the enemy continued with the greatest profusion, to waste their gunpowder, shot, and shells, their expence for these articles was estimated at nearly 10,000*l.* sterling each day.

While the fleet continued in the bay, General Elliot retorted the enemy's attack with a heavy and well directed fire ; but as it was a standing maxim with that experienced Commander, never to waste his ammunition, and as the great and evidently increasing difficulty of procuring supplies of it, rendered that  
caution

caution essentially necessary, he soon retrenched in that respect, and seemed to behold unconcerned, the fury and violence of the enemy. The loss of men on the side of the garrison, during this unexampled cannonade and bombardment, was much less than could have been expected, even without considering the narrowness of the ground which they defended, and the great proportion of their men who were very much exposed while on duty, and when relieving the numerous guards. The whole loss from the 12th of April to the end of June, amounted only to one commissioned officer, and fifty-two private men, killed; and to seven officers, and two hundred and fifty-three serjeants and rank and file, wounded. The damage done to the works was too trifling to give any concern to the defenders; but their duty and fatigue were oppressive in the extreme: and it may be truly said, that the garrison experienced in a high degree all the calamities and inconveniencies of a siege, famine and pestilence only excepted.

Such of the convoy as were loaded with coals, and the cargoes of which were not immediately wanted, were sunk at the Mole, to remain there until needed. Most of the transports, storeships, and victuallers, having come out and joined the fleet, and the wind coming easterly on the 19th of April, Admiral Darby made the signal to weigh, at nine in the morning of that day; and Sir John Lockhart Ross having unmoored the ships under his command in the road, joined the Admiral, who about five in the evening made sail to the westward on his return to England. Whilst on this voyage, he received certain advice, that M. de la Mothe Piquet was at sea with a small squadron, in order to intercept a convoy daily expected from the West Indies. He therefore immediately detached Rear-Admiral Digby, with nine sail of the line,\* in quest of him: but M. de la Mothe Piquet was lucky enough to escape back to Brest, without

\* The ships sent with Rear-Admiral Digby were, the Prince George of ninety guns; Foudroyant of eighty; Courageux, Valiant, Alexander, and Edgar of seventy-four; Repulse, St. Albans, and Lion of sixty-four; and Medway of sixty guns, with some frigates.



without seeing any of Admiral Digby's fleet. The Admiral with the remainder of the squadron, arrived at Spithead on the 20th of May. At Admiral Darby's departure the strength of the garrison was—three Generals, three Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, eight Majors, sixty Captains, ninety-eight Lieutenants, thirty-four Ensigns, three hundred and forty-four serjeants, one hundred and seventy-four drummers, and four thousand seven hundred and ten rank and file. Five hundred and sixty-six artillery, with officers included; one hundred and twenty-four artificer's company, ditto. In all, six thousand one hundred and thirty-three.

The Spaniards persevered in keeping up a brisk cannonade and bombardment on the fortrefs; but on the 9th of June their laboratory took fire. At first it gave a great explosion, which was succeeded by the bursting of shells, resembling a close running fire of musquetry, intermixed with blasts, for near twenty minutes. This was followed by a conflagration which lasted near three hours, and before it was consumed near a thousand and sixty shells, and a great quantity of stores and implements, were completely destroyed.

The enemy's gun-boats continued to molest the fortrefs in the night, and this harrassed the soldiers, and deprived them of rest. In the day time, the garrison, having got a supply of vessels of a construction similar to theirs, were now able to retort on them: and it was not long, before the hostile parties had an opportunity of exhibiting a trial of their skill, in view of their respective commanders. On the 7th of August, his Majesty's sloop *Helena*, commanded by Captain Roberts, appeared in sight of Gibraltar about five o'clock in the morning. She was then in the Gut to the southward of Cabarita Point, and nearly a third of the way over from it towards Europa Point. It was perfectly calm, and the *Helena* was rowing for the rock. Captain Curtis of his Majesty's ship *Brilliant*, and senior naval officer at Gibraltar, immediately took the *Repulse* and *Vanguard* gun-boats, with all the boats of the ships, and made towards the *Helena* as expeditiously as possible. About the same time,

time, fourteen of the enemy's gun-boats moved from Algeiras, accompanied by several launches. Their boats got on faster than the British ones, and before eight o'clock, the most advanced of them began to fire on the Helena, being then within half gun shot of her. The sloop returned their fire with great deliberation and effect, and still continued to use her oars. As the rest of the enemy's gun-boats came up, they got into action, and poured grape and other shot in immense quantities at the Helena. She was soon supported by the gun-boats, under Captain Curtis, which gave them a well directed fire, being placed in such a manner as best to support the sloop and annoy the enemy. When the first of the sea breeze reached the sloop, by its aid she got close to the British gun-boats; but the enemy's boats pursued and persevered in the attack, some of them firing at her broadside, whilst others kept astern, raking her. The bravery, however, and steadiness of Captain Roberts, supported by the well directed rounds of grape-shot from the Repulse and Vanguard, very soon obliged several of them to retire. By ten o'clock the remainder desisted from the attack, and left Captain Curtis to tow the Helena into the Mole, without farther molestation. One of the enemy's xebèques, mounting between twenty and thirty guns, which was lying at anchor near to Cabarita Point, got under way, when the sea breeze came on, and advanced to join their gun-boats; but upon seeing them retire, she proceeded no farther.

The masts, sails, rigging, and furniture of the Helena, were all cut to pieces, and the hull a good deal damaged; but it was equally wonderful and fortunate, that only one man was killed on board of her.

This gallant action was viewed with great satisfaction by General Elliot, and all the officers and men in garrison. The General, in his public letter, bestowed the highest praises on Captains Curtis and Roberts; and every person agreed, that they, their officers and men, had gained infinite honour, and well deserved the highest commendation.

Towards the close of the summer, the Spaniards greatly moderated

moderated the fury of the cannonade and bombardment, with which they commenced their attack on the fortrefs. They feemed to have exhausted their ftrength and to wifh for a little reft. Accordingly, for fome time, an extraordinary quiet prevailed on both fides. The enemy had found by experience, that the works were able to withftand their utmoft efforts, and that the garrifon held their fire in contempt. Their gun-boats ftill fallied forth in the night, and were more troublefome than dangerous by their fire. It fometimes deprived the men of their night's reft; notwithstanding which, they continued aftonifhingly healthy. General Elliot devifed an expedient, which in a great meafure freed the garrifon from the nocturnal vifits of the enemy's gun-boats. Having been fupplied with fome very long cannon, thirty-two pounders, fent on purpofe from England, he placed thefe, together with fome very heavy mortars, on the batteries neareft to the Spanifh approaches. The fhot and fhells from thefe reached the very centre of the enemy's camp, where they created a great deal of confternation and confufion: and it being foon obferved, that thefe were fired only in return for the infolence of the gun and mortar boats, the Spanifh commanders found it convenient to reftrain the one, in order to obviate the mifchief and deftruction occafioned by the other. Thus, by a fort of tacit convention, hoftilities, for fome time, in a great meafure ceafed on both fides. But during this ftate of unufual tranquillity, General Elliot, whole eftablifhed character of prudence, caution, and the greateft tendernefs for the lives of his men, was capable of lulling the moft watchful enemy into a fatal fecurity, was meditating a fevere blow on the moft advanced works and batteries of the Spaniards. They dreaded nothing fo little; but thought, that by a General who appeared to be fo great an œconomift of his powder and fhot, compared with the prodigality with which they expended theirs, no great, daring, or hazardous enterprife would be attempted. The event fhewed how very much they were miftaken, and clearly evinced, that the moft prudent caution, and the boldeft enterprife, when  
under



under the guidance of long experience and sound judgment, are perfectly consistent.

The stupendous works which the Spaniards, at an immense expence and labour had erected before Gibraltar, with the hope of being able to make themselves masters of that fortress, were now arrived at the highest state of perfection. General Elliot considered this as a proper time, for attempting to storm and destroy some of their principal advanced works, and determined to make the effort.

The design was planned with consummate skill; its object was great and important; and never was an enterprize more completely performed. The force of the enemy, in their lines and advanced works, generally consisted of fifty or sixty cavalry, and six hundred infantry, composed of the Spanish and Walloon guards, artilleryists, cassadores, and other light troops, besides the usual body of workmen, carrying their arms.

The time being fixed, and all the necessary arrangements made, a considerable detachment assembled on the red sands soon after midnight, and issued from the garrison, upon the setting of the moon, at three o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November. The troops were divided into three columns: the centre being led by Lieutenant-Colonel Dackenhäusen of Reden's regiment; the right by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugo of Hardenberg's; the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Trigge of the 12th; and the reserve by Major Maxwell of the 73d regiment. The seamen, in two divisions, were headed by Lieutenants Campbell of the *Brilliant* and Muckle of the *Porcupine*. The whole body was commanded by Brigadier-General Ross, who conducted this enterprize with great judgment, and much to General Elliot's satisfaction. Each column was formed in the following order: an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, artillerymen carrying combustibles, a sustaining corps, with a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen from his Majesty's ships.

All the men in this detachment, were most attentive to the orders

orders which they received before they began their march: nothing ever exceeded the silence and order with which they moved, the spirit and vigour of the attack, or the nice and exact combination of all its parts. The whole exterior front of the enemy's advanced works, was everywhere assaulted at the same instant, with an impetuosity and ardour truly irresistible. After feebly opposing it, by a scattered and ill directed fire of very short continuance, they were soon obliged to give way, and to fly with the utmost precipitation, abandoning those prodigious works, the constructing of which had cost so much labour, time, and expence, and in the expected effect of which, the hopes of all Spain were centered.

The most wonderful exertions were made by the pioneers and artillerymen, who spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that in half an hour, two batteries of ten thirteen inch mortars, and three batteries of heavy cannon of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames: and every thing subject to the action of fire, was finally reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked; and their beds, carriages, and platforms were destroyed. As the fire approached them, the powder magazines blew up in succession.

The fugitives from the works, seemed to have carried the infection of their terror and confusion into the Spanish camp, where the troops remained tame spectators of the conflagration and havock, without making any effort to save their works. Nor did the assailants meet with any considerable annoyance; except an ill directed and ineffectual fire of round and grape-shot from their Forts St. Barbara and St. Philip, and from the batteries on their lines, could be called such.

This service was performed in the most masterly manner: and the whole detachment was in the garrison again by five o'clock, just before break of day, which was not more than two hours from the time of its departure. Its loss was very inconsiderable.\* Many of the enemy were killed; but from the

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\* Viz. Four rank and file, killed: one officer, two serjeants, five seamen, and seventeen rank and file, wounded: one rank and file, missing.

darkness of the night and other circumstances, it was impossible to ascertain with exactness either their number or their rank. The Baron de Helmstedt, a Sub-Lieutenant of grenadiers, with the rank of Captain,† and seven of the Walloon guards, with an officer and three artillerymen, were taken prisoners. They received the greatest kindness and attention from the Governor, and the officers and garrison.

It surely afforded great consolation to the nation, that in the midst of the most unfortunate and ruinous war in which Great Britain had ever been engaged, and in which she was oppressed by a multitude of enemies on all sides, she suffered no diminution in her ancient naval and military fame, which was nobly supported, and upheld in its full lustre, by the greatest exertions of valour in every quarter of the globe.

### M I N O R C A.

THE war into which Spain had been drawn against Great Britain, was in general regarded by the most sensible people of that

† On the 27th of December, General Elliot informed the General commanding the Spanish troops before Gibraltar, that the Baron de Helmstedt, who was wounded and taken prisoner in the fall on the night of the 26th of November, was at the last extremity, notwithstanding the hopes of his recovery, that had been entertained, since the amputation of his left thigh. He added, that as soon as he should die, the melancholy event should be announced by the firing of a cannon from one of the King's ships, which should hoist immediately a flag of parley. This signal was accordingly made on the 29th in the morning. When the corpse was embarked, a company of British grenadiers fired three volleys in honour of the deceased. The coffin, borne on a litter, magnificently ornamented and covered with black velvet, bordered with silver, was placed in a small vessel; on board of which eight officers, with the Governor's Secretary, all in mourning, embarked. This vessel was followed by another sloop, containing the deceased Baron's equipage and other effects, together with two hundred dures in specie, which had been sent to him a short time previous to his death. General Elliot sent them back, and informed the Spanish General, that the King, his Master, would not permit them to accept of payment for the expences incurred in the care of a brave officer, or for his funeral. The coffin was received by the Captain of the guard at Port Mayorga, who went out to meet it on board a sloop belonging to his General, accompanied by some officers of rank, and some Chaplains. On the 30th, the interment was performed in the church of the camp, with every military honour.



that country, as having originated in French counsels. Their opinion was, that the true interest of their nation was sacrificed, to comply with the views of the Court of Versailles; and of consequence, the measures adopted were very unpopular. But, in order to conciliate the people, the Spanish Ministry publicly avowed it to be the intention of the King, to attempt the reduction of the islands of Jamaica and Minorca, together with the fortrefs of Gibraltar: and from the superiority of the combined fleets of France and Spain, most sanguine hopes were entertained of success in these important enterprises. The slow progress which their naval and military operations had hitherto made, was attributed to France having directed her attention solely to her own interests, while she slighted or postponed those of Spain. The French Ministry found it absolutely necessary to adopt some measure, to remove these unfavourable impressions. They knew, that it was extremely galling to the King of Spain, and to the nation, that the British should retain possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, which were viewed as so much of the Spanish dominions purloined from them. They therefore proposed to the Cabinet of Madrid, that if they would put their projected plan of attacking the island of Minorca in execution, they would not only assist them, in the accomplishment of that design, with a considerable body of land-forces; but, that when its conquest should be effected, these troops should immediately join their army before Gibraltar, and contribute their aid in the reduction of that fortrefs, which had been beheld with the most painful regret by every Spaniard, since the time when it was ceded to Britain. This offer could not be resisted by the Catholic King, who immediately issued orders for assembling ten thousand infantry at Cadiz, to proceed against Minorca; and for preparing at Carthagena, a large train of battering cannon and mortars, for the same service. Whether he was diffident of the abilities and experience of his own Generals, or to what other motive his conduct may be ascribed, it is not easy to determine; but he requested the King of France to furnish him with an able officer to command the forces des-

tined against Minorca. He accordingly sent him the Duc de Crillon,\* whom he recommended in the strongest terms. This officer was immediately appointed Commander in Chief of the troops allotted for this service. Agreeably to the plan concerted between the two Courts, a squadron, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, four of which carried one hundred guns each, was dispatched from Brest. It was commanded by the Comte de Guichen, who had under him M. de la Mothe Piquet and M. de Beauffet. The Comte had orders to proceed directly to Cadiz, and there to put himself under the command of Don Louis de Cordova, who commanded the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty sail of the line; and who had under him Rear-Admirals Don Miguel Gaston and Don Vicente Dos. The Spanish Admiral accordingly had the chief command of the combined fleets. As soon as the French squadron reached its destination, the embarkation of the troops commenced: and on the 22d of July, the whole put to sea. On the 23d, they entered the Gut of Gibraltar, and proceeded up the Mediterranean. Don Louis de Cordova had orders, immediately after seeing to a certain distance, the transports which had on board the land-forces for the attack of Minorca, to detach them, under the escort of two ships of the line and some frigates and sloops, which had been appointed to assist the besieging army, and which formed a small squadron, under the command of Don Bonaventura Morena. Agreeably to these instructions, on the 25th, he made the signal for the fleets to separate. The ships of war and transports destined for Minorca, continued their voyage; while he, with the combined fleets of Spain and France, returned to the Atlantic Ocean, from which they made the best of their way to the entrance of the British Channel.

The fleet and transports, under Don Bonaventura Morena, were much retarded in their progress, by calms and contrary winds. On the 15th of August they were off Malaga, and were favoured with a fresh breeze, which brought them to their

\* The Duc de Crillon was made a Lieutenant-General in the French army, May 1, 1758.

their destination on the 18th. During the voyage, the Duc de Crillon was not idle, but made all the necessary arrangements for debarking the troops, and for the mode of attack, and communicated these to the Generals and principal officers: so that as soon as he made the signal, they immediately proceeded to put his orders in execution. In planning his operations, he profited by the blunders which the French committed, when they invaded Minorca in the year 1756. Landing at Cittadella, at the northern extremity of the island, they had the whole length of it to march, besides the trouble of repairing the roads and bridges destroyed by the British troops, in their retreat to the Castle of St. Philip, before they could sit down before that fortress. He therefore determined to disembark his army as near to the scene of action as possible, hoping that he might thus be able to take General Murray by surprise, and to intercept and cut off the regiments usually quartered at Cittadella, the country towns, and Mahon, when on their route to throw themselves into the Castle of St. Philip; and thereby, so to weaken the garrison, that it might soon be compelled to surrender. The British Governor, however, was too alert, and had too much experience to fall into such a snare. His troops had been timeously withdrawn, and had all reached the Castle, except a few trifling detachments, which fell into the hands of the Spaniards, whose motions were much more rapid than was expected. Such was their rapidity, that they certainly prevented the garrison, from being so well supplied with various sorts of stores as it would otherwise have been, and put it out of its power to destroy the magazines and shipping left at Mahon.

A little before the enemy got sight of the island of Minorca, their Commodore sent a part of his fleet ahead, under the command of Don Diego Quevedo, to block up the harbour of Mahon: and soon after that, detached some frigates and armed vessels, under the command of Don Antonio Ortaga, together with some vessels having troops on board, to Cittadella. The plan formed by the Duc de Crillon for making his descent



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on Minorca, was by effecting two grand debarkations at the same time, on opposite sides of the entrance of the harbour of Mahon. The principal one, which he intended to conduct in person, was to be made at a place called Mosquita, on the eastern side of the island, about a league from Cape Mola, and about two leagues from the town of Mahon. As soon as he had gained this point, he was to seize on the height on which the signal-house is situated, and on all the posts on the east side of the harbour. Having accomplished this, he was to march for Mahon, to secure that place, and without loss of time, to proceed in force towards the Castle of St. Philip. On his march from Mahon, he expected to be joined by his second debarkation, commanded by Brigadier-General Don Louis de las Calas, who had orders to endeavour to make good his landing, with the regiments of Savoy, Ultonia, and Princeessa, in some small bays or coves at a place called Alcasar, on the western side of the entrance of Mahon harbour, and not above a league from the Castle of St. Philip. This debarkation was to be made, under cover of some war ships, commanded by Don Balthasar de Perma. This double descent, effected at the same moment, it was conjectured, would greatly distract the British, as they would not probably know, from which of the two places they should expect the principal assault. The plan was well laid to answer the General's expectations; but, it must be observed, that all conjunct expeditions depend upon the concurrence of so many circumstances, and have so many obstacles to encounter from winds, tides, and other unlooked for incidents, that they are seldom known to succeed in every part subservient to their main design. In the attack on Minorca, this remark was strikingly exemplified, for the motions of Brigadier-General Calas were so impeded, that he was unable to get his detachment on shore, for thirty-six hours after the Commander in Chief had made good his landing. By these means he was prevented from co-operating, in the grand scheme of intercepting the British corps on their retreat to the citadel, and arrived only in time for his troops to take their place

place in the line, and to complete the investiture of the Castle of St. Philip. The enemy got sight of Minorca early in the morning of the 18th of August; and the Duc de Crillon, having made the necessary detachment for landing at Alcazar, passed the entrance of the harbour of Mahon in full view of the garrison in the Castle about mid-day, and pushed on for Mosquita. The shore was immediately reconnoitred; and Don Bonaventura Morena having placed his ships in their proper stations, a signal was made for the brigade of grenadiers, the chasseurs, and volunteers of Catalonia, which composed the van guard of the army, under the command of Major-General the Marquis de Cogigall, to get into their boats, and row for the shore. This signal they immediately obeyed, and effected their purpose without opposition, about three o'clock in the afternoon. With this corps the Duc de Crillon landed. The brigades of Burgos, Murcia, and America, landed immediately after it, and were headed by Lieutenant-General Don Felix Buch, the second in command on this expedition. Much about the same time, Colonel the Marquis d'Aviles, with a detachment of grenadiers and some troops of dismounted dragoons, landed and took possession of the port and town of Cittadella. The Duc de Crillon, immediately on the debarkation being completed, put his troops in motion, took possession of all the posts on the eastern side of the harbour without opposition, General Murray having withdrawn the troops from them; and soon after that, reached Mahon. From this place, he detached some troops, under the command of Colonel the Marquis de Penrosiel, son to the Duke of Ossuna, to take possession of Port Fernelles, and of the fort there; and a detachment of the fleet, at the same time proceeded thither from Mosquita, in order to second the Marquis's operations, if necessary. The Duke continued his march towards the Castle of St. Philip, entered George Town, and by midnight had posted his army round that fortress. Here he was joined the next evening by Don Louis de las Calas, with the troops under his command, from Alcazar. At Mahon, the enemy found

ample naval magazines of various sorts, intercepted upwards of a hundred head of cattle on their way to St. Philip's, to which place the garrison had retired, and made prisoners two officers and some soldiers, who were escorting them. A few vessels which were at the quay of Mahon fell into the enemy's hands; but the remainder, among which were some prizes of great value, about a dozen of privateers, and his Majesty's sloop of war the *Minorca*, retired down the harbour, and took shelter under the cannon of Fort St. Philip.

The British garrison was at this time very healthy; but its strength was by no means proportioned to the numerous works which it had to defend. It consisted of the 51st and 61st British regiments of foot, and two regiments of Hanoverian foot, viz. Prince Ernest's and Goldacker's, with a detachment of the royal regiment of artillery, amounting in all to about two thousand five hundred men. These were commanded by two able and experienced officers, whose eminent and brilliant actions in the service of their country, have been repeatedly mentioned in the course of this work. These were Lieutenant-General the Hon. James Murray, and Lieutenant-General Sir William Draper, K. B.

As soon as the Duc de Crillon had invested the place, he sent his transport vessels to Barcelona for a reinforcement of troops, and for the battering cannon and heavy mortars. By the original plan for the reduction of the island, these vessels should first have gone to Toulon, and brought from thence to Minorca, a body of French infantry,\* commanded by Major-General the Baron de Falkenhayn, esteemed one of the best officers in their service: but being thus employed, the Intendant at Toulon was obliged to collect vessels from the French ports in the Mediterranean, in order to transport the French auxiliaries to assist at the siege of Fort St. Philip. This occasioned

\* These consisted of the old regiments of Lioinois, Bretagne, Bouillon, and Royal Swedois, of two battalions each, and each battalion consisting of seven hundred and fifty men; making in all about seven thousand men, officers included.



sioned some delay; and the difficulties which the Spaniards found, in carrying on their approaches, and in erecting their batteries, where earth is so very thin and scarce, made a considerable time elapse before they could break ground and open their batteries. They had also other impediments to struggle with. Their heavy cannon and mortars were landed at Port Fernelles, and the making of a road on which they could be transported to Mahon, was a work of immense labour.

When the Duc de Crillon first sat down before the Citadel of St. Philip, and for a considerable time after that, mutual civilities passed between him and General Murray. The former having been wounded in the beginning of September, when he was reconnoitring the place along with the Conde de Asuentes, the latter took an opportunity of writing a letter to him, in which he thanked him for the great attention he had shewn to the British ladies who wished to withdraw from the island, and also offered to send him twenty-two Spanish and seventeen French prisoners, then in his possession. He likewise expressed his concern on account of the wound which the Duke had received in reconnoitring the fort, and sent him a present of a fine Arabian horse. The Duc de Crillon, in his answer to this letter, expressed himself with the greatest politeness mixed with caution. He said, that he accepted the offer respecting the prisoners, as they would be only a charge in the fort: that he would give orders that proper care should be taken of the horse, until he should receive permission from the King, his Master, to accept a present from General Murray: and with regard to his wound, he begged that the General would not blame his officers of artillery, who had only done their duty. He concluded by saying, that he would be happy to live upon terms of friendship with him during the time of peace; but that, whilst the war lasted, he should always consider the British General as an enemy, and treat him as such, and hoped that he would do him the same honour.

This sort of intercourse was some time afterwards entirely put an end to, by a very extraordinary affair. This was a letter  
written

written by the Duc de Crillon, at the express desire of the King of Spain, to General Murray, offering him a very large bribe, to betray his trust. The attack on the island of Minorca was originally a project of his Catholic Majesty's: and he was anxious in the extreme for its success. As he had lost all patience, at the slowness with which the operations were carried on against it, that he might the sooner obtain possession of the place, he resolved on this strange means of trying to seduce the fidelity of the British Governor. It cannot be denied, that in this transaction, the King of Spain appears in a very disagreeable point of view, for he undoubtedly departed from that dignity of character, which should ever be inseparable from the person who wears a crown, or who puts a true value on the untarnished virtue of a man of strict honour. Nor does the conduct of the Duc de Crillon, in stooping to become the chief agent in so vile a business, redound at all to his credit. Their conduct to the Governor of Minorca, plainly showed, that they were wholly unacquainted with the character of the man: and he treated the offer made to him with all the disdain and contempt which it deserved. Conscious of his illustrious descent, and of his unsullied honour, he was highly incensed at the insult: and, in the letter which he wrote to the Duke,\* displayed a proper spirit

\* GENERAL MURRAY TO THE DUC DE CRILLON.

*Fort St. Philip, October 16th, 1781.*

When your brave ancestor was desired by his Sovereign to assassinate the Duc de Guise, he returned the answer which you should have done, when the King of Spain charged you to assassinate the character of a man, whose birth is as illustrious as your own, or that of the Duc de Guise. I can have no further communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, you may send cloathing to your unfortunate prisoners in my possession; leave it at a distance to be taken up for them, because I will admit of no contact for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree.

I am, Sir, &c.

JAMES MURRAY.

P. S. Your soldiers do not act with that honour they should do, they having attempted to corrupt one of my drummers yesterday, who was at your first post.

ANSWER

spirit of indignation, accompanied with the stern resentment of a veteran soldier, who felt himself wounded in the tenderest part. Feeling with the keenest sensibility the baseness of an insidious attempt upon that strict honour and probity, which he had revered as the idols of his life, he strongly represented to the Duke, that the mean part which he acted, was highly derogatory to his own honour, and that it marked in him a sad degeneracy from the noble conduct of his brave ancestor, whose courage and virtue make such a conspicuous figure, in the history of the immortal Henry the Great, King of France and Navarre.

The combined forces which attacked Minorca amounted to sixteen thousand men: and they had a train of artillery, consisting of one hundred and nine pieces of battering cannon, and thirty-six mortars, most of them of the greatest size. To oppose this formidable armament, there was only a garrison of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two men of all sorts. Of these two thousand and sixteen were British and Hanoverian regular troops. A small corps of marines and sailors, belonging to such of his Majesty's ships as chanced to be here when the Spaniards blocked up the harbour, were of great service during the siege: and being more accustomed to live on salted provisions, they kept their health much better than the other troops in the garrison did. Exclusive of these, the remainder was made up of a handful of Greeks and Corsicans, who behaved with great bravery.

The Citadel of St. Philip was in some respects exceedingly strong.

#### ANSWER FROM THE DUC DE CRILLON.

Your letter places us each in our proper station: it confirms me in the esteem I have always had for you. I accept with pleasure your last proposition, and

I am,

Your Excellency's, &c. &c.

B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

P. S. Your drummer should not have mixed himself with the soldiers from my first post; I shall give orders to punish those who have committed the offence you complain of. I send cloaths for the prisoners in your possession.



strong. Its ditch and all its subterraneous defences were cut out of the solid rock; its great arches which covered the casemates were bomb-proof; and its numerous outworks were all undermined; but the enemy could not fail of being well acquainted with these circumstances, as the island had been long in the possession of the French. The upper works were not so strong as the under. More exposed to the depredations of time, they were not so easily kept in repair: and Government had, for some time, been averse to expend on them, much of the public treasure. The old town of St. Philip, having been deemed too near the fortifications, was, soon after it was restored to the British in 1763, completely removed: and a new town, on a regular plain, called George Town, was built somewhat more than half a mile farther off, towards Mahon, and close upon the harbour. The garrison in Fort St. Philip, when besieged by the combined forces of France and Spain, though it had been in the highest health, did not amount to half the number, absolutely necessary for the defence of works so numerous and extensive.

Its weakness could not be unknown to the Duc de Crillon: and this was probably the reason why he lay at Cape Mola, where he had fixed his head-quarters, more unguardedly than perhaps he would otherwise have done. General Murray, obtaining intelligence of this remissness, made a very unexpected sally across the harbour in boats, surprised the guard, and obliged the Duke and his suite to make off in a great hurry. The British lodged themselves for the present, in the post from which they had so effectually chased the enemy: and though the Duc de Crillon brought up his whole army, with a design to drive them from it, yet, after reconnoitring their position, he desisted from attacking them. On the following night, the party returned without molestation to the garrison, taking along with them upwards of one hundred prisoners: among whom were a Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, and five subaltern officers. In this gallant action, the British had only one man killed and a few wounded. The beating up the Duke's quarters was probably

bably intended by General Murray, as a sort of military rebuke to him for not being more on his guard.

The fleet, under Don Bonaventura Morena, did not so completely block up the harbour of Mahon, as to preclude all vessels from entering it. Mr. Udney, the British Consul at Leghorn, was indefatigable in sending some ships from that port with vegetables, fruits, other necessaries, and intelligence to the garrison. Several of these had the good fortune to arrive safe; and one of them brought an accession of strength to the garrison, of some Corsican recruits.

The enemy did not open their batteries till the 11th of November, when they kept up a most tremendous fire; which did very little damage to the works. The garrison were not tame spectators of this cannonade, but returned it, with every gun which they could bring to bear on their batteries: and such was their success, that, with one of their shells they blew up a powder magazine, which the enemy had behind Turk's Mount. By the explosion a mortar battery, which they had near this magazine, was completely destroyed, many of their soldiers were killed and wounded, and a great number of shells placed in its vicinity took fire and burst. The guns in the Citadel were so remarkably well served and pointed, that they sunk, at the quay of George Town, a vessel loaded with ammunition and military stores for the enemies' batteries. This loss they severely felt, as it retarded their operations for a considerable time.

The war in which Britain was now engaged with three of the greatest maritime powers of Europe, exclusive of her unhappy contest with America, found so much employment for her fleets, that she was unable to send into the Mediterranean, one of sufficient force to relieve the island of Minorca and to protect her commerce in that sea. Though thus disagreeably circumstanced, she did not so completely forget the former as to leave it altogether without aid. When Admiral Darby relieved Gibraltar in the month of April, he took out with him thirteen storeships and victuallers for the island of Minorca.

These

These vessels he detached for Mahon, under the escort of the *Flora* and *Crescent* frigates, immediately on his arrival at Gibraltar: and, as the Spaniards had not then laid siege to the place, they all arrived safe, and brought with them, a very ample supply of all sorts of stores and necessaries. It was hoped, that these would have enabled the garrison to withstand any attack that might be made on it, until the affairs of Britain should become so prosperous, that she could send a fleet to afford it effectual relief. The defence made by Governor Murray and his garrison was noble, and reflects the highest honour on both. Their spirited exertions would fully have answered the expectations of their country, if the havoc made among them by an unforeseen malady had not so reduced their numbers, as to render farther resistance impossible.

An unfortunate misunderstanding occurred between the Governor and Sir William Draper, the second in command, which was carried to a great height, and did not fail to render the situation of both, extremely irksome and unpleasant. Nor did this dispute tend to lessen the misfortunes under which the garrison laboured. The conclusion of this memorable siege, however, falls to be related in the affairs of the year 1782.

Captain Moore, of the *Fame* privateer of Dublin, of twenty-two six pounders and one hundred and twenty men, still kept cruising in the Mediterranean, where he gave great annoyance to the enemy's commerce. The gallantry which he displayed this year, was fully equal to his former exploits; which were related in the affairs of the year 1780. In the evening of the 19th of November, being on a cruize on the coast of Spain, about sixteen leagues from Cape de Palos, he fell in with seven sail of ships, all of which appeared to be of force: and the largest, by way of intimidating him, hoisted a red flag, commonly known by the name of the bloody flag. He kept sight of them all night, next morning gave chase, and on coming up with them, hoisted British colours. The red flag was then hauled down; all of them hoisted French colours; and an action immediately commenced. The two largest



largest ships received him with great bravery; but being lucky enough to disable the rigging of the smallest of the two, she fell astern. He then directed his fire against the largest, but met with considerable interruption from a polacre of eighteen guns, which raked him. After an engagement of five glasses however, his antagonist struck, and the polacre made off. The prize was the Marianne Olimpe, a fine ship of eighteen nine pounders and twelve swivels, six hundred tons burden, richly laden from Marseilles, and bound to St. Domingo. As soon as Captain Moore had secured this vessel, and repaired the most material of his own damages, he made after the ship which he had crippled, and soon got alongside of her, on which she struck. She was called the Activity, mounted eighteen guns, viz. twelve nine, and six six pounders, had on board a valuable cargo from Marseilles, and was bound to the island of Martinico. Captain Moore carried his prizes into Algiers. The largest of them had eight men killed and fourteen wounded; and the smallest had five men killed and seven wounded. The Fame had only one man killed, and eight wounded.

### TRANSACTIONS AT OR NEAR HOME.

THAT the reader may have a distinct view of the various operations of the war in the neighbourhood of Britain, they shall be arranged as nearly as possible in the order of their respective dates: and, by this rule, the first that falls to be mentioned is the invasion made by the French on the island of Jersey. The attack made on this island in May, 1779, roused the attention of Administration. General Conway, the Governor, came over immediately to the island, remained there some months, and saw the militia put upon a better footing than that on which they had formerly been. The old batteries were also repaired, and new ones erected where necessary: and a considerable reinforcement of troops was sent to the garrison, so that the place was put in a very formidable state of defence. The great importance to France of possessing this island

island in the time of war, led that nation to meditate another attack upon it. To this measure they were prompted, by considering, not only the advantage which they would derive, from the security which it would afford to their own commerce, in passing up and down the Channel; but also, the convenience of its situation for fitting out privateers, by which they might annoy the trade of Britain. Their plan was carried on with so much secrecy, that on the 6th of January, they entered the capital by surprise, before day-break, and made the Lieutenant-Governor prisoner. This enterprize was conducted by a Baron de Rullecourt, a Colonel in the French service, and an officer of some reputation and of a daring spirit. He had been second in command, in the attack made by the Prince de Nassau on this island, in the year 1779: and it is very probable, that he was the projector of this second attempt. From his representations of what he could accomplish with a small body of troops, he was appointed to command them: and received a promise, that if he should prove successful, he should be rewarded with the Cross of St. Louis, have the government of his conquest, and be promoted to the rank of a general officer. The prospect of obtaining these honours, no doubt, strongly stimulated M. de Rullecourt, to run every hazard to carry his point. The Chevalier de Luxembourg was to have been second in command, but was prevented by sickness from embarking with the troops. The military force allotted for this service, amounted to little more than two thousand men. These were composed of the Volunteers of Luxembourg, and of piquets from the regiments in garrison at St. Malo and its environs. They assembled at Granville, where the enemy had collected a number of small vessels, into which they embarked. These were to be escorted to their destination, by some small privateers. M. de Rullecourt was sensible, that his success depended solely upon secrecy and dispatch. The season of the year was extremely unfavourable for the British cruizers to remain on that dangerous coast: and, resolving to avail himself as much as possible of this circumstance,

cumstance, he put to sea, when the weather was not sufficiently settled to authorise him to take such a step, but soon suffered severely for his temerity. The wind increased to a storm, his fleet was dispersed, one half of his vessels were glad to make for the first ports in France which they were able to reach, while the Baron with the remainder, sought shelter among the Chaufey islands, a small cluster of rocks, situated about midway between St. Malo and Jersey. This check would have deterred a less bold adventurer than M. de Rullecourt, from prosecuting his design; but he was too confident of success to be persuaded to relinquish it. After waiting some days, until the weather became more favourable, and in hopes of being joined by his missing vessels, he resolved to proceed with the force which he had with him, though greatly diminished. Accordingly, he put to sea once more: and, about ten o'clock at night on the 5th of January, with much difficulty reached a rocky point of the island of Jersey, called the Vielet Bank, which stretches a considerable way into the sea at low water and forms the southern extremity of Grouville Bay. Near this, his fleet came to an anchor. He then landed, with between seven and eight hundred troops, at a place called Platte Rocher, near La Roque Point, on which there was a small redoubt with two pieces of cannon mounted. Here an officer and some militia mount guard every night, and retire at daylight in the morning. On this occasion, they were lulled into a fatal security; for the enemy found that they had retired before their usual time from their post, by which means, they gained a footing on the island without opposition, and without the smallest alarm being given. The ground where the French fleet came to an anchor is so extremely foul, that one of their privateers, and some of the transport vessels, were driven by the tide upon the rocks, and wrecked, in the very night in which they arrived. By this misfortune they lost upwards of two hundred men. There is but too much reason to believe, that M. de Rullecourt had been furnished with very good intelligence; for without losing a moment, he followed up his first

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success. Leaving a hundred men in the redoubt at La Roque Point, to assist in debarking his stores and ammunition, he pushed on at the head of his troops for the town of St. Helier, the capital of the island, from which he was distant about five miles. About six in the morning he entered the square or market-place, where he surprised, and made prisoners, a serjeant's guard of the 78th regiment: and immediately after, sent a detachment to the head-quarters, and made the Lieutenant-Governor, Major Moses Corbet, prisoner. He was conducted directly to the Royal Court-house to M. de Rullecourt; and soon after that the Magistrates, the King's Advocate, and Captain Charlton of the artillery, were also brought there as prisoners. It will now be proper to take a view of the state of the garrison, the manner in which it was arranged, and the steps by which this valuable island was happily prevented from falling under the dominion of France.

When the French landed in Jersey, the garrison of the island consisted of five companies of the Earl of Seaforth's Highlanders, or 78th regiment, commanded by Captain Robert Lumfdaire: five companies of the Glasgow Volunteers, or 83d regiment, commanded by Captain William Campbell: the whole of the 95th regiment, then commanded by Major Francis Pierfon: five companies of invalids: and a small detachment of the invalid battalion of the royal regiment of artillery—making in all about two thousand men. The five companies of the 78th regiment were quartered in the Hospital Barracks, which are situated a little to the north-west of the town of St. Helier, about five hundred yards from the market-place, and very near the foot of the gallows hill. These barracks are surrounded by a high wall: and as they have no accommodation for the commissioned officers, they are lodged in the town. The five companies of the 83d regiment, with some of the artillery, composed the garrison of Fort Conway, which is situated in Grouville Bay. The 95th were quartered in some houses in St. Peter's parish, called La Hogue: and Major Pierfon was there, when he was informed that the  
French

French had surpris'd the town of St. Helier. The invalids garrisoned Elizabeth, Mount Orgueil, and St. Aubin Castles : the detachment of the royal regiment of artillery was dispersed in the different castles and posts : and Major Corbet, the Lieutenant-Governor, resided in the house of La Motte, which is situated a little to the north of the town.

The first person of any note, who received information of the French being in possession of the market-place, was Captain Clement Hemery of the town artillery. He instantly repaired to the Lieutenant-Governor, to inform him of this event : and he requested, that he would take one of his horses, and make the greatest haste to communicate it to Captain Campbell of the 83d at Fort Conway, and also to get it conveyed to all posts, where the troops were stationed. This order he obeyed with the greatest possible expedition. The escape of Captain Hemery was a most fortunate circumstance ; for he had not left the house of La Motte above five minutes, when a party of the enemy arriv'd there, and made the Lieutenant-Governor prisoner.

Captain Lumsdaine of the 78th regiment, who lodged in one of the cross back streets of St. Helier, was informed by his servant, between six and seven in the morning, of the enemy being in the town ; and was soon after that, joined by Lieutenant Macrae of the same regiment, who lodged in an adjoining house. They both resolv'd, to make the best of their way to the Hospital Barracks, ran down the street until they were clear of the houses, and by climbing over all the garden walls in their way, at last got to the barrack gate, which they found shut. Nor would the centinel admit them, without using every precaution, that would have done credit to a veteran soldier. The regiment had been apprized of their danger, were busied in taking every measure for their defence, and in high spirits. Captain Lumsdaine immediately dispatched a serjeant to Major Pierfon, to acquaint him that he intended to take post on the gallows hill, and that he would wait there until he should join him. He accordingly march'd thither about

eight o'clock, taking along with him a six pounder and a howitzer, attached to the regiment. About nine o'clock, he received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor, ordering him not to commit any hostilities against the enemy; but, to this order he was determined to pay no regard. Soon after that, he received a letter from Captain Mulcaster of the engineers, who had thrown himself into Elizabeth Castle, requesting Captain Lumsdaine to send him some of the militia gunners; and at the same time informing him, of the fixed resolution of the garrison, to defend the Castle to the utmost. This afforded great pleasure to the officers and soldiers assembled on the gallows hill: and, some of the militia having joined them, Captain Lumsdaine immediately sent the gunners, as requested. Captain (afterwards Colonel) Mulcaster, was then chief engineer in Jersey. He lodged in a house near the market-place, from which he was so lucky as to effect his escape, before the enemy had time to make him prisoner. Having given general orders to his family, to have a horse ready saddled for him on any alarm, his servant had one waiting him at the door. He mounted directly, rode full speed across the sands to Elizabeth Castle, put the garrison on their guard, and caused fire the alarm guns. This signal was instantly repeated by St. Aubin's Castle, and also by the several batteries round the back of the island, to Mount Orgueil Castle. This roused the attention of every one: the militia flew to their arms with an alacrity that redounds much to their honour, and immediately repaired to their respective rendezvouses, where they soon received orders from Major Pierfon to march to the gallows hill, and there to join the King's troops. This order they instantly obeyed.\*

The enemy carried matters with a high hand. Having made Captain Charlton of the artillery and some town's people prisoners, they tied the Captain and one of them together with ropes: and in that condition forced them to conduct them to the Governor's house, and severely threatened them in case of deceit or refusal. The enemy, having made the Lieutenant-Governor

\* See Note 252.



Governor prisoner, brought him to the Royal Court-house. He remonstrated with M. de Rullecourt against the ignominious treatment of an officer of Captain Charlton's rank ; on which he gave orders for untying the ropes with which he was bound. Mr. Durell the King's Advocate, the Magistrates, and some of the principal inhabitants of St. Helier, being also brought prisoners to the Royal Court-house, the Baron de Rullecourt drew up a capitulation, by which the King's troops were to be allowed to march out with the honours of war, afterwards to lodge their arms (their side arms excepted) in the town-house, and return to their respective quarters, there to remain until vessels were provided to carry them to England. The inhabitants were to be protected in their estates and effects, and allowed their religion. He seemed displeased that his prisoners did not express a desire to sign it : and in order to bring them into this measure, he greatly exaggerated his own force, asserting that he had only come on with seven hundred men, but that he had five thousand more dispersed over the island, so that all resistance would be in vain. They all, however, refused to put their names to the capitulation. Mr. Durell the King's Advocate, a gentleman of very superior abilities, appearing to doubt his assertions, he repeated them ; on which Mr. Durell observed, that he never heard of a General marching with his van guard until now. The gentlemen continuing inflexible, M. de Rullecourt allowed them to retire to their respective houses on parole ; but detained the Lieutenant-Governor, with whom he hoped to prevail to sign the capitulation. In vain did he remonstrate with the French Commandant, that no act of his in his present circumstances, could have any authority ; and that the troops were commanded by gentlemen of sense and spirit, who were too well acquainted with their duty, to pay regard to any order that he might give while a prisoner. His reasoning was not listened to : and M. de Rullecourt insisted on his signing the capitulation, declaring, that if he should persist in his refusal, he would give

the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers.\* To prevent this, the Lieutenant-Governor, unfortunately for himself, too inconsiderately signed the capitulation. This point being gained, the Baron de Rullecourt thought that he had completed his conquest, immediately invested himself with the Order of St. Louis, the only part of his promised rewards which he lived to enjoy, and wrote a letter, giving an account of his success, which he sent to the Commodore of his fleet, to be forwarded to France.† He insisted that the Lieutenant-Governor should write to Major Pierfon, Captains Lumfdaine and Campbell, not to fire a shot, and to the commanding officer of Elizabeth Castle, to surrender that fortress: but the answers received from all those brave officers were such, as the Lieutenant-Governor had given the Baron reason to expect. They uniformly declared, that they would obey no orders received from Mr. Corbet, but would do their utmost to defend the island for the King their Master. This conduct enraged M. de Rullecourt very much. He now insisted, that the Lieutenant-Governor should accompany him, and in person, require Elizabeth Castle to be immediately delivered up: and accordingly ordered out a detachment of his troops, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, at the head of which, they marched for this purpose. Captain Mulcaster commanded in the Castle. He had but just sent off his answer to the first demand made by the French General, when word was brought to him that the enemy were advancing in force. It was now day-break, and he saw their troops on their march. On this, he ordered a shot to be fired wide of the enemy; but, as this had not the desired effect, he ordered a gun to be pointed at them and fired. The shot killed two men, and carried off the leg of an officer, on which  
the

\* The French soldiers had already begun to shew their cruelties, having broke open several houses, and murdered two poor old invalid soldiers, upwards of seventy years of age.

† A vessel was immediately dispatched with this letter, giving advice that the capitulation was signed, when great rejoicings were made, but their joy was short lived.

the French returned to the town. Soon after this, Mr. d'Auvergne, overseer of the King's works, was, at the request of M. de Rullecourt sent into Elizabeth Castle, to inform the Commandant of the severe threat which the enemy had declared should be put in execution against the town; and to tell him, that all resistance must be futile, considering the force which they had brought against the island. Their boasts and threats were treated with the contempt they deserved: and Mr. d'Auvergne returned, with an assurance that the Castle would not be delivered up, so long as there was a man left to defend it.\*

In consequence of the orders sent to the different regiments of militia, they marched for the gallows hill, on which Captain Lumfdaïne, with the companies and cannon of the 78th regiment, had taken post, a little after eight o'clock, where they were soon joined by the St. Lawrence militia. Major Pierſon, with the 95th regiment, arrived a few minutes after ten, and was immediately followed by Colonel Pipon and the South West regiment of militia. The St. Saviour's and North regiments of militia joined about eleven o'clock. As soon as this junction was completed, Major Pierſon made his disposition for the attack. He observed, that the enemy had neglected to occupy the town hill, a rocky eminence, that stretches from the harbour to the town, where it ends abruptly, overlooks the town, and entirely commands the market-place, which is an oblong square. Here the enemy's troops were drawn up in a column; and as they had brought no cannon with them, they seized on the two field-pieces attached to the town regiment of militia, which were lodged in the church, compelled the storekeeper to deliver up the ammunition, and planted the guns at the principal entrances into the square. Major Pierſon resolved to occupy the town hill in force: and for this purpose,

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\* For a particular account of this transaction, we beg leave to refer the reader to Note 253 of the Appendix; where he will find a copy of the letter, written by Captain Mulcaſter to Lord Amherſt on this occasion, and also his Lordship's answer to that letter.



detached Captain Hugh Frazer of the 78th regiment, with a battalion company and the light-infantry companies of that corps and of the 95th regiment, and the North regiment of militia on this service, in which they were greatly assisted by Thomas Pipon, Esq; his Majesty's storekeeper, who undertook to be their guide.\* As Captain Frazer had a circuitous march to perform, Major Pierfon, in the mean time, sent an officer with a flag of truce to the Baron de Rullecourt, to inquire if the Lieutenant-Governor was a prisoner; and if so, to demand his releasement. This officer found the Baron in the Royal Court-house, and along with him the Lieutenant-Governor, and many other gentlemen and inhabitants of the island. He asked if the Lieutenant-Governor was a prisoner. M. de Rullecourt answered, that he was not, and pointed to the Lieutenant-Governor's sword, as a proof of his freedom. The Lieutenant-Governor informed the officer, that he had been surprised in his bed, and was, therefore, of necessity obliged to sign articles of capitulation, for the preservation of the island, the property of the people, and the security of the army. The articles were then produced, and also an order to Major Pierfon, importing that the troops under his command, were to march into the town of St. Helier, with all the honours of war; that they were then to resign their arms, all but their side arms; to return to their respective quarters, and there remain, until vessels should be prepared to convey them to England. The officer then informed the French Commandant, that Major Pierfon, and the other officers, were resolved to defend the island, and not to obey these orders; upon which, the Lieutenant-Governor desired leave to go and speak to Major Pierfon. His request was granted, and he accordingly set out for the gallows hill, attended by a French officer, and the British officer who came with the flag of truce.

In the mean time, Major Pierfon made the necessary arrangements for attacking the enemy in the town. His main body,

\* They had a circuitous march to perform: and a guide was absolutely necessary, as the roads in Jersey are numerous, narrow, deep, and indirect.

body, he formed into two columns. The first column was led by himself, and consisted of the 95th regiment and the South West regiment of militia. At the head of it was a howitzer, which the Major never had an opportunity of using. This column marched from the left, and was to attack up the back street, and take the enemy in flank. The other column, led by Captain Lumfdaïne, was composed of three companies of the 78th regiment, and the St. Saviour's and St. Lawrence militia. At the head of it was a six pounder, which Lieutenant Crozier of the invalid artillery requested leave to superintend. This service he performed with great judgment, coolness, and intrepidity; and was ably assisted in it by Serjeant Menzies of the artillery, who greatly distinguished himself in the action. The fire from this field-piece made great havock among the enemy. Captain Lumfdaïne had orders to march by the right, along the sands and up the main street, and attack the enemy in front. The corps posted on the town hill, was to take the enemy in the rear: and the three attacks were so concerted, as to commence at the same time. Major Pier-son, perceiving that Captain Frazer had obtained possession of the town hill, put the two columns in motion, leaving the North West regiment of militia at the gallows hill as a corps de reserve. He had just reached the first houses of the town, when he was met by a flag of truce, attended by the Lieutenant-Governor, and a French officer, and the officer whom the Major had sent into the town. The columns were ordered to halt, and a conference took place. The Lieutenant-Governor represented the situation in which he stood, and said that the enemy had seven hundred men in the town; that six thousand more were landed, or landing, in different parts of the island; that ten thousand more were ready to embark at St. Maloes, and every moment expected, so that all resistance must be vain. Upon this, Major Pier-son asked him how he knew the truth of what he had just now reported, and whether he had seen these men? The Lieutenant-Governor replied, (at the same time laying his hand upon his breast), No: but the French General had assured him upon his

his honour, that it was so, which amounted to the same thing. The Major then said, it does not signify, we have taken our resolution, and will defend the island while we have life. The Lieutenant-Governor then requested time to go back, and to acquaint the French General with the Major's resolution, and named half an hour : on which Major Pierfon pulled out his watch, and said, go and tell him, that I will attack him in ten minutes. He kept his word ; for when that time expired, he ordered the columns to march. The column led by Captain Lumsdaine got first into action. The enemy had placed the two pieces of cannon which they had seized, opposite to the guard-house ; and when the King's troops had got within forty yards of them, they fired one of them ; but so ill did they take aim, that the shot went over the column. They attempted to fire the other gun ; but the troops advancing briskly, the French soldiers attending the cannon abandoned them, and fled into the guard-house. As soon as Captain Lumsdaine had a complete view of the enemy's main body, he ordered Lieutenant Crozier to fire the field-piece at the head of the column. It was loaded with grape-shot : and he pointed it so well, that the shot made a lane quite through the enemy's ranks. This was repeated several times ; after which, Captain Lumsdaine ordered the gun to be drawn to the right flank. The head of his column, then threw in a heavy fire on the enemy, who instantly fled in all directions, and took shelter in the market-house, private houses, lanes, and wherever they could find it. The troops posted on the town hill, fired as soon as Captain Lumsdaine began the action : and when the enemy fell into disorder, Captain Frazer marched the King's troops under his command down the hill, and entered the market-place. During this time, Major Pierfon led his column up the back street, and had just made good his entrance into the market-place, when an unlucky ball from the enemy, among the last of a scattered fire, which they still kept up, unfortunately entered his breast, and he fell. About this time, Captain Lumsdaine observed the Lieutenant-Governor  
and



and a French officer, the latter waving a white handkerchief which he had in his hand, coming towards him : on which he ordered his column to desist from firing. The Lieutenant-Governor told Captain Lumfdaine, that the gentleman along with him was the French General, who, addressing himself to the Captain, said—*Je suis votre prisonnier, et toutes mes troupes.* The Lieutenant-Governor said, that the French General and all his troops surrender themselves your prisoners : and taking the white handkerchief out of the Baron de Rullecourt's hand, he put it on Captain Lumfdaine's bayonet, and repeated the same thing in a loud voice to the British soldiers. Major Corbet and the French General then went up the market-place. The militia from the rear of the column came up at this time, and some popping shots were discharged, on which the firing again commenced in the market-place. During this time, M. de Rullecourt was mortally wounded ; and, as the Lieutenant-Governor was conducting him into the Royal Court-house, two shots went through his hat. As neither the column led by Major Pierfon, nor the militia posted on the town hill, who continued to keep up an unceasing fire on the dispersed enemy, could know of the surrender of the French General, it was some time before a stop could be put to the action, which occasioned the loss of several men.

Captain Lumfdaine, on being informed of Major Pierfon's death, assumed the command of the troops. He released the Lieutenant-Governor, and asked him for his orders. He said that he would give directions to collect, disarm, and secure the prisoners. He ordered Captain Lumfdaine, with five companies of the 78th regiment and the 95th regiment, to march to La Roque Bay, where the enemy had made good their landing. On the Captain's arrival at that place, the French vessels were lying very near the rocks, waiting events ; but on seeing the troops, and receiving a few shot from them, they perfectly understood the state of affairs, instantly weighed their anchors and set sail for France. The Captain then marched the troops back to St. Helier, from whence the 95th regiment were sent

to their quarters at La Hogue. At La Roque, Captain Lumf-daine found Captain William Campbell, who commanded at Fort Conway in Grouville Bay, with five companies of the 83d regiment. He had marched with all the men who could be spared from the fort; and having learned, that the enemy had placed a detachment of their troops in the redoubt at La Roque, he resolved to attack them immediately. On his route thither, he was joined by Colonel Meffervey, with the East regiment of militia, who readily agreed to accompany him on this duty. Having reconnoitred the place, he found that the enemy had barricadoed themselves up, in the redoubt and in the guard-house. He therefore resolved to storm it with the grenadier company of the 83d regiment, which service they performed with great spirit and judgment. To prevent the enemy from making their escape, he divided the company into two equal parts, keeping the command of one of them to himself, and giving the other to Lieutenant James Robertson of the same regiment. They attacked the redoubt on opposite sides. The party commanded by the latter were the first who entered the place, when they received a heavy fire from the enemy, which killed six, and wounded seven or eight men; but instantly forcing open the guard-house door, most of the enemy threw down their arms and sued for mercy, after having had twenty killed and as many wounded. At this instant, Captain Campbell, with his party, entered the redoubt, and joined in pursuing the fugitives, who fled to the rocks. Some of them reached their boats and got off: the rest were made prisoners. This service being performed, Captain Campbell was just about to march, with the troops under his command, to join Major Pierſon, when Captain Lumf-daine, with the corps from St. Helier, made their appearance.

In the action at St. Helier, the enemy had one hundred men killed, and eighty wounded; upwards of three hundred threw down their arms; and the rest fled with the greatest precipitation into the country: but in the course of a day or two, they were all made prisoners by the King's troops, the militia, and the

the country people. It has already been observed, that in the action, the Baron de Rullecourt, the French General, was mortally wounded. He died the same evening, and was buried with all the honours of war. This distinction he scarcely merited; for his behaviour to his prisoners was brutal and cruel in the extreme. To the unfortunate Lieutenant-Governor it was inhuman, and without a parallel in military history: for, when Major Pierſon commenced his attack on the French troops, he told Major Corbet that he ſhould ſhare his fate, and forced him to ſtand cloſe by him. In coming out of the Royal Court-houſe, in the miſt of the fire, he held him by the arm. Two balls went through the Major's hat, and M. de Rullecourt had no leſs than four in him. One of theſe broke one of his jaw bones, went through his tongue, and deprived him of ſpeech. Thus ended the career of this partiſan, who, by the courage and perſeverance which he diſplayed in this exploit, certainly ſhowed a conſiderable degree of military merit, which qualified him for the moſt dangerous and arduous enterpriſes.\*

The loſs ſuſtained by the King's troops and militia in this action, amounted to one officer and fifteen men, killed; and one officer, one ſerjeant, and ſixty-one men, wounded. The joy occaſioned by this complete victory was greatly damped, by the blow ſuſtained in the loſs of the gallant Major Pierſon, who, in the moment of victory, was ſhot through the heart, and inſtantly expired. This unfortunate event excited a general regret,

\* Accounts received from France after M. de Rullecourt's death, ſaid, that a few days before the attack, he had viſited the iſland in the character of a ſmuggler: and that, at his return, he gave the moſt poſitive aſſurances of ſucceſs. He certainly told Major Corbet in a moſt exact manner, the ſtrength of the gariſon, the corps of which it was compoſed, and where they were ſtationed in the iſland. His commiſſion, which was found, and which contained his expected preferments, was dated the 16th of December, 1780. Theſe he reſolved to obtain at all hazards. The following extracts from his letters to the Chevalier de Luxembourg, whiſt he was wind-bound at the Chauſey iſlands, diſplay his ardour and determined ſpirit. "I ſhall land in Jerſey, if I have but one man and one biſcuit left." He only took two days proviſions with him. "In ſpite of all the fatigues we have undergone, I fear nothing but the General's counter-order. If it paſſes through your hands, tell him it is too late."



regret, and particularly among his brave associates. From him, his country had great reason to form the highest expectations; for there are but few instances of an officer possessing such superior military talents, as he displayed on the 6th of January, at the age of twenty-four. The people of Jersey regarded him as their deliverer, and put every honour and respect in their power on his memory. His funeral was in the grandest military stile, with the garrison in procession, attended by the Lieutenant Baillie and Jurats of the island, the Officers of the Royal Court, and all the principal inhabitants in deep mourning, together with all the militia officers. He was buried in the church of St. Helier, where a handsome monument has since been erected to his memory. The inhabitants of Jersey testified their gratitude, by the States assembling, and unanimously voting their thanks to the officers and troops, for their gallant conduct, in delivering them from the hands of the enemy. A copy of this vote, under the seal of the island, was sent to the different officers who commanded.

Too much praise could not be bestowed on Major Pierfon, Captains Lumfaine, Campbell, Mulcaster, Aylward, Frazer, and Crawford, and the officers and troops under their command, for their bravery and exertions upon this occasion. They were well and powerfully seconded by the militia of the island. Both officers and men displayed great spirit and patriotism; and shewed how strongly they were attached to the British constitution. Indeed, they were ever conspicuous for their loyalty and bravery, and they nobly supported their reputation, in the defence which they made against so unexpected an attack.\*

The first intelligence received in England, of the island of Jersey being attacked, and its capital surprised by the French, was brought by a Mr. Budd, contractor of provisions for the army, who got off in a boat from the back of the island, and landed at Weymouth. Great concern was universally expressed. As its conquest was regarded as certain, the news gave very

\* See Note 254.

very great uneasiness to Administration, who took every precaution in their power to convey succours to the island, with the utmost speed.\* Only a few days elapsed, when the arrival of Captain Mulcaster's letter to Lord Amherst,† removed the apprehensions entertained for the safety of the place. As Government had bestowed great expence in erecting fortifications, and in maintaining a strong garrison on the island of Jersey, the public expressed much displeasure, at the manner in which the French had so easily obtained a footing on it. This was imputed to the negligence of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, on the first of May, was brought to a Court-martial, of which Lieutenant-General Craig was President. The charges against him were, his having suffered the island of Jersey, under his command, to be surprised by the French, and his having signed articles of capitulation, whilst he was a prisoner. By their sentence, he was adjudged to be dismissed from his office of Lieutenant-Governor of the island.

The next object of importance, and in point of time, was the fitting out the fleets under the command of Vice-Admiral Darby, and under Commodore Johnstone; the former for the relief of Gibraltar, and the latter on a secret expedition. A narrative of their proceedings has already been given. It would

\* The news of the island of Jersey being attacked by the French, reached the town of Southampton, where the Dorsetshire regiment of militia were then quartered, on the evening of the 7th of January, when the regiment was assembled for roll-calling. No sooner were they dismissed, than they chose a committee from amongst themselves, to draw up a petition to Lord Rivers, their Colonel, which was presented to his Lordship next day, requesting him to use his interest with his Majesty, to have them immediately embarked for that island, in order to protect the inhabitants, and drive off the enemy. The day thereafter, Lord Rivers came to the parade, and thanked the regiment, in his usual polite manner, for their courageous and generous proposal; but told them, that it could not possibly be complied with, as the militia act expressly prohibited them from leaving the kingdom. He assured them, however, that he would make known their love for their King and country; and that, if they continued to behave as they had done, they should meet his particular esteem, and should not go unrewarded.

† See Note 255.

would seem, that the enemy had obtained good intelligence of the sailing of the British fleets from the West Indies, and that they had laid their plan well to intercept them. A certain fatality attended the wealth acquired by the captors of St. Eustatius, which deprived the nation, as well as themselves, of its benefit. Sir George Rodney dispatched a fleet for England of thirty-four merchant ships, prizes of very great value. They consisted of the ships captured by Captain Reynolds, and of some others laden with the most precious commodities taken at that island, and were escorted by two line of battle ships and three frigates, commanded by Commodore Hotham. The French Ministry resolved to profit as much as possible, by the absence of the fleet of Britain while it was relieving Gibraltar; and, for this purpose, equipped at Brest, a fleet of six sail of the line and some frigates,† with the utmost dispatch. The command of this fleet was given to M. de la Mothe Piquet, who put to sea with it on the 26th of April, in order to intercept the convoy from St. Eustatius, as well as a rich one, likewise on its way, from Jamaica.

M. de la Mothe Piquet succeeded in the first part of his design. In the evening of the 2d of May, about twenty leagues to the westward of Scilly, in latitude  $49^{\circ} 47'$ , with a light breeze of wind from N. E., he fell in with the fleet under Commodore Hotham, and kept company with them during the night. At day-break on the 2d, he gave chase, and gained fast on them. This being perceived by Commodore Hotham, he made the signal for an enemy, for his convoy to disperse, and endeavour to save themselves. He also made the signal for the war ships to draw close to him. The enemy made after the convoy, and captured about twenty of them. The remainder were lucky enough to make their escape, most of them into Beerhaven in Ireland, where they found Commodore Hotham with the ships of war.

Vice-Admiral Darby, as has been already mentioned, received advice of M. de la Mothe Piquet's success, and detached  
a strong

† See Note 256.



a strong squadron under Rear-Admiral Digby, in hopes of intercepting him on his return to Brest. From this fleet, as well as from that immediately under the command of Vice-Admiral Darby, the French Commodore made a very narrow escape. On finding the number, and the great value of his prizes, he judged their preservation of too much importance, to be hazarded upon a very doubtful contingency: and giving up at once, all views upon the Jamaica fleet, he determined to endeavour to secure what he had already got, and to return directly to Brest. By this fortunate resolution, he escaped from the British fleet under Vice-Admiral Darby. The Vice-Admiral was, at this time, on his return from Gibraltar, and the *Nonsuch* of sixty-four guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was the look-out ship of the van squadron of the fleet. On the 14th of May, about eight in the evening, she got sight of three sail in the N. E., made the signal and chased: and soon after that, got sight of a large sail in the E. S. E., which was taken for a French line of battle ship. To her the *Nonsuch* gave chase; and gained on her so fast, that at half past ten o'clock, she got alongside of her, when the enemy fired a broadside, and then dropped astern. The *Nonsuch* instantly returned the fire, wore, and raked her. The action soon recommenced with great vigour on both sides, and continued for an hour and a half, during some part of which, the two ships were on board of one another. The enemy carried away the spritsail of the *Nonsuch*; and her anchors hooking their quarter, carried away the flukes of them. Hitherto the enemy had so much the worst of the action, that they availed themselves of the opportunity of the heads of the two ships being different ways, to make all the sail they could to get away. The *Nonsuch* wore and chased her again; but her mizen-mast being entirely disabled, it was five o'clock in the morning of the 15th before she came up with her. It being then clear day-light, she was discovered to be a ship of seventy-four or eighty guns, in good order for battle. At five o'clock, Sir James Wallace renewed the action, which continued until half past six, by which time the *Non-*

such was greatly disabled. Her fore-yard came down; all her masts, yards, sails, and rigging were much hurt; and some of her guns were dismounted. The wreck of these, and the dead and wounded men, so completely filled the deck, that Sir James Wallace judged it proper to haul the wind in order to clear the ship of these encumbrances: and the enemy kept on her course for Brest.

In this unfortunate action, twenty-six men were killed on board the *Nonsuch*, and sixty-four wounded. The enemy's ship was the *Actif*, of seventy-four guns and seven hundred and fifty men, commanded by M. de Boades. She had fifteen men killed, and thirty-eight wounded in the action: among the former was one of her Lieutenants. She was one of M. de la Mothe's squadron, from which she had separated in a fresh gale, on the preceding day, while he was escorting the prizes to Brest he had made from Commodore Hotham's convoy. If the fleet under Vice-Admiral Darby had chased, when Sir James Wallace made the signal for seeing three sail in the evening of the 14th; at least the *Actif*, if not the whole of M. de la Mothe Piquet's squadron and prizes, would probably have been taken.

On the 1st of May, the *Canada* of seventy-four guns, commanded by Sir George Collier, being detached from Vice-Admiral Darby's fleet as a ship of observation, discovered, at seven in the morning, a considerable number of British merchant vessels, and a ship and a sloop of war, which appeared to be enemies, a little to the windward of them. On the *Canada* giving them chase, they tacked and brought to, in order to reconnoitre her force: and having done this, went off under an easy sail. The sloop mounted twenty-two guns, and appeared to be full of men. As soon as the *Canada* could fetch the wake of the enemy's ship, she put about, and continued the chase full seventy leagues, until the dawn of day on the 2d, when the enemy brought to, hoisted Spanish colours, and, as soon as the *Canada* came up, began to engage. About this time it fell almost calm, with a considerable swell, which prevented the

Canada

Canada from making much use of her lower ports; otherwise, the action would not have continued an hour and a half, which it did, before the enemy's ship was compelled to strike; she suffered considerably in the action, had a number of men killed and wounded; and proved to be the Santa Leocadia, a frigate belonging to the King of Spain, and the only one in his service that was coppered. She was pierced for forty guns, but had only thirty-four mounted. She was commanded by Don Francisco de Wenthuisen, Knight of the Order of St. Jago, who had a commission to command all frigates he might meet with of his own nation. He had the misfortune to lose his right arm in defending his ship: the Second Captain was also wounded; and in this action the Spanish officers and men behaved with great bravery. The Santa Leocadia was only six days from Ferrol, and was supposed to be bound express to the South Seas. She was a remarkably fine frigate;\* sailed extremely fast; and was purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. In the action, the Canada had one of her lower guns dismounted, and one of its trancons shot off.

His Majesty's frigates Flora of thirty-six guns and two hundred and seventy men, and Crescent of twenty-eight guns and two hundred men, commanded by Captains William Peere Williams and the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, had been sent by Vice-Admiral Darby, to escort the storeships and victuallers from Gibraltar to Port Mahon in the island of Minorca. Having performed that service, they left that place on the 3d of May, with a design to repass the Gut with all possible expedition. On the morning of the 23d, at day-light, they discovered eight sail of square rigged vessels to the windward of them: and about seven they plainly perceived that they were a Spanish squadron, consisting of a seventy-four gun ship, four xebèques, an armed ship, and two bombs, which, by information which Captain Williams had received a day or two before, were des-

B B 2 tined

\* The Santa Leocadia was 146 feet long, and near 40 feet broad.



tinued for Gibraltar. At the same time, the Spanish Commodore made the signal to chase, and bore down on the two frigates with his whole force. At nine he made another signal: and five of his squadron hauled up for the Spanish shore, while he, in the seventy-four gun ship, accompanied by two xebèques of thirty-six guns each, continued the pursuit. About eleven, one of the xebèques got within gun-shot of the *Crescent*, and a running fire, in which his Majesty's ship received no damage, continued between them, for upwards of three hours. Captain Williams, finding the *Crescent* still pursued by the xebèque, and fearing that the accidental loss of any of her masts might be the means of causing her to fall into the enemy's hands, between two and three in the afternoon, shortened sail, luffed up, and dropped with the *Flora* in between them, firing all the guns he could bring to bear upon the enemy. When he judged the *Crescent* to be well out of the enemy's reach, he made sail after her. In this short conflict, one man was killed on board of the *Flora*, and another had the misfortune to lose his arm: both from their too great eagerness in loading their gun without spunging it. Between four and five, the xebèque brought to, to repair some damage which she had received from the *Crescent* in her masts and rigging, and to give the Commodore, who was some distance astern, an opportunity of speaking to her. At six they renewed the chase; but the frigates altering their course in the night, saw nothing of them the day following. This skirmish drove the two frigates as far back as Cape Palos, off which they cruised for two days. Meeting with nothing but neutral ships, they stood over to the Barbary shore, and taking every advantage of the wind, arrived off Gibraltar on the 29th. At five in the morning, the *Flora* brought to off the rock, to apprize General Elliot of the Spanish squadron; and having done this, both the frigates stood over towards Ceuta, in search of two large ships, which they had observed at day-break, to windward of them. At the same time, the *Enterprize* of twenty-eight guns, Captain Leslie, sailed from Gibraltar for England, escorting some light victuallers,

victuallers, part of the convoy left behind by Vice-Admiral Darby. The *Flora* and *Crescent* soon discovered the two ships of which they were in search, and finding them to be Dutch frigates, both ships prepared for immediate action: but, the wind increasing in the Gut to a storm, they were obliged to wait for a more favourable opportunity. At seven in the evening the gale abated, and the next morning, (May 30th) the sea was much fallen. Having kept the enemy in sight all night, at day-break they edged towards them, and kept going off abreast of each other and very close. At five, the *Flora* and *Crescent* brought them both to action, ship against ship. The ships were within a cable's length of each other, and all the commanders displayed great bravery. After engaging two hours and a quarter, the ship that fought the *Flora* struck. She proved to be the *Castor* frigate of Rotterdam, commanded by Captain Pieter Melvill, mounted twenty-six twelve pounders, and ten six pounders, and had two hundred and thirty men, of which twenty-two were killed, and forty-one wounded. The *Flora* had nine men killed, and thirty-two wounded: eight of the wounded died soon after.

The *Crescent* engaged the other Dutch frigate very closely for two hours and twenty minutes; but the enemy was so much superior, and his ship so damaged, that Captain Pakenham, after doing all that man could do, was forced to surrender. Captain Williams's ship was so greatly disabled, that she could not go immediately to the assistance of the *Crescent*, when her own adversary submitted; but when it was perceived that the enemy had mastered the *Crescent*, the *Flora* luckily got so close to her, as to prevent them from taking possession of her. Indeed they were so much disabled, as scarcely to have it in their power to do it, and were glad to set what sail they could, and make off. The quarter-deck, fore-castle, and four of the main-deck guns of the *Crescent* were disabled, and her head yards and sails were shot away early in the action; yet, she still continued the battle with great obstinacy, and entertained strong hopes of bringing it to a favourable conclusion.

Unfortunately, however, the wreck of her main-mast, mizen-mast, and booms, fell into the waist, and rendered useless all the guns before the main-mast. By this disaster all government of the ship was lost: and being to leeward there was no chance for getting on board of their adversary. In this situation, the *Crescent* fell round off, with her stern exposed to the enemy's broadside: when having no guns to fight, and not a yard of canvas to set, Captain Pakenham, with the unanimous advice of his officers, determined to strike his Majesty's colours. The Dutch frigate, which fought the *Crescent*, was the *Brill*, commanded by Captain G. Orthuysen, and of the same force with the *Castor*. She had twelve men killed and forty wounded, and suffered much damage in the action. About noon her main-mast fell overboard, and in this shattered condition she got into Cadiz.

The loss of men on board the *Crescent* was very great, twenty-six being killed and sixty-seven wounded. Among the former, and greatly regretted, was Captain Hayward of the navy, who was a volunteer in the *Crescent*, and fell, distinguishing himself in a most gallant manner. Among the latter was Lieutenant Ellery, second of the *Crescent*; he died a few days afterwards of his wounds, as did also one of the seamen. Too much praise could not be bestowed, on the steady and gallant behaviour of the Captains, officers, and crews of his Majesty's two frigates. Captain Pakenham declining to resume the command of the *Crescent* after she had struck, Captain Williams appointed Mr. John Bligh, his First Lieutenant, to that honour.

A Court-martial was held soon after on Captain Pakenham, for the loss of his Majesty's ship; when it appeared that he, his officers and crew, had behaved in the most gallant and exemplary manner, and he was most honourably acquitted. In the course of this trial, it came out, that the *Crescent*, from the position in which she was obliged to engage the enemy, viz. close alongside, was very disadvantageously situated with respect to the other Dutch frigate, which did her material damage, by  
raking



raking her in the course of the action. The *Crescent*, however, omitted no opportunity of returning her fire, when she could bring her guns to bear. Some of the *Flora's* shot, that missed her antagonist, also struck the *Crescent*. It is to be regretted, that the two British frigates did not engage on this occasion in a line ahead. This would have obliged the Dutch to have done the same: and the most happy consequences might reasonably have been expected. It was also a great pity, that the Captain of the *Enterprize* did not deviate a little from his instructions, and afford his assistance in this action. His appearance alone, would have been sufficient to have done the business.

But the misfortunes of the *Crescent* were not to end here. The repairs deemed necessary for the frigates and prize took up five days; after which, they proceeded on their voyage to England, without interruption until the 19th of June. Early in the morning of that day, in lat.  $47^{\circ}$  N. long.  $6^{\circ} 30'$  W., being in chase of a privateer brig, which had dogged them through the night and part of the preceding day, they discovered, upon the clearing up of a squall, two ships to windward edging down towards them. Captain Williams immediately caused veer the *Flora*, and returned to the *Crescent* and *Castor*, in hopes that the appearance of their united force would check the ardour of their pursuit. This, however, had not the desired effect; for they still continued the chase, encouraged no doubt by the disabled appearance of the two last ships, and gained very fast. Captain Williams was so conscious of the want of actual strength, that he did not think it advisable to hazard an action: and his officers were unanimously of the same opinion. Each ship therefore shaped a different course: and at one o'clock in the afternoon, he had the mortification to see the *Castor* retaken by one of the frigates, which fired a gun, and hoisted French colours, though till that moment, they had chased under British colours. The other frigate not being able to come up with the *Flora*, bore away about three in the afternoon after the *Crescent*; and in the

course of the night, she shared the same fate with the *Castor*. The French frigates, which took the *Castor* and *Crescent*, were the *Friponne* and *La Gloire* of thirty-two guns each, commanded by M. Macnamara and M. de Blachon. Captain Williams's strength was certainly much reduced by his loss in killed and wounded, and by the number of men sent on board the prize, thirty-eight from the *Flora*, and nearly the same number from the *Crescent*. These men were also constantly employed at the pumps to keep the ship free.†

The grand fleet under Vice-Admiral Darby, on its voyage to Gibraltar, took a French privateer of sixteen guns, called the *Duc de Chartres*. She being a good ship was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. The *Duc d'Etillac*, a French privateer of sixteen guns, was also taken, after a short action, by his Majesty's ship *Cerberus*, Captain Man. The Vice-Admiral, on his voyage back to England, when in the British Channel, took *Le Frederic*, a French privateer of sixteen guns, and *La Gloire*, a French lugger privateer of eight guns. They were both purchased into the service, and the *Frederic* was named the *Pelican*. The fleet anchored at Spithead on the 22d of May; and, in the course of a few days after that, the Vice-Admiral was joined by all the ships which he had detached. The ships were ordered to be refitted with the utmost dispatch: and, under

† Captain Pieter Melvill, who commanded the *Castor*, is descended from a noble and ancient family long seated in Fifeshire in North Britain, of which the present Earl of Leven and Melvill is the head or chief. His ancestor settled in Holland in the reign of King Charles I. His grandfather was a field officer in the army of the States General, and was killed by a cannon ball, at the famous and bloody battle of Malplaquet.

On Captain Melvill's return to Holland, his conduct was examined into; and he was most honourably acquitted, on account of fighting for so long a time, a vessel of superior force, and not striking, until the *Castor* had many shot between wind and water, the guns of her larboard side mostly dismounted, and all his efforts to wear and present his starboard side to the enemy, rendered impossible. He was also ordered to be paid for victualling his ship, and 12,333 florins, 2 sols, 6 deniers, were to be distributed among the crew. A florin is 1s. 9d.: therefore, the above sum is 1079l. 2s. 10½d. sterling.

under the command of Admirals Darby and Ross, they put to sea about the first of August, in order to meet and escort into port some large fleets expected home from the West Indies. The squadron consisted of twenty-two ships of the line only. Fortunately the wind proved contrary, which prevented it from making any great progress down the Channel : and it had proceeded no farther than the Lizard Point, when Vice-Admiral Darby received certain intelligence from a neutral vessel, that the combined fleets of France and Spain, (said to consist of forty-nine sail of the line, and a number of frigates,)\* were cruising between Scilly and Ushant. As he had not a force sufficient to encounter them, he prudently returned to Torbay, on the 24th of August. It was reported, that the combined fleets cruised in two divisions ; thirty-six sail of the line, under Don Cordova, occupied the mouth of the British Channel ; while a detached squadron of thirteen sail of the line, lay near the Irish coast, and blocked up the St. George's and the Bristol Channels. With regard to the motions and intentions of the combined fleets, Administration had not been able to obtain the necessary information : and the advice of their being in the mouth of the Channel gave very great alarm, not only for the safety of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Darby, which was then in Torbay, but also, for the rich fleets expected home, and for others, which were only waiting a fair wind, to put to sea from Plymouth and Corke, to proceed on their respective voyages. As soon as the combined fleets had seen the troops destined against the island of Minorca safely into the Mediterranean, they steered with all diligence to the mouth of the British Channel. This they deemed the proper station, for preventing succour from being sent either to Minorca or Gibraltar : and while they remained here, they entertained hopes of being able to strike some important blows against the commerce of Britain, as they knew very well, that this was the season in which the West India fleets generally arrived in England. The clamour raised against the Ministry, for want  
of

\* See Note 257.



of proper information, was very loud: and the consequences to be dreaded, from so great a force arriving at so critical a time, spread a general alarm among the commercial people of Great Britain and Ireland. This roused Government from its lethargy, and infused a vigour into its operations, which served in a great measure to deliver the nation from its impending danger. Vice-Admiral Darby moored his squadron across the entrance of Torbay, and waited there for reinforcements and instructions, to regulate his future conduct. Great exertions were made at all the principal seaports; by which, in a very short time, his force was increased to thirty sail of the line.\* With these, he was ordered to proceed to sea, with the utmost expedition, in order to meet and protect the daily expected West India fleet. This object was of itself of such immense importance, that for its attainment, he was ordered to encounter all hazards. The vast superiority of the enemy, however, rendered it expedient to instruct him, to act with the greatest circumspection; and to avoid, if possible, a general and decisive action, unless he should see, either some great advantages likely to result from it, or a sure prospect of defeating the enemy. Admiral Darby was so long detained, first by waiting for his reinforcements, and next by contrary winds, that it was the 14th of September, before he could put to sea from Torbay.

The safety of the expected West India fleet, was not the only consideration that gave uneasiness to Government; for the naval force of the enemy was such, as might induce them to perform, or at least to attempt some bold stroke against some of our principal seaports. The great outward-bound fleet of victuallers for America and the West Indies, was then assembled in the harbour of Corke; and from the weak state of the defences of that port, was supposed to be in great danger. If success should attend the enemy there, from its vicinity, their next object would probably be the city of Corke itself, an open and defenceless place, containing such immense magazines of provisions,

\* See Note 258.

visions, that the chance of accomplishing its destruction, would justify them in running great risks. . . A considerable part of the regular forces in the kingdom of Ireland were accordingly ordered to the southward, for the protection of that city and coast : and, on this occasion, Government received an offer of assistance from a quarter from which they little expected it. Many of the associated corps of volunteers, who had armed themselves at their own expence, and who had given the greatest support to the patriots, who reclaimed and firmly established the liberties of their country, now made a tender of their services, offered instantly to take the field, to march in defence of the kingdom, and to oppose the enemy wherever Government should direct.

The combined fleet was commanded by Don Louis de Cordova, the Spanish Admiral, who had under him, of his own nation, Don Miguel Gaston and Don Vincent Dos; and of the French nation, the Comte de Guichen, M. de la Mothe Piquet, and M. de Beauffet. As soon as they received advice of Vice-Admiral Darby's having retired to Torbay, and of the inferiority of his force to theirs, a Council of War was held, on the question of attacking him in his then position, before he could have time to fortify himself or to receive reinforcements. There is not a doubt, but that their orders were to act upon the offensive if an opportunity should offer, but whether they extended to any other case, than that of fighting on the high seas, appears doubtful: and perhaps, that of attacking the British squadron, in a bay on their own coast, was not so much as suggested. Under this change of circumstances, for which their instructions did not provide, it was supposed, that they were left at full liberty to act according to their own judgment and discretion.

From the best accounts of this transaction which have been made public, it appears, that the Comte de Guichen strongly urged an immediate attack, on these grounds: that the British fleet would now be caught, as it were, in a net: that such an opportunity of complete advantage over that nation  
might

might never again offer: that if, by good fortune, and the valour of the combined nations, along with the powerful aid of fireships, (in a situation where they were capable of producing the greatest possible effect), that fleet were happily destroyed, which they had every reason to expect, the power of Great Britain on the seas would be at an end, and the war would be decided at a blow. Don Vincent Dos, the third in command of the Spanish fleet, strongly supported this opinion. He asserted, that the destroying of the British fleet was a measure so very practicable, that it would be extremely difficult to justify or excuse their not making the attempt: and to give the greater force to his opinion, he boldly offered to command the van squadron, and to lead on the attack in his own ship.

M. de Beauflet, a French officer of reputation, held a contrary opinion to Don Vincent Dos. He said, that all the advantage which the allies derived from their superiority of force and number, would be given up and entirely lost, by an attack upon Admiral Darby's fleet in its present situation; that the whole of the combined fleets could not bear down upon him in a line of battle abreast; that of course, they must form the line of battle ahead, and go down upon the enemy singly, by which, they would run the greatest risk of being shattered, and torn to pieces, before they could get into their stations, by the fixed aim, and the angular fire in every direction, of such a number of great and well provided ships, drawn up to the greatest advantage, and lying moored and steady in the water. He therefore concluded, that as the attempt on the British fleet in Torbay, would, in his opinion, be a measure unwarrantable in the design, and exceedingly hazardous in the execution, the allied fleets should direct their whole attention to that great and attainable object, the intercepting of the British homeward bound West India fleets. This was a measure which, as they were now masters of the sea, could scarcely fail of success; and it would prove a blow so fatal to that nation, that she could not recover it, during the continuance of the war.

Don Louis de Cordova, with all the Spanish flag-officers, except



except Don Vincent Dos, coincided entirely in opinion with M. de Beauffet : and the Comte de Guichen, being either brought over to that opinion, or over-ruled by the majority, the idea of attacking Admiral Darby in Torbay was entirely relinquished. It does not appear improbable, that a recollection of the repeated assaults which the Comte d'Estaing made with a strong fleet, upon a small squadron under Admiral Barrington, at the island of St. Lucia, and of his repeated defeats, had a very considerable influence upon this Council of War.

The continuation of the cruize of the combined fleets, was of much shorter duration, than what the Courts of Versailles and Madrid asserted it should be, for the two squadrons separated on the 5th of September, in lat.  $47^{\circ} 10'$ . Various reasons were assigned for the unexpected return of both fleets into port. They themselves gave out, that from stress of weather, several of the ships had received considerable damage in their masts, which could not be repaired at sea, and that their return to port, was thereby rendered absolutely necessary : others reported, that their return was occasioned by a great sickness in both squadrons, and by the bad condition of many of the line of battle ships, particularly of those belonging to Spain. The French squadron entered Brest harbour on the 11th of September ; soon after which, an account of its losses by death, and also of the condition of each ship, was published.\* The Spaniards, soon after their return to Cadiz, published an account of the condition of each of their ships :† and on considering the contents of each of these accounts, it would seem probable, that the last assigned reason for breaking up the cruize was the true one. In these accounts, published by the French and Spaniards, it is somewhat remarkable, that their lists contain only thirty-eight, instead of forty-nine ships of the line, of which both Courts asserted that the combined fleet was composed when it left Cadiz, exclusive of the small squadron that accompanied the Duc de Crillon, and the Spanish army, to the island of Minorca. No mention was made of what had become of

\* See Note 259.

† See Note 260.

of the other eleven; and perhaps the assertion, that their combined squadrons consisted of forty-nine sail of the line, was only a gasconade.

Vice-Admiral Darby, whose fleet now consisted of thirty sail of the line, six frigates, and five fireships, after repeated attempts, at last got to sea on the 11th of September, from 'Torbay.\* He had under him Rear-Admirals Sir John L. Ross and Kempenfelt. The fleet expected from the West Indies, was much later of arriving than usual; and this induced Admiral Darby to keep at sea, until the month of November. The attention which he paid to this highly important object, very probably prevented him from detaching a squadron, or going to the southward with his fleet, to endeavour to intercept a rich flota, which, in the mean time, arrived at Cadiz from America, and brought to Spain a large supply of treasure, of which she then stood in the greatest need.† It is not a little remarkable—

\* See Note 261.

† The Spaniards, as soon as their fleet returned to Cadiz, fitted out eighteen sail of the ships that were in the best condition, and sent them to sea under Don Miguel Gaston, to meet the flota, with which Don Joseph Solano had sailed from the Havannah, on the 18th of August. It was escorted across the Atlantic by three ships of the line, viz. the Guerrero, Arrogante, and Gaillard, of 70 guns each. This flota, Don M. Gaston brought to Cadiz on the 9th of October. The following is an account of their cargoes:

On board the GUERRERO—2,875,877 piaſtres in gold and silver ore, or in bars: 9 large chests, containing 150 marks of wrought silver; 3 ditto of emeralds; 1097 bags of cochineal; 208 ditto of anil; 66 ditto of cocoa of Soconusco; and 26 chests of Vanillo chocolate.

On board the ARROGANTE—2,737,029 piaſtres in gold and silver ore, or in bars: 9 large chests with 203 marks of wrought gold: 1163 bags of cochineal; 258 ditto of anil; 1 ditto of cocoa; and 13 chests of chocolate.

On board the GAILLARD—2,612,229 piaſtres in gold and silver ore, or in bars: 1 chest with 4 marks of wrought gold: 1174 bags of cochineal; 193 ditto of anil; and 14 chests of chocolate.

On board the FLOTA, which consisted of 62 merchant ships—4028 bags of cochineal; 234 of anil; 10 chests of Vanillo chocolate; 1447 bags of cocoa; 99,342 chests of sugar; 780 chests of medicines; 21,672 quintals of logwood; 651 tanned hides; 37,933 rough hides; 3406 plates of copper; 25 chests of couries; 189 ditto of roll tobacco and in snuff; 856 in cotton; 189 of cevadilla; 76 of pimento; 139 pieces of wood; and 6 bottles of linseed oil.

remarkable, that notwithstanding the great number of ships and vessels of which the combined fleets were composed, the length of way they stretched, and the station they occupied, during their long cruize, they did not take a single prize. Except the capturing of a few French privateers, the same thing may be said of the British grand fleet.

The war in which Britain was now engaged with the Dutch, made it requisite, that strong escorts should be appointed, to convoy her trade to and from the Baltic, and to protect it from the enemy's cruisers and privateers. From the weak state of the Dutch navy, little danger was apprehended from it for some time: and a discovery was now made, which astonished all Europe. This was, that they not only felt a scarcity of seamen to man the few ships which they had in a condition to go to sea; but also, that their dock-yards were in the greatest want of naval stores: in both of which, they had ever been held to abound beyond all the other maritime powers, Great Britain only excepted. A small squadron, consisting of one ship of the line and a few frigates, was deemed sufficient to guard the east coast of Scotland, and the command of it was given to the Honourable Captain Keith Stewart. This squadron was intended to protect the British trade; to annoy that of the Dutch; if possible, to prevent them from receiving the supplies necessary for restoring their marine to its former lustre, and to intercept a fleet, which was daily expected to come north about from the East Indies. The cruisers from the squadron stationed in the Downs, were ordered to give all possible assistance to Commodore Stewart.

Reduced and feeble as the Dutch navy was, at the time when the unexpected rupture took place between that Republic and Great Britain, it soon began to rear its head, and to show the world, what the exertions of an industrious and free people are capable of doing, when compelled by necessity to bring all their latent powers into action. Naval stores, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of Britain to prevent it, were collected: and they not only repaired and equipped a  
number



number of ships, with an expedition truly admirable, but set to work to reestablish their marine, and built a great many ships of a superior construction to any they ever had before. By such exertions their naval force must, in the course of a few years, become once more extremely formidable.

The great efforts which they were making at all their ports, were severely felt by Great Britain, as it behoved the latter to have a watchful eye over them. These efforts greatly checked all her other naval operations in the course of this year, and cramped or prevented those vigorous exertions, which might have been made against the great powers with whom she had been so long at war. The vicinity and situation of the Dutch ports, and the mighty preparations making there, made it absolutely necessary to have a naval force in the Downs, sufficiently strong to watch the motions of their fleet, whenever it should put to sea. The command of this squadron was bestowed upon Vice-Admiral Parker; and it consisted of four ships of the line, one of fifty and one of forty-four guns, and some frigates.

The *Berwick* of seventy-four guns, and the *Belle-Poule* frigate of thirty-two guns, being on their voyage to the road of Leith, (where Commodore Stewart was to hoist his broad pendant on board the former), on the 16th of April, at the entrance of the Frith of Forth, fell in with and took the *La Calonne*, a large French privateer of thirty-two guns and two hundred and seventy men, commanded by one Luke Ryan, an Irishman.\* This privateer had been only six days from Dunkirk, and had taken a brig from Aberdeen, which she had ransomed for three hundred guineas. This proved the means of capturing the privateer. The day before the brig was taken, she had fallen in with some Greenland ships from Dunbar; and, when Mr. Ryan got sight of his Majesty's ships at the close of day on the 15th, the ransomer on board conjectured what they were, but affirmed to Ryan, that he believed them

to

\* Luke Ryan was capitally convicted of high treason. See the Appendix, Note 262.

to be the ships bound for Greenland which he had formerly met. Under this conviction, the privateer gave chase; and a little before break of day, got close to the *Berwick*, and hoisted out a large boat, into which he put an officer and forty men, in order to take possession of his prizes. Being within hail, he ordered the *Berwick* to strike, or he would sink her, and fired a few guns at her. His fire was immediately returned by some guns from the *Berwick*; but on observing her lower deck ports opened, Mr. Ryan was so well convinced of his mistake, that he did not wait to pick up his men and boat, but instantly set all the sails he could, and endeavoured to make off. He was immediately pursued by the King's ships. After a short chase, the *Belle-Poule* came up with him, and an action commenced, which was of short continuance; for, on the *Berwick's* coming up, and firing one gun, he submitted. The prize was carried into the road of Leith, and Luke Ryan, with his officers and crew, were sent prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh. Commodore Stewart, soon after that, proceeded on a cruise to the northward: and detached the *Belle-Poule*, Captain Patton, and the *Termagant*, Captain Kempe, on a cruise between the Zetland and Faro islands, in order to intercept some Dutch East India ships, which, by the information he had received, were ordered to come north about. They had not, however, the good fortune to fall in with them. The *Profelyte* of thirty-two guns, Captain Brown, another of this squadron, being on a cruise off Peterhead, fell in with and took the *Rohan Soubise*, an armed ship belonging to the King of France, mounting twenty-two nine pounders, and having a crew of one hundred and seventy men.

Whilst the Commodore and his squadron were on these cruises, the south-east part of Scotland was infested by some French privateers, one of which had the audacity to cannonade the town of Aberbrothick, and her commander had the insolence to write to the Magistrates, requiring them to ransom it. Soon after they chased two vessels close to the battery at the

mouth of the harbour of Aberdeen, and took them both. The Artois frigate of forty guns was ordered to collect the ships bound for the Baltic, from the British ports on the eastern side of the island, to rendezvous in the road of Leith, where a number of vessels were waiting for convoy, and there to wait farther orders. On the 25th of April she arrived there, with near two hundred ships; but was detained a long time by contrary winds, and although her commander made several attempts to sail, the strong easterly winds continuing, he was obliged to come to anchor again. In the last attempt of this convoy to sail, they had nearly cleared the Frith of Forth, when they were recalled by signal. An express having arrived from the Admiralty for Captain Macbride of the Artois, it was sent after him by a cutter. On her making a signal that she wanted to speak with him, he lay to: and on reading his dispatches, he made the signal for the fleet to return to their former anchoring ground. This was a grievous disappointment to the masters of the different vessels, whose provisions for their respective voyages were nearly expended. It was occasioned by information which the Admiralty had received, of the Dutch having a squadron of frigates at sea, waiting to intercept the fleet. By this time the merchants had collected a number of ships, at the ports on the eastern coast, ready to sail for the Baltic, sufficient to compose a second convoy. These were ordered to be ready to join Vice-Admiral Parker then on his voyage to Leith road, to which place he was directed to proceed with his squadron from the Downs. He accordingly collected them as he passed along, and got to his rendezvous on the 10th of June, when the merchant ships assembled there for the Baltic, amounted to near five hundred sail. This immense fleet was still farther increased on the 23d of June, by the arrival of the fleet from Jamaica, consisting of near seventy sail, escorted by the Egmont of seventy-four guns, Captain Fanshaw; the Grafton of seventy-four, Captain William Affleck; Suffolk of seventy-four, Captain Crespin; Trident of sixty-four, Captain Dumaresque; Bristol of fifty, Captain Duckworth; and Endymion

of



forty-four guns, Captain Carteret. This fleet of merchant ships was so long on the passage, that the crews were reduced to short allowance, and were in general sickly; but by the plentiful supply of fresh provisions, and the great care that was taken of the sick, as we have already had occasion to observe, they soon recovered, and were in a condition to proceed to England. All the ships of war from Jamaica, except the *Suffolk*, were under jury-masts. It is to be lamented, that this ship was not reinforced with some men, and sent afterwards to strengthen Admiral Parker's fleet in the North Sea, as she remained in Leith road for some time after the Jamaica fleet had failed.

The wind coming fair on the 27th of June, all the ships bound for the Baltic failed, under escort of Vice-Admiral Parker's fleet.

The Dutch strained every nerve for the equipment of such a naval force, as might at least be able to convoy their outward-bound trade to the Baltic, and protect it on its return. Perhaps their views might extend farther. Their commerce had suffered very much from the British cruizers: they no doubt wished to retaliate; and a little aid from the combined fleet of their allies, would have made them masters of the North Sea. The command of this naval armament of their High Mightinesses the States General, was bestowed on Rear-Admiral Zoutman, who had under him Commodore Kingsbergen: and it consisted of seven ships of the line, from fifty-four to seventy-four guns, ten frigates, and five sloops. Several of the frigates were large, and carried heavier metal than ships of their rate usually do. To this force was joined the *Charlestown*, a frigate belonging to the American Congress, and of a new and extraordinary construction. She had been originally designed for a ship of sixty-four guns, and her length and other dimensions corresponded with that intention; but some particular reasons, having obliged her owners to relinquish this plan, after considerable progress had been made in it, she was finished for a frigate, to mount, upon one deck, thirty-six guns, most of

which were of the extraordinary weight of thirty-two pounders. She was judged to be of superior force to any frigate, but could not possibly have any of their other properties; and must have been a very ill constructed machine. She had remained a long time in Holland, and her Captain availed himself of the opportunity of sailing with the Dutch fleet, that he might, under their protection, effect an escape to America. The Dutch trading vessels rendezvoused at the Texel, from which they sailed the beginning of July, under the escort of Admiral Zoutman's squadron.

As soon as the British Admiralty were advised of the strength and destination of Admiral's Zoutman's fleet, they sent orders to Commodore Stewart, to join the squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Parker, with all possible dispatch: and, he was so fortunate as to reinforce him with the *Berwick* of seventy-four guns, and the *Belle-Poule* and *Tartar* frigates, some time before he fell in with the enemy.

The Vice-Admiral had now cruized in the North Sea, until the British trade from the Baltic was ready to return to their own ports: and the ships, which composed his squadron, were by no means in good condition. He had six ships of the line. One of these, the *Princess Amelia* of eighty guns, was so old and weak, that it had been found necessary to ease her of her weight of metal, so that she now carried but twenty-four pounders on her lower deck, eighteen pounders on her middle, and nine and six pounders on her upper and quarter decks. The *Fortitude* and *Berwick* of seventy-four guns each, were by far the two best ships in his fleet. The *Bienfaisant* was an old French sixty-four gun ship, taken at *Louisburgh* in 1758. The *Buffalo* of sixty guns, formerly the *Captain* of seventy-four guns, had been used several years as a storeship under her new name, was eased of her number of guns and weight of metal, and only recalled to her place in the line from the then scarcity of ships of that size, a misfortune which the British navy felt most severely. The *Preston* of fifty guns was also one of his line of battle ships, but the superiority of the enemy obliged him

him to increase his line with the Dolphin of forty-four guns; by which means, the two fleets became nearly on equality. The metal carried by the Dutch two-decked ships of the largest rate, was in general heavier than that of the British ships of the same rate.

The squadron under Vice-Admiral Parker,\* with the trade from the Baltic under its convoy, was steering toward the coast of England: when, on the 5th of August at day-break, the Dutch squadron under Admiral Zoutman, was discovered near the Dogger Bank. It consisted of seven two-decked ships, six frigates, three sloops of war, and some cutters,† which also escorted some merchant ships, then steering to the northward, to gain the Atlantic Ocean without passing through the British Channel. The courses of the two squadrons were such, that they must have fallen in with each other, even if the weather had been unfavourable for discovering ships at a distance.

A little past four in the morning, Admiral Parker made the signal for the ships of war to draw from among the convoy, and at the same time sent the *Latona* and *Belle-Poule* to reconnoitre the enemy. Before six o'clock, these frigates had made a full discovery of the force of the Dutch, which Captain Sir Hyde Parker made known to the Admiral. At the same time, the Vice-Admiral put the convoy under the direction of Captain Sutton of the *Tartar*, and directed him to steer such a course, as might most speedily separate the merchant ships from the ships of war, and secure them from any attack of the enemy.

The convoy being completely disjoined from the ships of war, Admiral Parker made the signal to his squadron for a general chase: and, at six o'clock, he made a signal for a line of battle abreast, at two cables length asunder, in order to draw his ships toward the enemy in a regular form.

The Dutch Admiral, in the mean time, took no measures which indicated the least inclination to avoid an action. His squadron were indeed separated from the merchant ships; but

\* See Note 263.

† See Note 264.



instead of sending his convoy away, as had been done to the convoy under Admiral Parker, they lay but a very little way to leeward of the line of his battle, which Admiral Zoutman had formed upon the larboard tack. Before the action began, the enemy's ships of war had a considerable intercourse with their merchant ships, many boats passing and repassing between them.

The morning was perfectly clear, with a gentle breeze from the N. E. : the British squadron was to windward of the Dutch, which were drawn up in a line of battle ahead upon the larboard tack, close to the wind, and under an easy sail. Admiral Parker lost no time in proceeding to the attack ; and when his ships had advanced within pistol shot of the enemy, they hauled their wind together, and began the action, about eight o'clock.

The Dutch, who behaved with steady intrepidity, did not take advantage of the position of the British, when they were advancing with their heads toward them, which undoubtedly exposed them to a raking fire ; but allowed Admiral Parker to place his ships, without interrupting them by a single shot.

As soon as the British ships presented their broadsides to the enemy, Admiral Parker made the signal for battle, and the cannonade immediately became general on both sides. The *Berwick*, being the leading ship in the British line, pressed down very close to the ship of the enemy to which she was opposed ; but very soon after the battle began, the *Berwick* had the misfortune to lose her mizen-topmast. By this disaster, she was carried so far to leeward, that she was in danger of being separated from the rest of the squadron, by the advance of the enemy's line. In this situation, it became necessary for the *Berwick* to make sail, and stand on, so as again to be able to weather the van ship of the enemy. This object being accomplished, she once more got into action with the van of the Dutch fleet.

The same measures which had obliged the *Berwick* to make sail during the action, also compelled the *Dolphin* to make sail ahead, to weather the van of the Dutch squadron : about  
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this time, the Buffalo had her fore-yard brought down upon the deck, which rendered her incapable of bearing down to close with her opponent in the enemy's line. The former was from time to time, with the rest of the line of battle ships, obliged to bear away to reform the line, whilst the Vice-Admiral was hindered from pressing the enemy, by the unmanageable state of the latter, which was immediately ahead of his own ship the Fortitude. The battle lasted three hours and forty minutes.

The van of the British line being considerably deranged by the disaster of the Buffalo, and the van of the enemy not having suffered so much as they might have done, if all the British ships had been able to have continued the battle, Admiral Parker found himself obliged to allow the Dutch to bear away without pursuit. They made a shew of waiting a second attack, by sometimes taking the wind upon one side, and sometimes upon the other; but were in reality making off before the wind: their convoy also making all the sail possible to the southward.

In this action, the Dutch not only had an equal number of line of battle ships with the British, and a superiority of frigates, some of which carried heavy metal; but they had also an American frigate, which carried twenty-eight thirty-two pounders, besides other guns, and derived from her, and from several of their own frigates, great assistance during the engagement. They lay in the openings between their line of battle ships, and but a very little way to leeward of them, and continued a brisk fire during the whole course of the action. But notwithstanding this superiority of the Dutch in point of frigates, which was judiciously managed by their Admiral, the evident advantage of the British was such, that if it had been practicable to continue the action a very little longer, the enemy must have been obliged to yield: and it is now known, that their ships the *Argo*, the *Admiral Piet Hein*, and the *Hollandia*, were bordering upon the last extremity, and on the point of submitting.

At twelve o'clock, Admiral Parker hauled down the signal

for battle, and the British squadron lay to, and were employed during the afternoon, in repairing their damages, which were very considerable. The sails and rigging of the Admiral's ship, the *Fortitude*, were so disabled, as to render her almost unmanageable; the *Buffalo* had her fore-yard brought down on the deck; the *Bienfaitant* lost her main-topmast, and the *Berwick* her mizen-topmast; the *Dolphin* had four of her guns dismounted; and all the ships that were engaged, were greatly injured in their hulls, masts, sails, and rigging. Captain Macartney of the *Princess Amelia*, and Lieutenant Dalby of the *Dolphin*, were killed; Captain Græme of the *Preston* had his right arm shot off, and several Licutenants, and other officers, were wounded. One hundred and four men were killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded.†

The enemy sustained still greater damages. The *Batavia* lost her mizen-mast and fore-yard, and was with great difficulty got before the wind: her Captain, Count Bentinck, was mortally wounded. Several others of their ships were reduced to mere wrecks: and the three ships which have been formerly mentioned, were either sinking, or unable to make farther resistance. Indeed, the *Hollandia* was in such a plight, that she was obliged to fire guns of distress, and to make sail for the coast of Holland; on which, Admiral Zoutman dispatched a sloop of war to her assistance, with orders to stay by her, and seek a port. From the best accounts that could be obtained, the Dutch had one hundred and forty-two men killed in the action, and four hundred and three men wounded.\* If to these, we add those lost in the *Hollandia*, the loss sustained by the enemy on this occasion, could not be less than between six and seven hundred men.

In the evening, Vice-Admiral Parker made sail in the same course upon which the enemy had steered; and in the morning of the 6th, the *Belle-Poule* being sent to chase a Swedish frigate then in sight, discovered the mast-heads of a large ship just above water, with a Dutch pendant flying. She was sunk  
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† See Note 265.

\* See Note 266.



in twenty-two fathoms. When the Belle-Poule's boat was sent to the wreck, the boat of the Swedish frigate also went, and had taken down the pendant from the mast-head of the *Hollandia* of sixty-eight guns;\* but it was immediately delivered up in the most polite manner, and carried by Captain Patton to Vice-Admiral Parker, who must have received considerable pleasure, in obtaining this single but unquestionable proof of his having obtained a victory.

The narration of this action, with an enemy who had been so formidable at sea during the last century, recalls to memory the accounts of the gallant and obstinate battles, which they fought under Admirals De Ruyter and Van Tromp; and, this single specimen of their naval abilities and courage, gives no reason to regard them as degenerated. It is true, that they were not called to make any extraordinary evolutions by the circumstances of the action; but considering that the United Provinces having had no naval war for above half a century, and consequently, that their officers must have wanted that experience which can only be obtained by practice, they exhibited, upon this occasion, abilities in action, accompanied by a cool and determined courage, which have rarely been exceeded. The Dutch Admiral, in this battle, took two measures which are not common in his situation. He kept a considerable convoy of merchant ships close by his fleet, during the whole of the engagement; and he did not make the signal for his squadron to fire upon the British, whilst they were advancing to the attack. By the first of these, he might have lost many merchant ships, if Admiral Parker had been completely successful; and by the last, he lost an opportunity of raking, and probably of disabling the squadron of his opponents, before they could present their broadsides to his ships. It is remarkable, that the Commanders in Chief, both of the British and Dutch

\* The unfortunate *Hollandia* of 68 guns, commanded by Captain S. Dedel, received so much damage in the action, that she sunk the same night; and went down so speedily, that they could not get out the wounded, who perished with the ship.

Dutch squadrons, in their public letters upon this occasion, mistook the force which was opposed to them. Vice-Admiral Parker stated to the Admiralty, that the Dutch fleet consisted of eight two-decked ships; and Rear-Admiral Zoutman informed the Prince Stadtholder, that the British bore down upon his fleet with eight ships in the line: whereas the authentic lists, contained in the notes, shew, that the squadrons consisted only of seven ships in each line, which were very nearly equal in point of force.

When this action was fought, there was at least one line of battle ship, viz. the *Sampson* of sixty-four guns, lying at the Nore, or at the buoy of the Gunfleet, which was intended as a reinforcement to Vice-Admiral Parker, and which might have joined him in time. But, owing to a misapprehension of the enemy's force, or to the want of sufficiently early information of the Vice-Admiral's rendezvous, this ship was not dispatched: and thus, an opportunity was lost, of gaining a decisive victory, and disabling this new enemy at the very first encounter.

The States General, in the gazettes which they published, giving an account of this sea-fight, both by exaggerating the strength of the British squadron, and by concealing their own loss in the battle, tarnished the honour, which their countrymen had, by their gallant behaviour, most deservedly obtained. But in spite of authorised misrepresentation, the truth of their defeat did not long remain a secret; but was promulgated and confirmed to all the world, by the consequences which followed. For exclusive of the total loss of the *Hollandia*, and the damage sustained by several of their other ships, which were rendered unfit for future service, the convoy, together with the war ships that escorted it, returned home, scattered and in great disorder; and every idea of prosecuting their respective voyages was of necessity abandoned, at least for that season, to the very great loss of the states, as well as of the merchants.

In other respects, the States General set an example well worthy of imitation, in the praise which they bestowed upon  
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the conduct of their officers and seamen in this action ; and in the rewards and honours which they conferred upon them. Rear-Admiral Zoutman was made a Vice-Admiral, presented with a gold hilted sword, and got the command of the fleet at the Texel : Captain Count Bentinck, before his death, was made a Rear-Admiral, and Adjutant-General to the Stadtholder : Commodore Kingsbergen succeeded the Count in both ranks : Captains Dedel and Van Braam were also made Rear-Admirals; the three last were likewise presented with a distinguishing sabre and belt : Captains Braak and Staringh, had each a sabre and belt, with permission to wear a white feather in their uniform hat : Captains Dekker, Mulder, and Wilderen, who commanded the Bellona, Dolphin, and Ajax frigates, all of which were engaged, had each a sabre and belt ; as had the Captains *en Second*, Aberfon, Staringh, Bosh, and Smaafen. The Lieutenants of the ships which formed the line, got two gold epaulettes on their uniform, and the cadets a gold epaulette on their left shoulder. Gold medals, struck on this occasion, were also presented to Admiral Zoutman and his officers, and the common men received a present of two months pay. Count Wilderen of the Ajax cutter, who brought the Admiral's dispatches to the Hague, was presented by the Stadtholder, with a magnificent diamond ring.

Walter John Gerard, Count Bentinck, (before he died,) was created Rear-Admiral of Holland and West Friesland, and Adjutant-General to his Most Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder, in reward for the great bravery he displayed in the action on the 5th of August, when Captain of the Batavia of fifty-four guns, in which he had the misfortune to be mortally wounded. He died on the 23d of the same month, universally regretted, in the 36th year of his age. In him, his country had great reason to entertain the most flattering hopes, which his unfortunate death forever blasted. The States General, highly sensible of his great merit, honoured his remains with a most magnificent funeral. He was interred on the 28th of August, in the new church in Amsterdam, with all the  
military



military honours. Rear-Admirals Dabenis, Myttens, Van Braam, and Kingsbergen, supported the pall; Lieutenant Bastin carried the staff of command, and Lieutenant Hartfinke the sword. The ceremony was attended by all the principal persons in Amsterdam.

Though the courage and conduct displayed on the 5th of August, by Vice-Admiral Parker, and the officers and seamen under his command, met with the highest approbation of his Majesty, and the nation, no public honours were bestowed on any of them. For this neglect, various reasons were assigned. Some imputed it to the Vice-Admiral's not being a favourite with the Marine Minister; while others asserted, that it was because he was displeased with the Admiralty Board, for not reinforcing his squadron in due time—a circumstance which considerably increased the unpopularity of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Such, at least, was the public rumour of the time; for we pretend neither to know what was transacted in the Cabinet, nor to dive into the mysteries of Court measures or intrigues: but time frequently serves to remove the blind that is artificially held up between the eye of the public, and the actions and motives of Ministers of State.

The Vice-Admiral, on his return to England from his cruize in the North Sea, met with such a reception as no Admiral had ever been honoured with before. His Majesty, and the Prince of Wales, attended by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and other great Officers of State, proceeded down the river Thames in Royal yachts, and met Vice-Admiral Parker and his shattered squadron, just as they were coming to an anchor at the Nore. It was said, that the intention of this visit was to do honour to the Vice-Admiral and his officers, and to shew him how much pleased his Royal Master was with his services. Honours and rewards were supposed to follow of course. If there was any design in this, to soothe an old veteran into good humour, and to make him forget past neglects, it was quite thrown away on the present occasion; for however great his respect and regard might be for his Sovereign, he felt himself

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so much hurt by the conduct of the Marine Minister, that it was soon understood, that any favour coming through his hands would not be accepted. Incapable of disguise or flattery, he is reported to have spoken to the King with a blunt sincerity of language, that flowed from a heart replete with loyalty, and anxious for the naval glory of his country.

In a proper place, we shall give a concise account of his Majesty's voyage: and shall only here observe, that the King went on board the *Fortitude* at the Nore, where the Vice-Admiral, and all the Captains and principal officers of the squadron were presented to him, but no honours were conferred on any of them. Soon after Vice-Admiral Parker resigned his command, and struck his flag: the Honourable Captain Keith Stewart was appointed his successor. His principal station was in the Downs, from which, he detached a small squadron of observation, to cruize off the Texel, and to watch the enemy's motions: notwithstanding which, on the 2d of December, Rear-Admiral Count Byland, with two ships of the line and two frigates, had the good fortune to anchor in the Texel road from Cadiz.\* This could not be imputed to any neglect of the Commodore or officers on this station; for the violent southerly winds, and thick fogs, which prevailed at that time, greatly aided the extreme caution with which Count Byland steered his course, and favoured his escape.

No sooner had the Comte de Guichen's squadron separated from the fleet of Spain and returned to Brest, than the utmost expedition was used, in refitting and preparing every ship which the French had fit to go to sea. The extraordinary exertions which they were making at that place and at Rochfort, at such an advanced season of the year, very soon indicated,

\* SQUADRON UNDER REAR-ADMIRAL COUNT BYLAND.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Amsterdam,	68	Rear-Admiral Count Byland.
Princess Louisa,	60	Rear-Admiral Binkes.
Dieren,	36	Captain Coerman.
Brille,	36	Captain Oorthuis.

cated, that they intended to open the ensuing campaign with vigour and effect. Not only did they attend to the equipment of the ships of war, but collected in these harbours ships from all their principal seaports, and there loaded them with all sorts of naval and military stores and provisions. A considerable embarkation of land-forces also took place. The French Ministry, very early saw the absolute necessity of sending a powerful reinforcement to the West Indies to the Comte de Grasse, who, after the very active campaign which he had had in North America, stood greatly in need of all sorts of naval stores as well as of ships. They likewise resolved to send strong reinforcements to M. d'Orves and the Chevalier de Suffren in the East Indies: and they spared no cost in collecting and embarking every sort of stores and provisions, that was deemed necessary for this important service. Preparations of such extent, they were sure, could not escape the knowledge of the British Ministry, who, they apprehended, would take measures for intercepting the intended reinforcements, before they could reach their destinations. It therefore became necessary to send them to sea, under such a strong escort, as would be able to protect them, from any naval force that Great Britain might send against them. In doing this they had other objects in view, besides those which we have mentioned. To keep well with the King of Spain, and to approve of all his schemes, were things of the first importance, and therefore not to be neglected. He was anxious, that the fleets of Spain and France should again unite as expeditiously as possible, in order to prevent any succour from being sent, either to Gibraltar or to the island of Minorca. A great part of the fleet which the French were equipping, was therefore destined for Cadiz, in order to join the Spanish fleet there: but this Squadron was to sail in company with the fleets destined for the East and West Indies, and to remain with them until they should be so far on their respective voyages, as to be in no danger of meeting with the British fleet. The whole was to be commanded by the Comte de Guichen, who, with M. de la Mothe Piquet, and de Beaufset,



Beauflet, were to proceed to Cadiz. The squadron for the West Indies was commanded by M. de Vaudreuil. The French squadrons, when joined, consisted of nineteen sail of the line,\* and two more line of battle ships *armed en flute*.† This powerful armament filled both France and Spain with the highest expectations; the grand object of the two allied Crowns, for the ensuing campaign in the West Indies, being to attempt the conquest of the Island of Jamaica with their conjunct forces.

The preparations of the enemy had not escaped the attention of the British Ministry: and they had resolved to counteract their designs if possible. A very strong reinforcement was with great expedition prepared for the West Indies, and the command of it was given to Sir George Rodney. A squadron of six sail of the line, under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, was also ordered to the East Indies: and in hopes of intercepting the French East and West India convoys, and defeating their escorts, Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, accompanied by Commodore Elliot, with twelve sail of the line, a ship of fifty guns, and four frigates, were ordered to sea, and sailed from Spithead on the 2d of December.‡ Whether it was owing to wrong intelligence having been sent to Administration, or to some other cause, it may not be easy to determine, but it would appear, that they had been deceived. Perhaps they were not informed, that M. de Guichen's squadron was to sail in company with the others; otherwise, they never could have had the temerity to send out Admiral Kempenfelt, with such an inferior force, on so important a service. When he fell in with the enemy, he was himself in danger of being intercepted; and it was entirely owing to his great professional judgment and dexterity, that he was able, not only to extricate

\* See Note 267.

† *Armed en flute*—means ships of two decks, having only the upper tier of guns mounted. Their lower deck guns are in their hold. They are in fact storeships: and when their cargoes are taken out, their lower guns are replaced, and they are then capable of taking their place in the line.

‡ See Note 268.

cate himself from the imminent danger of being overpowered, but also to give the enemy a very severe check, by which, if he did not totally destroy their enterprize, he at least retarded it for a considerable time. This partial success had very beneficial consequences to this country.

Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, entirely ignorant of the great superiority of the enemy, fell in with their fleet soon after day-break on the 12th of December, Ushant then bearing N. by E., distant fifty-three leagues. The frigate ahead of the squadron then made the signal for seeing a fleet in the S. E., the wind being in that quarter, and blowing fresh. The Admiral immediately made the signal for the two-decked ships and frigates to chase; and at the same time the Victory, and other three-decked ships, crowded sail after them. At nine o'clock, the British ships had neared them so much, as to perceive that they were steering large to the westward. At half past ten, they observed several ships of the line, a considerable way ahead, and upon the lee bow, forming in order of battle; upon which, Admiral Kempenfelt made the signal for the line: but having a prospect of passing between the enemy's ships of war and a great part of their convoy, he continued a press of sail, with a view of cutting them off. He succeeded in part, and got among the convoy, a good many of which struck; but as night was fast approaching, he could not take possession of them all. The enemy's ship the Triumphant of eighty-four guns, which had kept with the convoy, in bearing down to join the French squadron, passed close across the Edgar's fore-foot, the leading ship of the British line, and gave her a smart raking fire, which fortunately did not do much execution. On this occasion, the Edgar displayed a most masterly conduct. She avoided being directly raked, by judiciously bearing up as the enemy passed her, and immediately after luffed to the wind, and brought her broadside at right angles with the enemy's stern, throwing in a well directed fire, which was perceived to be very effectual. Next morning, the Triumphant was seen in the French line, with her main-

main-topmast and main-yard gone. By crowding sail to cut off the enemy's convoy, several of the British ships fell far astern, so that the Admiral found, that he could not form a line proper for action, before it was dark. He therefore tacked to join the sternmost ships, and at the same time made the signal for the order of sailing, to get the squadron connected. Having accomplished this, he put upon the same tack with the enemy. At day-light the next day, he got sight of the enemy's fleet, and formed his own, with an intention of bringing them to immediate action : but as he neared them, he perceived their force to be so superior to his, that he was obliged to relinquish all thoughts of attacking them, and to make for England, where he arrived on the 20th, having dispatched the *Agamemnon*, and *La Prudente* frigate, in quest of the straggling ships of the enemy's convoy. They made no attempts to pursue him : and soon after that, the weather became so very bad, that their fleet was dispersed, and only two of their ships of war, viz. the *Triomphant* and *Brave*, were able to prosecute their voyage. The rest returned to Brest.

Admiral Kempenfelt's squadron cut off fifteen of the enemy's convoy, having on board one thousand and sixty-two soldiers, and five hundred and forty-eight seamen : and two or three of them were sunk. Captain Caldwell in the *Agamemnon*, with the *La Prudente* frigate, fell in with and took five sail of another French convoy, on the 25th of December. They were from Bourdeaux, and were to have joined M. de Guichen's fleet.\* The cargoes of these twenty prizes were extremely valuable, and must have cost the enemy a very great sum of money. They consisted of cannon, mortars, howitzers, shot, shells, gunpowder, small arms, flints, artillery and ordnance stores of all sorts and in great quantity ; iron bars and sheet lead, travelling magazines and forges ; tents, camp equipage, and utensils of all sorts, soldiers cloathing and accoutrements, with woollen and linen goods for the land and sea service, in great quantities ; bricks, great cables, sail cloth and



cordage, necessary for equipping a large fleet; also wine, oil, brandy, flour, biscuit, and salted provisions, on the King's account, all in great abundance, and the most necessary articles in prodigious quantities; besides a variety of goods on account of the merchants.

The nation, who was loud in their commendations of the gallant and judicious conduct of Admiral Kempenfelt, became clamorous against those who had not supplied him with a force sufficient to have enabled him to take and destroy the whole of the French fleet and convoy; and exclaimed, that when fortune had thrown in their way, so fair an opportunity of retrieving the affairs of their country, and recovering its splendid situation and rank, the glorious golden moment was lost, through the negligence or ignorance of those, who were entrusted with the management of her naval affairs. This failure, added to the recent disasters in America, contributed very much to hasten a change in Administration.

The commencement of this year had been extremely favourable to such of his Majesty's ships as were appointed to cruize in the British Channel, and also to privateers, for the number of valuable prizes taken from the Dutch was very great. On the 1st of January, Vice-Admiral Evans, who commanded in the Downs, received information of a large ship having been seen at the back of the Goodwin: and his Majesty's ships *Bellona* and *Marlborough*, commanded by Captains Onslow and Parry, appearing in sight soon afterwards, he immediately ordered them in quest of her. Next morning they got sight of her, and gave chase. The *Bellona* soon got alongside of her, and an action took place, which lasted only half an hour, when she struck. She proved to be the *Princess Caroline*, a Dutch ship of war of fifty-four guns and three hundred men, from Amsterdam bound to Lisbon. She had four men killed, and twelve wounded in the action. The *Bellona* had one man killed, and two wounded. The *Princess Caroline* was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

His Majesty's ship the *Warwick*, of fifty guns and three hundred

hundred and fifty men, commanded by the Honourable Captain Keith Elphinstone, being on a cruize in the Channel, on the 5th of January fell in with, engaged, and took the Rotterdam, a Dutch ship of fifty guns and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Volbergen, eleven days from Holland, and bound for the West Indies. Captain Elphinstone admonished the Dutch Captain to surrender and spare his men's lives; but this he would not do. She had been twice attacked before; but had the good fortune to escape.\* The Warwick lost no men in the action, but her sails, rigging, and masts, were cut to pieces. This action redounded much to the honour of Captain Elphinstone, his officers and crew; for when they attacked the Rotterdam, their numbers were greatly reduced, by having manned, and sent into port, several Dutch vessels they had taken. The Rotterdam was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

On the 4th of January, his Majesty's ships *Courageux* and *Valiant*, of seventy-four guns each, commanded by Captains Lord Mulgrave and Goodall, being on a cruize off Brest, gave chase to three French frigates, with one of which the *Courageux* came up. Her Captain, the Chevalier de Grimouard, had the temerity to engage the *Courageux* within musquet shot for an hour, when he struck. His ship proved to be *La Minerve*, formerly belonging to his Britannic Majesty, of thirty-two guns and three hundred and sixteen men. She had M. Andrein, a Lieutenant, and forty-nine men killed, and twenty-three wounded, among whom were her Captain and his nephew M. Nossay, both very dangerously. All her masts were rendered unserviceable, and her hull was much damaged. The

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*Courageux*

† One of the vessels, which attacked the Rotterdam, was his Majesty's ship *Isis* of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Evelyn Sutton; but after exchanging one broadside with her, he left her. Her being afterwards obliged to strike to the Warwick, although weakened by manning seven prizes, made a great noise. A Court of Inquiry was first held on this affair; and Captain Sutton was afterwards tried by a Court-martial, of which Sir John Lockhart Ross was President. Captain Sutton pleaded that he was 61 men short of complement. By the sentence of the Court, he was reprimanded.

Courageux had to tow her into port, and in the action had ten men killed, and seven wounded; her fore-mast, mizen-mast, and bowsprit, were much damaged. *La Minerve* was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy, by the name of the *Recovery*. The *Valiant* could not overtake the ship of which she went in pursuit.

His Majesty's ship *Perseus* of twenty guns, and *Fortune* sloop, commanded by Captains Dacres and Breton, on the 7th of January, fell in with and took the *Catherina Wilhelmina*, a Dutch East India Company's ship, of nine hundred tons, from Rotterdam to Batavia, laden with large masts and other naval stores, and having on board one hundred and thirty thousand dollars in specie. The ship and cargo sold for sixteen thousand pounds. Lieutenant Furnival, commanding the *Nimble* cutter, took, after a gallant action, *La Subtile*, a French privateer of fourteen guns and forty-three men. Lieutenant Furnival was severely wounded.

The Honourable Captain William Waldegrave, of his Majesty's ship *La Prudente*, being on a cruize, on the morning of the 22d of January, in company with his Majesty's ship *Proserpine*, gave chase to a large sail, which they took to be a frigate, but a heavy squall coming on about nine o'clock, just as the former had got within pistol shot of her, she disappeared and made off: and in the evening, the *Proserpine* parted company. On the 24th, the *La Prudente* once more got sight of the ship which she had chased on the 22d, and immediately renewed the pursuit: but though the enemy had lost her main-topmast, she got off in the night. On the 26th, at day-light in the morning, she discovered the same ship again, a few miles to leeward, without a main-topfail-yard: and once more gave chase. Aided by a hard gale of wind, about noon she got pretty near. The chase hoisted French colours, and on the frigate coming within hail, hauled them down. She proved to be the same ship which they had so often chased before: and it was found that she had carried away her main-topmast, in the heavy squall which had separated them on the 22d. She was called *l'Americain*, a French privateer of twenty-four nine pounders  
on



on her main-deck, eight three pounders on her quarter-deck, and two hundred and forty-five men. During the chase, she threw her quarter-deck guns overboard.

The Cerberus of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Man, being on a cruize about twenty leagues west of Cape Finisterre, on the 25th of February, got sight of a frigate standing to the S. W. On her not answering her private signal, she made sail from the Cerberus. The latter immediately gave chase, and in a few hours got close alongside of her; when, after an action of fifteen or twenty minutes she struck, and proved to be the Grana, a Spanish frigate, of twenty-two six pounders, eight four pounders, and one hundred and sixty-six men, commanded by Don Nicolas de Medina. She had her First Lieutenant and six men killed, and seventeen wounded. In this action, the Spanish officers did all that lay in their power; but their men deserted them. On the contrary, Captain Man was highly pleased with the behaviour of the officers and men of the Cerberus, in which only two men were wounded. The Grana was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name.

His Majesty's sloop Cameleon\* of fourteen guns, commanded by Captain Drury, having been sent by Vice-Admiral Drake, who commanded in the Downs, to cruize in the North Sea, on the 14th of August, when off the Texel, gave chase to a Dutch lugger, belonging to the States of Holland, mounting eighteen six pounders and twenty fwivels; and getting up to her a quarter before nine o'clock, a close engagement immediately ensued, which continued yard-arm and yard-arm until half past nine, when the enemy's vessel blew up, close alongside of the Cameleon. The shock was so very great, that it shook the people on board of the King's sloop off their legs, and the cloud of smoke occasioned by the explosion was so very thick, that they could not see each other for the space of two minutes. When the smoke cleared away, the Cameleon was perceived to be on fire in several places, viz. the topfails, particularly

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the

\* Fourteen guns, 6 pounders, 4 carronades, and 90 men.

the main-topfail, fore-topfail, and fore-top-gallant-fail, all of which, they were obliged to cut from the yards. The fire in her sails was occasioned by the splinters from the wreck, thrown off by the explosion. Many pieces of human flesh were found sticking against the masts and rigging of the *Camelcon*; many limbs of the Dutchmen were taken up on the quarter-deck: and there was great reason to believe, that the enemy's main-mast had been blown over the *Cameleon*, as it was seen afterwards about the length of the vessel to leeward of her. Her colours flew on board all on fire. As soon as possible, Captain Drury ordered out his boats, in hopes of saving some of the crew; but no living creature could be found. They picked up the pendant, and a marine's hat. The *Cameleon* was a good deal damaged in her sails and rigging; but had only twelve men wounded. Among these was Captain Drury, who received a wound in the leg by a splinter.

The *Emerald* frigate, belonging to the grand fleet under Vice-Admiral Darby, on its return to the Channel, in the end of August, took the *Frederick*, a French privateer of St. Malo, of sixteen guns. She was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the name of the *Pelican*. The grand fleet also took a lugger, called *La Gloire*, of eight guns. Being a remarkably swift sailer, she was purchased, and added to the Navy by the same name.

Captain Ellis, of his Majesty's sloop *Scout*, was on the Irish station, and convoying some rich ships from Belfast to Liverpool, in company with the *Satisfaction* armed ship. The latter made the signal of an enemy being in sight; on which the *Scout* gave chase to a lugger which had drawn near the fleet, and in a few hours came up with her. She immediately struck, and proved to be *Le Glorieux*, a French privateer of twelve guns, (but pierced for sixteen), six swivels, and sixty-one men. She had nine ransomers on board. The *Perseverance*, Captain Lutwidge, one of the grand fleet, on the 29th of July, took the *Lively* frigate, (lately belonging to his Majesty) of twenty-six guns and two hundred and five men, commanded by Che-  
valier

valier de Brignon, after a short action, in which the enemy had seven men killed, and as many wounded.

Captain Cooper, of his Majesty's ship Stag of twenty-two guns, being stationed off Dublin, with some ships and vessels belonging to the King, got notice, on the 12th of August, that a French privateer had taken a vessel off Waterford, on which he dispatched the Hope cutter, of twelve guns and fifty-five men, under the command of his Second Lieutenant, Mr. Lewis Vickers, her own commander, Lieutenant Rochfort, being in Dublin on duty, in quest of her. Unhappily, instead of meeting the ship for which he searched, on the 16th, he fell in with the Chardon privateer of twenty guns, six pounders, and one hundred and fifty men, commanded by one John Kelly, an Irishman; when, after a severe engagement of one hour and ten minutes, he was obliged to submit, having six men killed and sixteen wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Vickers, who was shot through his thigh with a musquet-ball. Captain Cooper received intelligence of this, as he was returning from escorting a brig with a valuable cargo for Bristol on the 18th, and next day fell in with the Chardon, Hope, and a small prize which the enemy had taken that morning. He immediately gave chase to them, lost sight of them in the night, but next morning again got sight of them, and being joined by the Viper cutter, went in pursuit of them, upon which they separated. Night coming on, he lost sight of them again; but keeping the course which he supposed they would steer, he got sight of the cutter and prize, pursued her and re-took the latter: and after a long chase came up with the cutter also, and took her. He found her a mere wreck, her sails and rigging having been cut in a most extraordinary manner. He found Lieutenant Vickers on board, who reported to him, that after the French obtained possession of the cutter, they acted in the most barbarous manner, destroying every man without mercy for a considerable time.

The Recovery, Captain Lord Hervey, took the Wexford rebel privateer, of twenty twelve pounders and one hundred



and twenty men. The *Flora*, Captain Williams, in company with some more of his Majesty's frigates, took the *Hercules*, an American privateer, of twenty guns and one hundred and twenty men. The *Monfieur*, commanded by the Hon. Captain Phipps, in company with the *Minerva*, took the *Jafon*, an American privateer of twenty-two guns. These three privateers were taken off Cape Clear in Ireland.

The *Artois*, Captain Macbride, being on a cruize in the North Sea, about ten in the forenoon of the 3d of December, about twenty leagues east of Flamborough-head, got sight of two sail, (schooners) which, with much confidence, stood for her: about twelve o'clock he brought them both to action, but paid his chief attention to the one on the quarter of the *Artois*, until he had sufficiently disabled her. He then pushed forward to the one which engaged on the bow; and after an action of half an hour, compelled her to strike. He sent a boat, and took possession of her, and wore round after the other, which was making off; but she struck, when the King's ship got up with her. The prizes proved to be the *Hercules* and *Mars*, two privateers belonging to Amsterdam, mounting twenty-four nine pounders and ten colorns each. They were perfectly new, similar to one another, and cost upwards of 20,000*l*. They were commanded by two Hogenbooms, father and son, inhabitants of Flushing. The *Hercules* had one hundred and sixty-four men on board, of which thirteen were killed and twenty wounded. The *Mars* had one hundred and forty-six men, of which nine were killed and fifteen wounded. The *Artois* had one man killed and six wounded. They were purchased by Government, added to the Royal Navy by the names of the *Pylades* and *Orestes*: and have, since that time, done excellent service, both against the enemy and the smugglers.

The activity and successes of the British cruisers were very great, as the following instances will evince.

The *Flying Fish* cutter, of twelve three pounders and sixty men, commanded by Lieutenant Macdougall, took the *Marodeur*, a French cutter privateer of fourteen six and four pounders

ders and seventy-four men, after a brisk action of three hours, in which the former had one man killed and nine wounded; and the latter, four men killed and ten wounded. In reward for this gallant action, Lieutenant Macdougall was made a Master and Commander. Mr. Macdougall fell in with this privateer at half past nine in the morning, on the first of August, about six leagues off Whitby, standing in for the shore; and immediately gave chase to her. He soon perceived that the cutter was in chase of the Flying Fish, which she continued until she got within gun shot, when she hauled her wind. At ten minutes past ten, his Majesty's cutter got within pistol shot of her, when it fell quite calm, so that they were obliged to work the vessel with her sweeps. At fifteen minutes past ten, they brought the enemy to action, which continued at that distance till ten minutes past one, when she surrendered.

The Alexander of seventy-four guns, Captain Boston, (acting Captain) on the 3d of January, took, off the coast of Ireland, Le Daguesseau, a French privateer of St. Malo, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and five men. On the 10th of February, the Juno of thirty-six guns, and Zebra sloop, took, off Beachy-head, a French privateer from Dunkirk, called the Revenge, of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-four men.

The Libertycutter, commanded by Captain Velters Berkeley, got sight of a cutter about two leagues off Lowestoffe, to which she gave chase, and in six hours got quite close, and fired two broadsides, which entirely disabled her. She then struck, and proved to be the Ferret, of twelve carriage guns and sixteen fwivels, (most of which the enemy had thrown overboard during the chase), and forty-four men, a privateer belonging to Dunkirk. On the 19th of April, the Liberty, in company with the Alderney, took another French cutter privateer, belonging also to Dunkirk, called La Puce, of two carriage guns and twenty-one men. The Lively sloop of fourteen guns, Captain Carlyon, took the Black Princess French privateer, of fourteen guns and seventy men. On the 26th of April, Captain Carlyon

Carlyon being sent in quest of a French privateer, fell in with, off the Lizard, and retook two small brigs, which had been taken by a French privateer, which was then in sight, and in pursuit of another. In consequence of this, he immediately went in chace of her, and in three hours brought her to action; when, after engaging her as closely as he could for three quarters of an hour, she surrendered, and proved to be the Marquis d'Aubeterre of Brest, of twelve six pounders, eight swivels, and sixty-five men. She had been only five days from port, and had made no other prizes than the two brigs above-mentioned. The Lively had only four men wounded. To the modest account which Captain Carlyon gave of this very gallant action, he added, that his Majesty's ship Aurora, Captain Collins, which was under the land in Mount's Bay, at the commencement of the action, immediately stood towards the Lively with a press of sail; but that the enemy were forced to submit, before she got up. On the 13th of May, Captain Carylton, having been detached from Plymouth, by Lord Shulldham, in quest of a French privateer, got sight of a lugger coming round the Lizard Point, apparently with an intention to reconnoitre his force. Being then at anchor under Mullion island, he immediately slipped his cable; and after a chace of fourteen hours, came up with the lugger and took her. She proved to be the Defiance, a privateer belonging to St. Malo, of six three pounders, ten swivels, and forty-five men. Soon after this, Captain Carlyon, in reward for his activity and bravery, was promoted to the command of the Daphne, in which he assisted Captain Man in the Cerberus, in taking the Duc d'Estillac, a large French privateer. On the 2d of July, off the Isle of Wight, he retook a vessel belonging to Jersey, and gave chace to a lugger privateer which had taken her. After a long chace, when he was within two leagues of her, it fell calm: but he sent two boats, manned and armed, under Mr. Young, a careful and brave officer, who boarded and took the lugger. She proved to be the Petit Compere, Matthew, of Dunkirk, of two swivels and twenty-one men. The Aurora of twenty-eight guns, Captain Collins, took the

Comte



Comte de Guichen privateer of eighteen guns, having on board nine ransomers for eight thousand three hundred and sixty guineas.† At the same time, the Aurora also took a smuggling cutter, which had taken several British vessels, but the Captain threw the ransom bills overboard. On the 23d of April, the Aurora took, off the Land's End, l'Esperance lugger privateer of St. Malo, of ten six pounders, six swivels, and seventy men.

The Nemesis of twenty-eight guns, Captain Richard Rodney Bligh, took, on the 5th of June, off the coast of Ireland, the Alliance, a French cutter privateer of eighteen guns and eighty-three men.

La Prudente of thirty-six guns, Captain Waldegrave, took a French cutter called the Boulogne, of sixteen guns, twenty swivels, and seventy-five men. This cutter proved to have formerly belonged to his Majesty, and was called the Jackall, which the reader will remember was carried off from the Downs by eighteen of the crew, who mutinied, overpowered the rest, and conducted the vessel into the harbour of Calais, where they sold her for 3000l. In the course of the war, most of those infatuated wretches were taken, on board of different prizes. They were tried by a Court-martial, and suffered condign punishment. The La Prudente took a small cutter privateer, called La Mothe Piquet.

The Iphigenia of thirty-two guns, Captain Hope, on the 2d of July, fell in with, off Flamborough-head, a small French privateer of Dunkirk, called the American Union, having six three pounders and nineteen men, commanded by one Christopher Codnor. She had been out of Dunkirk four days, and had taken nine prizes, one of which she had sent into port, and had ransomers on board for the rest. The master and  
most

† Viz. For the Peace, Hogg, of Whitehaven, 2000; for the Spooner, Barber, of Glasgow, 1800; for the Six Sisters, Smith, of the Isle of Man, 1500; for the Fortitude, Johnston, of Greenock, 1500; for the William of Bristol, 500; for the Sally of Strangford, 500; for the Lark of Workington, 300; for the Glory, Steele, of Workington, 150; and for the Elizabeth of Milford, 110 guineas.

most of the crew appeared to be Englishmen, though they called themselves Americans.

Lieutenant Douglas, commanding the *Resolution* cutter, on the 25th of August, at four in the morning, off the Spurn-head, being then in company with a large fleet of colliers, got sight of a lugger in the N. E. quarter, two brigs being very near her, and immediately made sail, gave chase, and at half past seven got within gun shot of her, when she hoisted French colours. After exchanging a few broadsides she struck, and proved to be *Le Cerf Volant* of Dunkirk, of six three pounders, four carronades twelve pounders, and ten swivels, with a crew of thirty-eight men. She had three ransomers on board, and had been six days from port.

The *Aurora*, Captain Wright, was at anchor in Mount's Bay, on the 6th of November, when, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, there was blown in there by a violent gale at S. W. a cutter called the *Runtom*, of thirty-five tons, mounting two four pounders, six swivels, and twenty-two men, in the service of the French King, commanded by M. Antoine Salval, a Lieutenant de frigate. On coming into the Bay she hoisted British colours, upon which the *Aurora* fired at her. She then hauled them down, hoisted French colours, and struck them, and run into the pier of Newland, where Captain Wright secured the prisoners and delivered them up to the Commissary.

The *Kite* cutter, Captain Trollope, took several valuable prizes; and amongst them, two large Dutch ships laden with masts bound for Brest, valued at 60,000*l*.

The following remarkably gallant action should not pass unnoticed. The *Tygres* privateer of Appiedore, carrying twenty-two six pounders, and a crew of one hundred and thirty men, commanded by Captain Thomas Hall, being on a cruise, in lat. 54° 10' N., long. 8° 16' W., fell in with two large Dutch ships, escorted by a ship of war called the *Van Tromp*, mounting forty-six or fifty guns. She gave chase to the privateer, pursued her almost out of sight of the two ships, and shewed  
British

British colours. The privateer taking her for one of his Majesty's frigates, brought to, but found her mistake, by receiving a summons to surrender. Having refused to strike, the enemy fired a broadside, which was instantly returned. A running fight immediately commenced, which lasted two hours, when in a heavy squall of wind the enemy's main-mast was carried away just below the hounds, having been wounded by the privateer's shot. On perceiving the enemy's ship in distress, Captain Hall tacked his ship, and brought to, about two points on their weather bow. By his small arms, he prevented them from clearing the wreck, and with his great guns, raked her for near an hour, when she wore round, and stood before the wind, firing now and then a gun from her stern chace, which was well directed, and did execution on board of the Tygres. The evening coming on, Captain Hall hauled his wind, and stood for the two ships, to see what they were. At day-light the next morning, he was within random shot of them, and the Tweeljebroders having no means of defence, was obliged to submit. Possession was immediately taken of her; and while this was doing the other ship, the Vrow Johanna, endeavoured to make off; but was overtaken by noon, and compelled to strike. The prizes were ships of near six hundred tons each, laden with masts, cordage, pitch, tar, turpentine, and other naval stores, from Ostend, bound to Cadiz, and proved very valuable. The Tygres had nine men killed, and seventeen wounded. Among the former were Mr. James Anderson, the First Lieutenant, and the Boatswain.

The Caesar privateer of Bristol took the Endragt, of six hundred tons, from Curacoa and St. Eustatius. This was the richest prize of all the West India ships taken from the Dutch. The prize and cargo sold for thirty-seven thousand pounds sterling.

The Drawblood privateer of Milford, mounting twelve guns, commanded by Captain Devereux, in a thick fog, on the 6th of March, off Cape Clear, fell in with a Dutch letter of marque, called the Vrow Petronella, carrying eighteen nine pounders  
and



and one hundred men. An action took place, which lasted three hours, when she struck. She proved to be a very valuable prize, being about seven hundred tons burden, and laden with naval stores, bound to Cadiz. She had twenty-eight men killed, among whom was the Captain, Bernard Janfen Klyne, and thirty wounded in the action; the privateer was much damaged, and had eleven men killed and sixteen wounded.

We shall conclude our narrative of the transactions of this year, with an account of his Majesty's and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's tours to the Nore and to Chatham.

On the 17th of August, at nine in the morning, the King and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, arrived at Greenwich Hospital. They were received by the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, the Governor, and principal officers of the Hospital; and immediately went in a barge, attended by Lord Sandwich, the Marquis of Lothian, goldstick, Colonel Townsend, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grenville, on board the Princess Augusta yacht, commanded by Sir Richard Bickerton, on which the Royal Standard, Admiralty, and Union flags were hoisted. The Prince of Wales embarked in another barge, and went on board the William and Mary yacht, commanded by Captain Young, on which his Royal Highness's standard was hoisted. The Prince was attended by Lord Southampton, Lieutenant-Colonel Hulse, and Mr. Digby. At ten o'clock the yachts got under sail, proceeded down the river with a fair wind, and were saluted, as they passed Woolwich-warren, by the ships in Long Reach, and by Tilbury and Gravesend forts: and at four o'clock came to an anchor in Sea Reach.

On the 18th of August, the yachts got under way at five o'clock in the morning; arrived at Blackstakes about nine, and were saluted by the garrison of Sheerness as they passed. Soon after that, his Majesty and the Prince of Wales went on shore, attended by Lord Amherst, Generals Craig and Fawcett, and visited the dock-yard and new fortifications. At twelve o'clock, the King and the Prince of Wales left the yard, and returned

to

to the Nore, where they were saluted by Vice-Admiral Parker and his squadron, which had that moment come to anchor. The Vice-Admiral had the honour of dining with his Majesty : and in the evening, the King and the Prince of Wales went on board the *Fortitude*, in which the Vice-Admiral's flag was flying. As soon as the Royal Standard was hoisted in the *Fortitude*, the whole fleet saluted with twenty-one guns each. Soon after that, his Majesty retired into the great cabin, where the Captains and officers of his squadron, with those of the ships present, were all received very graciously, and had the honour to kiss the King's hand. His Majesty and the Prince of Wales, after having visited the different parts of the ship, returned to the yachts, and sailed for Chatham, where they arrived at nine o'clock on Sunday morning.

On the 19th of August, Vice-Admiral Parker's fleet sailed from the Nore, and anchored at Blackstakes, in order to repair the damages sustained in their late action with the Dutch upon the Dogger Bank.

The King, having visited the dock-yard and fortifications, and reviewed the troops at Chatham, had, on Monday the 20th, a levee at the Commissioner's House, when the sea and marine officers were presented to him. The Mayor, Recorder, and Corporation of the city of Rochester, also waited on the King, and presented to him a dutiful and loyal address, which was most graciously received ; after which, they all had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

The King then embarked on board the *Princess Augusta*, as did his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on board the *William and Mary* yacht. They landed at Erith on Tuesday afternoon, where the royal carriages were attending, and arrived the same evening at the Queen's Palace in perfect health.

Soon after that, his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on Captain George Young, of the *William and Mary* yacht, Sir Richard Bickerton having received that honour on a former occasion : and Lieutenants

Waller

Waller and Teer, the First Lieutenants of the *Augusta* and *William and Mary* yachts, were promoted—the former, to the command of a new sloop called the *Racehorse*, and the latter, to that of the *Pluto* bomb-ketch.

### 1782.

THE transactions of this year differ widely in a political view, from any which we have yet related: and were productive of changes with which we do not often meet. It is true, that the bad success of the British arms in America, in the course of last campaign, had sickened the nation of the war in that part of the world, and convinced many of the impossibility of subjugating the revolted colonies by force of arms. Notwithstanding the bad situation of public affairs, and an enormous load of debt, contracted in the course of this contest, the Ministry had still a great influence in Parliament. In both Houses, they had very considerable majorities, who appeared willing to support them in the measures which they had determined to pursue. From the King's Speech at the opening of the Session, and the addresses from the Lords and Commons by which it was followed, it was very clear, that the Ministry were determined to persevere in the American war: and no one conjectured, that situated as they then were, in the full plenitude of power, and without any new disaster occurring to the British arms, that such great revolutions in politics were so near at hand. Unforeseen, however, as these events were, they were obliged to relinquish the plan which they had so long pursued, for subduing the revolted colonies in North America; soon lost their influence in the House of Commons; and were under a necessity of resigning the direction of public affairs. To give a perspicuous account of the manner in which this wonderful change was brought about, it will be expedient to enter a little more fully into Parliamentary affairs, than is altogether strictly consistent with the plan of this work: but in this necessary deviation, the utmost possible brevity shall be observed.

The



The Parliament met for the dispatch of business, on the 27th of November, 1781, when the King made the following Speech to both Houses, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.\*

Misfortune had not abated the spirit of party. It raged with as much virulence as ever: and the motions for the addresses were combated in both Houses, with the greatest keenness. The party in opposition to the Ministry inveighed, with the greatest asperity of language, against the design which Administration seemed to have adopted, of persevering to the last extremity in the prosecution of the American war. They said, that the dear bought experience of seven years, ought to have taught the Ministry so much wisdom, as to have voluntarily relinquished a measure, which had brought the nation to the brink of ruin and bankruptcy. They likewise attacked the Secretary for the American Department: and laid wholly to his charge, the misfortune which had befallen Lord Cornwallis's army. Nor did the Minister for the Marine Department escape their animadversions, on account of the wretched state of the navy of Great Britain, which, most unfortunately for the nation, was inferior to that of her enemies, in every quarter of the globe. After very long debates, the motion for the address was carried, in the House of Lords by seventy-five to thirty-one, and in the House of Commons by two hundred and eighteen to one hundred and twenty-nine. The Minister was repeatedly pressed by his opponents in Parliament, to declare his intentions, as to the plan of carrying on the war on the continent of North America, after the severe losses already sustained in that country; but, these questions, he eluded with the greatest care, insinuating, that such a disclosure would be extremely impolitic, as the enemy could not fail to take immediate advantage of it. But, on the 12th of December, when the House of Commons was to vote the army supplies, the Minister was under a necessity of being more explicit, as the estimates for the sums then demanded must of course be

laid before the House. Whether it was owing to a conviction, that the system heretofore pursued for reducing the revolted colonies in America to obedience was improper, and inadequate to the attainment of its end; or whether the Minister had begun to perceive, that the nation in general was so averse to the prosecution of the American war, that an alteration of his plan was absolutely necessary to his continuing in office, we shall not pretend to say; but the majority of the Cabinet had determined to change their measures. On that day, the House of Commons was remarkably full; and Sir James Lowther, (afterwards Earl of Lonsdale), after reprobating the American war in the severest terms, made the following motions:—First, “To declare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America, had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his Majesty’s loyal subjects there, and of defeating the hostile intentions of our confederated enemies.” And secondly, “That it is the opinion of the House, that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies.” Mr. Powis, in a very eloquent speech, seconded Sir James Lowther’s motions, and very ably supported the propriety and necessity of them. When he sat down, Lord North rose, and said, “That he rose thus early in the debate, not from any desire to obtrude himself on the House, but because he presumed it was expected that some information should be given to the House, by some of the officers of the Crown, on the ground upon which the motion, that had been made and seconded, had been proposed. The Hon. Baronet who had opened the business had acted very candidly, in reading both the resolutions before he had moved either. The first, indeed, was so indisputably true, that no one could attempt to deny it: for it was beyond dispute, that our endeavours to protect our friends in America, had proved ineffectual. But as the first resolution was only introductory

“ to

“ to the second, he thought, that though the first was properly  
“ the only one before the House, yet, according to Parliamen-  
“ tary custom, he should be permitted to speak only to the  
“ second. He had no objection to speak out, and give as  
“ much satisfaction to the House, as it would be prudent for  
“ them to expect, or for him to give. If gentlemen thought it  
“ would be improper to continue an inland continental war in  
“ America, by marching armies through the colonies, as in the  
“ last unfortunate campaign, he was ready to say, that he did  
“ not think such a war ought to be carried on, in the present  
“ circumstances of our affairs. This opinion he ventured to  
“ express openly, for this reason, that it would convey no more  
“ intelligence to the enemy, than might have been collected  
“ from the estimates then lying on the table. These estimates,  
“ with very little alteration, were the same that had been voted  
“ last year; and as we had unfortunately lost an army since  
“ that period, and no estimate was proposed for raising another  
“ to supply its place, it was pretty obvious, that it was not the  
“ opinion of his Majesty’s Ministers, to prosecute such an of-  
“ fensive war as had been hitherto carried on. This much  
“ might be sufficiently collected from the estimates: and as the  
“ opinion he delivered did not convey any more intelligence,  
“ he made the less difficulty to deliver it to the House. The na-  
“ ture of our Government, he observed, was such, that the  
“ enemy must necessarily know more of our intentions, than if  
“ it was of a more arbitrary contexture. What, therefore, they  
“ must know, he could not help; but to let them know more,  
“ would be madness in the extreme.” He argued very strongly,  
that to disclose more than he had done would be extremely im-  
politic and absurd; and concluded that, in order to get rid of  
the motions, he would move for the order of the day.

The debate was carried on with great keenness: and some  
able speakers were against granting a shilling, unless the  
motions were agreed to, while others insinuated, that in  
the plan proposed by Administration for conducting the  
American war, the Cabinet were not unanimous. This



brought up Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State for the American Department. He argued strongly against the motions, as he thought, that if the House should agree to them, it would be equivalent to their agreeing to abandon the American war altogether, which he conceived to be a project equally weak, impracticable, and dangerous. He agreed fully with the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, (Lord North), that in the present situation of the war, it was advisable to change the mode of it: and to carry it on very differently from the manner in which it had hitherto been conducted, and which had turned out so unfortunately. In this opinion, all the King's servants were united, and they were not without hopes of meeting with better success than they had hitherto experienced. He spoke with great good sense against relinquishing the posts which we then held in North America; and declared, that he regarded the motion then before the House, as amounting to a resolution to abandon the American war altogether: and he made no scruple to avow, that if the House should come into it, he would immediately retire; for be the consequence what it might, he never would be the Minister, to sign any instrument which gave Independence to America. His opinion had ever been, and his opinion was, that the moment the House acknowledged the Independence of America, the British Empire was ruined. The debates continued with great ability until two o'clock in the morning of the 13th, when the House divided, and the numbers for the order of the day were two hundred and twenty; against it, one hundred and seventy-nine. The business of the Army Estimates was then, by agreement, adjourned to Friday the 14th, and the House rose immediately. Accordingly on the 14th, the House went on the business of the Army Estimates, and the Secretary at War went through the different articles; in the course of which, they received the very disagreeable intelligence, that although some of the battalions which wanted most men, had had their establishments reduced in numbers, they were not complete: that a great mortality had taken place among the troops in the West Indies, especially

especially at St. Lucia, where upwards of two thousand men had died in the course of last year: that the non-effectives in the army amounted to twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men; but that the pay for them would not be unapplied, as it would serve as a recruiting fund for the army: and that he was sorry to say, that the recruiting had not been successful the last year, it having fallen off both in numbers and in the quality of the men. This information awakened the debate anew concerning the American war. Some members in high offices under the Crown, expressed themselves against its continuance; said, that they believed that the Cabinet was not unanimous, and called on the Minister to inform the House whether it was so. Lord North would give no farther explanation of the measures intended than he had done on the 14th; and the Secretary for the American Department repeated what he had formerly said, as to the independence of America; affirmed that the system of the war was to undergo a change, and that in that opinion he had concurred with the rest of the Cabinet, so that the servants of the Crown were unanimous. At eleven o'clock, the House again divided, when the Minister carried his point by one hundred and sixty-six to eighty-four, and the estimates were accordingly voted.\* When the Navy Estimates for this year came before the House of Commons, Administration proposed to employ one hundred thousand seamen, including the marine forces: but a member in opposition proposed, by way of amendment, that the number to be employed should be one hundred and ten thousand. This, although calculated to strengthen the hands of Government, was not agreed to by the Ministry, who adhered to their own proposal. In defence of it they urged, that the number of seamen they now proposed to employ exceeded the number voted last year by ten thousand; but that owing to the great losses which the navy had then sustained, the ships of the line presently in commission, were six fewer than they were at that time. This disagreeable piece of information, exposed those who had the direction of the

naval affairs to a most severe animadversion on their conduct : and, when the supplies were moved for, an amendment was proposed, which implied a censure ; but it was rejected by one hundred and forty-three to seventy-seven. A few days after that, the Parliament adjourned to the 20th of January.

During the recess, a partial change in Administration took place. From the manner in which the Ministry had determined to carry on the American war, a new Minister became necessary. Lord George Germaine was therefore advanced to a British Peerage, by the title of Viscount Sackville. Welbore Ellis, Esq; succeeded him as Secretary of State for the American Department ; and Lieutenant-General Sir Guy Carleton, K. B., succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, as Commander in Chief of the army in America. By the first remove, unanimity was once more restored to the Cabinet, and it was thought that the Ministry would have stood their ground. But from what had passed during this session in Parliament respecting the American war, a very strong party against it, was now formed in the kingdom ; and the condition of the navy and army, did not afford any prospect of affairs becoming more prosperous. It was accordingly soon perceived, that the Ministry were losing ground ; and, when the Parliament met, opposition availed themselves of this turn of the people in their favour, by following up their point, until a total change of Administration was accomplished. The first important step that they took, was to attack the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty : and the Hon. Mr. Fox having moved and obtained leave for making an inquiry into the state of the navy, and the reasons of the ill success of the war, the House resolved to go into that business on the 24th. On that day, Mr. Fox proceeded on the business accordingly, and concluded by moving—" That it be referred to a Committee, to inquire " into the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval " forces during this war, particularly in the year 1781." A long debate ensued. The Members of Administration lamented, that the mover of the inquiry had narrowed his motion so much,



much, as they were convinced, that the more the noble Earl's conduct, as Marine Minister, was inquired into, the more it would redound to his honour. In the course of the debate, the following particulars came out relative to the French navy, which displayed, on the part of that nation, a celerity in naval equipments, to which Britain was then an utter stranger. *The keel of the Couronne, an eighty gun ship, that was under M. de Guichen, in the fleet which Admiral Kempenfelt fell in with,† was laid only on the 17th of May last : and a still stronger instance stated was, that of the Pegasus, a seventy-four gun ship in the same fleet, the keel of which was laid, and the ship fitted out and at sea, in three months and five days.* The member, who gave this information, complained much of a great want of artificers in our dock-yards ; and said, that at Brest, the French had three thousand shipwrights : whereas at Portsmouth, our principal dock-yard, we had only eight hundred, including apprentices. On account of Mr. Fox moving for a number of papers, the debate was adjourned, first to the 29th of January, and finally to the 7th of February ; on which day the House was uncommonly throng. As soon as the Committee of the whole House was formed, the clerks, one relieving the other, read through all the papers that had at various times been moved for by Mr. Fox, and laid on the table by Lord Mulgrave, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. When this was done, Mr. Fox rose, and made one of the ablest speeches, perhaps, ever heard in the House of Commons. He commented on the different papers for which he had moved ; from them, drew most forcible arguments to prove, that the First Lord of the Admiralty was guilty of what he had laid to his charge, and concluded with moving the following resolution :—*That it appears to this Committee, that there was gross mismanagement in the administration of naval affairs, in the year 1781.* Lord Mulgrave undertook the defence of his noble friend, the First Lord of the Admiralty ; and in better hands it could not have been placed : for, with great ability, discernment, and much pro-

E E 4. . . . . fessional

† On the 12th of December, 1781.

professional knowledge, he followed Mr. Fox through all his arguments, in several of them confuted him, and in others gave such reasons and explanations, that the Committee, after hearing the opinion of several members on both sides of the question, came to a division at half past two o'clock in the morning of the 8th, when there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion, one hundred and eighty-three; against it, two hundred and five: so that the majority in favour of Lord Sandwich's administration was twenty-two. This majority was so small, when compared to those by which the Ministry had been accustomed to carry their points, that it was far from discouraging the opposition, from proceeding in the plan which they had resolved to pursue. Indeed, the same question was again agitated under another form, when the Extraordinaries of the Navy came to be voted by the House, and a very long debate ensued; after which, it was carried by nineteen in favour of Lord Sandwich: there being two hundred and thirty-six for him, and two hundred and seventeen against him. When that matter was decided, General Conway gave notice of his intention of moving a question on the American war, on Friday the 22d of February, in order to get from Ministers some information, of what they intended to do, respecting that very important business, during the ensuing campaign. This the General performed in a very masterly manner; and concluded by moving the House, to present an humble address to his Majesty, earnestly imploring him to put an end to the war on the continent of America. The motion was seconded by Lord John Cavendish: and a long and well supported debate, in which very great ability was displayed on both sides, took place. At two o'clock in the morning, the House divided, when there appeared for the motion one hundred and ninety-three; against it, one hundred and ninety-four, exclusive of the two tellers on each side: so that General Conway's motion was lost by a majority of one vote only. Such an important question, carried by so small a majority as one vote, was regarded as a victory by opposition: and General Conway gave notice, that on the

27th,

27th, he would trouble the House with a motion, as near to that of the 22d, as Parliamentary rules would admit. In the mean time, (25th) Lord North brought forward the Budget; and the supplies granted by Parliament for the year 1782, amounted to the enormous sum of 24,261,477l. 11s. 1d., including a vote of credit of 1,000,000l.\*

When the House of Commons met, on the 27th of February, Mr. Alderman Newnham presented a petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London. Like the petition from Bristol, it prayed for a cessation of the American war. Mr. Newnham said, that as the business to which the prayer of the petition related was to come on that day, he should not trouble the House with any remarks either upon its form, or its purport. General Conway then rose, and began by moving, that the petition from the city of London to the House be read. When this was done, he once more exerted his eloquence, to convince the House, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to an offensive war in America: and having done that in a very able manner, he concluded by moving, in the form of a declaratory resolution of the House—“That it is the opinion of this House, that the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests of both Great Britain and America; and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity.” The motion was seconded by Lord Viscount Althorpe, and a warm debate ensued, which lasted until half past one, when the House divided on the question of adjournment. There appeared for it, two hundred and fifteen; and against it, two hundred and thirty-four: so that there was a majority

\* See Note 272.



majority of nineteen against the Ministry. The main question was then put and carried : and a motion was immediately made, to carry up the resolution which the House had voted, in an address to the King, to be presented by the whole House. This was accordingly done ; and his Majesty was pleased to return the following answer :

*“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ There are no objects nearer to my heart, than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people.

“ You may be assured, that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures, as shall appear to me to be the most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both ; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, till such peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interests, and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.”

On the 8th of March, Lord John Cavendish moved for several resolutions in the House of Commons, which, if they had been carried, would have implied very severe censure on the Ministry : but after a long debate, they were rejected by a majority of ten. On the 15th of March, another very violent attack was made on the Ministry, in the House of Commons, by Sir John Rous, who moved the House to declare, that they could have no farther confidence in the Ministers who have the direction of public affairs. This brought on a long and interesting debate, in which the conduct of Administration was most severely handled. Lord North made a speech in defence of himself, since he had been Minister, which was one of the ablest ever heard in the House : and a little before one o'clock the House divided, when there appeared for Sir John Rous's motion, two hundred and twenty-seven ; against it, two hundred and thirty-six : majority in favour of the Ministry, nine. So small a majority, only encouraged the opposition to proceed in their endeavours to remove the Ministers from their places :

places : and notice was immediately given, that the same question would be again agitated on the 20th. On that day there appeared in the House, the greatest number of members since the beginning of the session, or perhaps during the present reign : and the crowds of spectators were proportionally great. At a quarter after four o'clock, the Speaker called to the members to take their places. Lord North then rose, and at the same time the Earl of Surrey, who was to have made the motion, stood up likewise. The Speaker pointed to Lord North, but a cry from the opposition side of the House for the Earl of Surrey to speak first, occasioned an irregular debate on the question who should be first heard : and after much altercation, it was agreed, that the following question be put, *that the Earl of Surrey speak first ?* Lord North then got up and said, that he rose to speak to that question ; and urged in very forcible terms, that there would be no occasion for the Earl of Surrey to make his motion, as the intention of it was already answered. He affirmed, that he could with some degree of authority assure the House, that his Majesty had come to the full determination to change his Ministers ; and added, that he could pledge himself to the House, that his Majesty's Ministry was at an end. Before, however, he took leave of his situation entirely, he felt himself bound to return his most grateful thanks to the House, for the very kind, the repeated, and the essential support, which he had for so many years received from the Commons of England, during his holding a situation, to which he must confess he had at all times been unequal. And it was, he said, the more incumbent on him to return his thanks in that place, because it was that House which made him what he had been. His conduct within those walls, first made him known, and it had been in consequence of the part he had taken within that House, that he became recommended to his Sovereign. He thanked the House, therefore, for their partiality to him, on all, and (he would use the phrase) for their forbearance on many occasions. Certainly, he could not be pleased, with their not thinking him any longer worthy of the confidence of  
Parliament,

Parliament, nor with their wishing to vote his removal: but their general support of him, through a service of many years continuance, claimed his fullest acknowledgments and his warmest gratitude; and he ever should hold it in his memory, as the chief honour of his life, to have been so supported. A successor of greater abilities, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation, was easy to be found: a successor more zealous for the interests of his country, more loyal to his Sovereign, and more desirous of preserving the constitution whole and entire, he might be allowed to say, could not so easily be found. The Crown had resolved to chuse new Ministers, and he hoped to God, whoever those Ministers might be, that they would take such measures, as should tend effectually to extricate the country from its present difficulties, and to render us happy and prosperous at home, successful and secure abroad. Having said so much, his Lordship declared, that unless the motion of the noble Lord was different from what he supposed it to be; and imagining, that it did not go to any new point, or aim at more than the bare removal of Ministers, he saw no reason for putting it. He therefore moved for an adjournment. This was objected to by severals: but Lord John Cavendish agreeing to it in the handsomest manner, and it appearing to be the general sense of the House, an adjournment to the 25th was agreed to; and if the change mentioned by Lord North had not by that time taken place in the fullest extent, the Earl of Surrey was then to make his motion.

A complete change in all the Departments of the State was now effected, and the new arrangements were as follow: Charles Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, George John Viscount Althorpe, James Grenville and Frederick Montagu, Esqrs., Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, in room of Lord North, Lord Westcote, Viscount Palmerston, Sir Richard Sutton, Baronet, and John Buller sen. Esquire.

Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, in room of Lord North; Charles Lord Camden,



den, Lord President of the Council, in room of Earl Bathurst.

Augustus Henry Duke of Grafton, Lord Privy Seal, in room of the Earl of Dartmouth.

William Earl of Shelburne and the Hon. Charles James Fox, Principal Secretaries of State, in room of the Earl of Hillsborough and Viscount Stormont.

The Hon. Augustus Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the Red; Hugh Pigot, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Red; William Viscount Duncannon, the Hon. John Townshend, Charles Brett, and Richard Hopkins, Esquires, Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and dominions, islands, and territories thereunto respectively belonging, in room of John Earl of Sandwich, Wilmot Earl of Lisburne, Henry Penton, Esq; Constantine John Lord Mulgrave, Bamber Gascoigne, Esq; the Hon. Charles Fulke Greville, and George Darby, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the White.

Isaac Barré, Esq; Treasurer of the Navy, vacant, but lately held by Welbore Ellis, Esq.

Edmund Burke, Esq; Paymaster General of the Land-Forces, in room of Richard Rigby, Esq.

General the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces, in room of Jeffrey Lord Amherst.

Charles Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, in room of George Viscount Townshend.

Thomas Townshend, Esq; Secretary at War, in room of Charles Jenkinson, Esq.

In the Law Department, Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, remained in office. Lloyd Kenyon, Esq; Attorney General, in room of James Wallace, Esq; : and John Lee, Esq; Solicitor General, in the room of James Mansfield, Esq.

William Henry Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in room of the Earl of Carlisle.

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, Commander in Chief in Ireland, in room of Lieutenant-General Sir John Irwin, K. B.

Mr. Dunning and Sir Fletcher Norton were made Barons of Great

Great Britain; and the former was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in room of the Earl of Clarendon.

Admiral Keppel and Lord Viscount Howe were raised to the dignity of Viscounts of Great Britain; and the latter appointed to command the grand fleet.

His Majesty was pleased to order the following promotion of Flag-officers, April 8th, 1782:

Admirals of the Blue,	{	Sir James Douglas Knt. - - - - -	}	To be Admirals of the White.
		George Lord Viscount Mount Edgumbe,		
		Samuel Graves, Esq; - - - - -		
		Honourable Augustus Keppel, - - - - -		
		H. R. H. Henry Fred. Duke of Cumberland,		
Vice-Adms. of the Red.	{	Clark Gayton, Esq; - - - - -	}	To be Admirals of the Blue.
		John Montagu, Esq; - - - - -		
		Sir Robert Harland, Bart. - - - - -		
		Richard Lord Viscount Howe, - - - - -		

April 24, 1782.

Ditto, - - - Hugh Pigot, Esq; - - - - - Ditto.

The officers of his Majesty's household were likewise almost completely changed; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, which happened on the first of July, occasioned another change of Administration, when the following arrangement took place.

William Earl of Shelburne, K. G., the Hon. William Pitt, James Grenville, Richard Jackson, and Edward James Elliot, Esqrs., Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer, in room of the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Viscount Althorpe, and Frederick Montagu, Esq.

The Hon. William Pitt to be Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, in room of Lord John Cavendish.

Thomas Townshend, Esq; and Thomas Lord Grantham, Principal Secretaries of State, in room of the Earl of Shelburne and the Hon. Charles James Fox.

Augustus Viscount Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Baronet, Hugh Pigot, Esq; Admirals of the Blue; Charles Brett, Richard Hopkins, Esqrs.; the Hon. John Jeffries Pratt, and John Aubrey, Esq; Commissioners for executing the office of  
Lord

Lord High Admiral, &c. in room of Lord Viscount Duncannon and the Hon. John Townshend.

Sir George Yonge, Bart. Secretary at War, in room of Thomas Townshend, Esq.

Isaac Barré, Esq; Paymaster General of the Land-Forces, in room of Edmund Burke, Esq.

Henry Dundas, Esq; Treasurer of the Navy, in room of Isaac Barré, Esq.

The Earl Temple, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in room of the Duke of Portland.

On the 11th of July, the King put an end to the Session of Parliament: and from what his Majesty then said, it could be gathered, that endeavours to bring about a peace had been tried. It came out afterwards, that during the short time that the Marquis of Rockingham's administration lasted, endeavours had been used to accommodate matters with the Dutch, and to get them to withdraw from the alliance of France and Spain; but that the French faction at the Court of the Hague had proved too powerful, and that the proposal had accordingly been rejected.

An act of Parliament passed on the 3d of May, which was of very great importance to the commercial part of this nation. This was an act, to prohibit the ransoming of ships or vessels captured from his Majesty's subjects, and of the merchandize or goods on board such ships or vessels. This act inflicts a penalty of 500l. upon any person who shall, after June 1, 1782, enter upon any contract or agreement, for ransoming any ship or vessel; or any merchandize or goods on board any vessel taken by the enemy, to be recovered, with full costs of suit, by any person who shall sue for the same, in any of the Courts of Record at Westminster. All contracts and agreements entered into, and bills, notes, &c. granted for the ransom of any ship, or vessel, or goods, are declared void.

Very great attention was paid by Administration to the trade of the kingdom to and from the East and West Indies: and to the stationing fleets along the coasts of Great Britain  
and



Ireland,\* for the protection of the coasting trade. It was the intention of Government to have dispatched Sir George Rodney, with a strong reinforcement of ships, to the fleet at the Leeward Islands; but contrary winds detained him so long in Torbay, that it was the 14th of January before he sailed.† Single ships of the line had, at different times, been sent to that quarter, which, added to the ships of the line escorting the trade to the Leeward Islands, and to the fleet ordered thither from North America under Sir Samuel Hood, would, it was hoped, after having formed a junction, give a decided superiority to the navy of Britain over the fleet of France in these seas, and afford ample protection to her islands. A reinforcement of six ships of the line,‡ was sent to the East Indies, under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. Fortunately, when off the coast of Portugal, he received information of a strong fleet of French and Spanish ships of war, being stationed near the island of Madeira to intercept him; on which he shaped his course considerably more to the westward, and by these means escaped their vigilance.

Early in the month of May, Admiral Hugh Pigot was detached, in the *Jupiter* of fifty guns, to take the command of his Majesty's fleet at the Leeward Islands. He was the particular friend of the then Administration. This appointment made a great noise, because it recalled Admiral Rodney, whose bravery and success had rendered him extremely popular, and to whom no blame was imputed.

Fleets were occasionally sent out to watch the motions of the French and Dutch; and were lucky enough, to prevent the latter from joining their naval force with that of France and Spain. Their success in this respect, occasioned great blame to be thrown on the Prince Stadtholder, who was greatly suspected by the French faction in Holland, of being secretly the friend of Great Britain. The operations of these fleets shall be afterwards related.

Sir Edward Hughes wishing to come home from the East Indies,

\* See Note 273.

† See Note 274.

‡ See Note 275.

Indies, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Bart., was sent out in the *Cato* of fifty guns, to assume the command of his Majesty's fleet there; but that unfortunate ship was never heard of more. A little prior to the Admiral's sailing, four sail of the line and a frigate were detached to the East Indies;\* but three sail of the line and the frigate were so disabled by a hard gale of wind in crossing the Bay of Biscay, that they were obliged to return. Rear-Admiral Gambier was appointed to command on the Newfoundland station; but on the change of Administration he was superseded, and that command was conferred on Vice-Admiral Campbell. A subscription was set on foot in the county of Suffolk, by William Middleton, Esq; the High Sheriff, to which many persons of distinction contributed liberally, for building a ship of seventy-four guns, to be presented to his Majesty. Every thing relating to this noble offer was nearly concluded, when a general peace took place, and it became no longer necessary. As a convincing proof that public spirit was not extinct, Sir James Lowther, Bart. (afterwards Earl of Lonsdale), offered to build for his Majesty's service, a ship of seventy-four guns at his own expence. The King accepted this benevolent offer; but the peace being soon after concluded, it became unnecessary to proceed in the business.†

#### WEST INDIES.—LEEWARD ISLAND STATION.

THE Comte de Grasse did not remain long in the Chesapeake, after the surrender of York town; but re-embarked the troops he had landed from the fleet, and proceeded with a very powerful squadron to the West Indies. Part of this squadron he detached to Hispaniola, to escort the French trade to Europe; and, with the remainder, proceeded to the island of Martinico,

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where

\* See Note 276.

† The Parliament of Ireland this year, voted twenty thousand seamen to assist Great Britain in carrying on the war.

where he arrived on the 26th of November. He expected to find there, a reinforcement of twelve sail of the line, and a large body of land-forces, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, of which the French Ministry had assured him. With these, the Comte, and the Marquis de Bouillé, had no doubt of reducing all the British Caribbee Islands to the obedience of France. This expected reinforcement was happily intercepted by the gallant Admiral Kempenfelt; but before the news of this disaster arrived, the French Commanders had resolved to proceed with the land and sea forces which they already had, having previously obtained an exact account of the military strength, at each of the British islands.

Rear-Admiral Hood, suspecting that the Comte de Grasse would speedily return from the Chesapeake to the West Indies, got his squadron in the best possible condition; left Sandy Hook on the 11th of November, with seventeen sail of the line, and two frigates, and arrived at the island of Barbadoes on the 5th of December, where he found his Majesty's ship St. Albans of sixty-four guns. He put to sea with his whole squadron on the 14th, having received intelligence, that the French fleet had sailed from Fort Royal Bay in Martinico, and had been seen standing to the northward. It was afterwards learned, that the enemy had put to sea, with a design to attack the island of Barbadoes, not having heard of Admiral Hood's arrival; but they were prevented from getting so far to windward by strong easterly winds, on which they changed their resolution, and steered for the island of St. Christopher's. Rear-Admiral Hood bent his course with a press of sail for Antigua, and anchored in St. John's road, in that island, in the afternoon of the 21st, having been that day joined by the Prudent of sixty-four, as he had been on the 15th by the Russell of seventy-four guns. Here he got certain information, that the enemy had made an attack on the island of St. Christopher's; but could obtain no accounts on which he could rely, of their land and sea force. Having embarked General Robert Prescott, and a body of land-forces, which he put on board of the frigates,  
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he failed again in the afternoon of the 22d, with twenty-two sail of the line, and was close off the south-east end of Nevis at day-break of the 23d. He then ordered the squadron to be formed in order of battle, with a design of attacking the enemy at anchor, if he should see that it could be done to any advantage; but the signal for forming the fleet in the line ahead was no sooner hoisted, than Rear-Admiral Drake made that for speaking with the Commander in Chief, and brought to. Admiral Hood did the same, and was soon informed, that he only repeated the signal of the *Alfred* in the rear, and that that ship had run on board of the *Nymph* frigate in the night, and had almost cut her asunder. By the report made to Rear-Admiral Hood, both ships had received so much damage, as to be unable to keep the sea. He accordingly ordered a survey of them to be taken, and was glad to find, that matters were not so bad as they had been represented; for on inspection, it was found, that the *Alfred* could be put in a state for present service, in the course of the day and following night; but that the *Nymph* could not. He therefore ordered the troops in her, to be put on board of another frigate, and dispatched her to English Harbour in Antigua, where she arrived safe. This misfortune to the *Alfred*, at this critical time, was extremely inconvenient. It obliged the Admiral to bring the fleet to for the whole day, to remove her from being the leading ship, into the centre of his line, and to put the *St. Albans* in her place. In the morning, the look-out frigate had the good fortune to fall in with and to take a very large cutter, called *l'Espion*, belonging to the King of France. She mounted sixteen six pounders, and was commanded by a Knight of Malta. She had come from Martinico about thirty hours before, and was full of shells and other ordnance stores. This capture was severely felt by the enemy. In the afternoon, the *Comte de Grasse* quitted Basseterre road, and kept a few miles to leeward of the British fleet during the night.

At day-break on the 25th, the enemy were discovered to leeward, on the larboard tack, standing to the southward, in a

line of battle ahead. They consisted of one ship of three-decks, and twenty-eight of two-decks, in a line, and two frigates. Rear-Admiral Hood manœuvred with his fleet in such a manner, as to give the enemy every reason to believe that he designed to attack them. This suspicion drew their fleet farther from the shore, and gave the British Admiral an opportunity of executing a most masterly piece of seamanship, in which he displayed great courage and good conduct. The enemy being at some distance from Basseterre road, the British Admiral made a push to occupy the anchoring ground which they had quitted, and was so lucky as to succeed. This bold achievement, equally mortifying and astonishing to the French, was the only chance which he had of saving the island. The Comte de Grasse soon perceived his error; and with his whole squadron, crowded after, and endeavoured to cut off the rear of the British fleet, which consisted of the *Russell*, *Resolution*, *Bedford*, *Canada*, *Prudent*, and *Montagu*. Accordingly, about half past two o'clock, he made a most furious attack upon these vessels, but was received with such cool and intrepid valour, that notwithstanding his great superiority, after persisting near three hours in the engagement, he was compelled to draw off, and stand to the southward. It was three o'clock, before the leading ship of the British line anchored off Saltpond Bay, and the rest of the fleet anchored in succession. Never was a better or a warmer cannonade kept up than that done by the British ships that were engaged. Their Captains gained immortal honour in repulsing such a formidable fleet. The loss and damages sustained by the engaged ships were but trifling. The *Prudent* had the misfortune to have her wheel shot to pieces by the first broadside, which occasioned her loss to exceed that of any other ship. The most material loss sustained in this action, was that of the *Solebay* frigate, repeater to the rear division, which got aground off the Point of Nevis; and in that situation was attacked by two frigates. Captain Everitt, finding it impossible to get her off, landed his people on Nevis, without any loss; and, to prevent the ship  
from

from falling into the enemy's hands, set her on fire. She blew up in an hour afterwards.

During the night, several ships altered their position : and the Bedford having driven off the bank, the Admiral ordered her into the van. At day-light on the 26th, the French fleet were discerned off Nevis Point, forming their line. About eight o'clock, they stood towards the British fleet, a little after nine began their attack on the van, and continued it along the whole line, veering after they had passed the sternmost ship, and then stood to the southward. This attack lasted fully two hours, but made not the least impression on the fleet. At one o'clock, the enemy tacked, and once more stood towards the British fleet, on which, at fifty-three minutes past two, they began to fire on the centre, proceeded on to the rear, and veered in succession as before. This second attack was attended with as little success as the first ; but the enemy suffered very much from the tremendous fire which was kept up on them, and retired to a respectful distance, where they came to an anchor. Here the *Ville de Paris*, the *Comte de Grasse's* ship, was observed to be on the heel all the next day, covering her shot holes.

Hitherto, the Admiral had the most flattering hopes that he should be able to succour the island, as the letters which he received at this time from Governor Shirley, who had retired with what forces he had with him to Brimstone Hill, gave him the strongest assurances that he was in the most perfect security. Perhaps the enemy, notwithstanding the great force with which the place was assailed, might have been foiled, if the Council and Assembly of the island had done their duty with fidelity. But, so shamefully culpable was their negligence, that though his Majesty had been graciously pleased to send them a large supply of fine brass cannon and mortars,† with

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† Twelve brass 24 pounders and two 13 inch mortars, with proper carriages and beds ; 1500 shells, and 6000 twenty-four pound shot. In the beginning of the year 1781, Sir George Rodney had urged the Council to place the cannon, &c. in the fort.



a proportional quantity of shot, for the defence of their island; and though these had been landed several months ago, by orders of Major-General Grant, with instructions to have them mounted on the fortrefs of Brimstone Hill, they were suffered to remain uselefs at the foot of the hill. Carelessly left in this situation, they fell into the hands of the Marquis de Bouillé, and proved an inexpressibly great acquisition to him, as they afforded him the means of becoming master of the place.

When Rear-Admiral Hood first made his appearance before St. Christopher's, the enemy had not environed Brimstone Hill so closely, but that an officer from him, and another from General Prescott, found means to get into the fort, and to hold a long consultation with Governor Shirley and Brigadier-General Thomas Fraser. They acquainted them, that General Prescott had brought with him the 28th regiment, and two companies of the 13th regiment, from Antigua, to their aid. General Fraser, at that time, thought the place so strong, that with the troops which he had, he hoped to be able to defend it, until the arrival of the naval reinforcements from England, when the enemy must abandon the enterprize.

The Admiral, upon receiving this intelligence from General Fraser, proposed to General Prescott, that he should take post on shore in the vicinity of Basseterre, and offered for this purpose to land two battalions of marines, consisting of seven hundred men each, together with the 69th regiment then on board the fleet. This reinforcement, joined to the troops which General Prescott had brought with him, would have made a body of two thousand four hundred men. The General, however, was of opinion, that it was not practicable to maintain a post; but was sanguine in his wishes to be put on shore, with the troops which he had brought from Antigua, and the 69th regiment. They were accordingly landed on the twenty-eighth: Brigadier-General Philip Skene landing with the 69th regiment. They immediately got into action with the corps which the Marquis de Bouillé had left at Basseterre, and obliged it to retreat with considerable loss. General Prescott took post on a hill immediately to the east of Frigate Bay:

Bay: and early next morning, (29th) the Marquis de Bouillé appeared at the head of upwards of four thousand men, reconnoitred the position of the British troops, but finding them too strongly posted, led his men back to his encampment in the environs of Brimstone Hill. He had now completely invested the fort on this hill, so that all communication between the fleet and it was completely cut off. This being the situation of things, the troops on shore could be of no use in saving the island. They were therefore re-embarked on the evening of the 29th: and in a day or two after, the land-forces brought from Antigua were put on board the *Fortunée* and *Convert* frigates, and with General Prescott, sailed to that island.

On the 30th, at half past nine in the morning, the French squadron, consisting of thirty-one sail of the line, stood toward the British fleet, seemingly with an intention to drive it from its anchoring ground: but a little before they came within reach of the shot, they altered their plan, and stood off towards Nevis, where they remained till the 7th of February. On that day, they once more approached the British fleet, but did not venture to attack them, and retired again towards Nevis. Here we shall leave them for a little, and take a view of the operations carrying on against Brimstone Hill.

On the 9th of January, the French squadron and transports appeared off Basseterre road, and came to an anchor there on the 11th. Governor Shirley and Brigadier-General Fraser, being unable to resist or prevent the landing of so great a force, immediately retired, with what troops they had, to the fort on Brimstone Hill. The enemy landed about eight thousand men in the course of the day, and in the account which they published of their proceedings, they said—" *that the fleet was hardly anchored in Basseterre road, when the principal people of the island came in deputation, and promised not to take up arms, and not to commit any act of hostility.*" The garrison of St. Christopher's consisted of the first battalion of the first or royal regiment of foot, much reduced in point of numbers; the flank companies of the 15th regiment; a detachment of the royal artillery; and a small corps of militia, which Governor

Shirley brought with him from Basseterre, making in all a body of one thousand two hundred men. The Marquis de Bouillé lost no time in marching against the fort, and by the 12th had it nearly invested, his right wing extending to the town of Sandy Point, and his left to Godwin's Gut. The enemy immediately advanced their piquets within five hundred yards of Brimstone Hill, to cut off the communication of the garrison with the country. They likewise established posts at Basseterre, and at the town of Old Road, and neglected no precaution to prevent succour from being thrown into the place.

Generals Shirley and Frazer did every thing in their power to make a gallant resistance, in hopes of being able to defend the place, until Sir George Rodney, with the long expected reinforcements from England, should arrive, as they well knew, that a superiority of naval force was the only thing that would oblige the enemy to raise the siege. The ground which the garrison occupied was about two hundred yards in diameter, but remarkably strong by nature, so that when they took post on Brimstone Hill they were proof against an attack by assault; but the fortifications were very old, in a ruinous state, and by no means able to hold long out, against a regular attack with mortars and heavy cannon.

On the night of the 16th, the enemy broke ground at Sommerfall's estate, distant five hundred yards from the fort, on the north-west side; and at Rawlin's estate on the Old Road side, and in the morning of the 19th, opened a battery of six mortars from Rawlin's. From that day they kept increasing their fire by opening new batteries; and during the last three weeks of the siege, they kept a constant fire, night and day, from cannon and mortars, which made a very powerful impression on the works. Early in the siege, every cover on the hill, the store containing all the rum, the arsenal and artillery store, and a part of the provision store, were consumed, or destroyed by the fire from the enemy's batteries. In the latter part of the siege, almost all the guns were either dismounted or disabled, and several large breaches were made in the works on  
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the north-west side of the fort. The garrison severely felt the want of intrenching tools, which put it entirely out of their power, either to repair the works which were damaged, or to make intrenchments which were absolutely necessary, if, on seeing the ruinous condition of the place, the enemy had attempted to carry it by assault. On the 8th, signals were made in the night from the fort, to inform the fleet that the enemy's batteries had been successful in damaging the works and buildings, and that the garrison was much reduced, and short of ordnance stores. Rear-Admiral Hood did all he could to convey intelligence to his distressed friends, by repeatedly sending officers well acquainted with the country and place, in hopes that they would be able to elude the enemy's vigilance, and reach the fort. Unfortunately, however, all his endeavours proved ineffectual. The French were everywhere on their guard and extremely alert. Accordingly, after a siege of five weeks, thirty-four days of which had elapsed, since the enemy's batteries began to play against the place, and during the greatest part of which time, they had battered it with twenty-four mortars and twenty-three pieces of heavy cannon, the garrison of Brimstone Hill fort was obliged to capitulate. The militia in garrison became tired of the service,\* and the decrease of the regular troops by killed, wounded, and sickness, was very great. The duty in the fort became therefore very severe: and towards the close of the siege, every man able to do duty was obliged to be under arms all the night, lest the enemy should storm the place. This harrassed and fatigued the men in so great a degree, that the Generals Shirley and Fraser, thought that they should be wanting in humanity to their brave soldiers, who had behaved so long with such fidelity and courage, if they should subject them to all the horrors of an assault, which, from the superior numbers of the enemy, and the ruinous condition of the place, could not fail to succeed. They therefore proposed a cessation of arms on the 12th of February, for adjusting the terms of capitulation, which was soon done, as the

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\* See Note 277.

Marquis de Bouillé did not impose hard terms on the soldiers of a garrison, who had acquitted themselves so well, and who had suffered so much. His generosity was equal to his politeness; and in the terms granted, he paid a great compliment to Governor Shirley and General Frazer, by exempting them from becoming prisoners of war.† General Frazer, in his public letter, expresses himself concerning his garrison in the following manner: “Notwithstanding the event has proved  
 “unfortunate, I should be wanting in doing justice to the  
 “troops under my command, if I concluded without saying,  
 “that both officers and soldiers deserve the highest commendation: under a constant fire of shot and shells, night and day,  
 “(that I doubt has in any instance ever been exceeded), the  
 “officers shewed a constant and universal cheerfulness, and, by  
 “their example, the soldiers bore the greatest fatigue with a  
 “firmness that deserves my warmest acknowledgments.”

The capitulation being signed on the 13th of February at eight in the morning, and the fort put in possession of the enemy, the garrison, consisting of seven hundred and fifty regulars and three hundred militia, evacuated the place, marching through the breach with the honours of war, after which they laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war.‡ Of this misfortune, Rear-Admiral Hood obtained no intelligence, until the evening of the 13th, when Captain Robertson of the 15th regiment came on board of the *Barfleur*, inquiring for General Prescott, for whom he was charged with letters from Governor Shirley and General Frazer; and from him he learned all the particulars. On the 14th, the enemy's fleet anchored off Nevis, and consisted of thirty-three sail of the line, the *Triumphant* and *Brave* having joined them from Europe. The disagreeable posture of affairs, in which the surrender of the island involved Admiral Hood, made his situation extremely critical. A superior naval force hemmed him in from the sea; and

† The reader will find the articles of capitulation, and the various returns relating to the garrison, in the Appendix. See Note 278.

‡ See Note 279.

and the Marquis de Bouillé, having no enemies on shore to oppose, was preparing to get both cannon and mortars upon a height, from which they could greatly annoy the van of the British fleet. As the presence of the fleet could be of no farther use at St. Christopher's, he therefore determined to leave the road of Basseterre that evening. As matters now stood, he knew that it was of the utmost importance to the King's service, that he should endeavour to form a junction with Sir George Rodney as soon as possible, and to carry the squadron under his command to him in as perfect a state as possible. He therefore gave the necessary orders to every Captain, to cut his cable, to have his ship under sail as nearly as he could at the same moment with the rest, and to keep in a compact body. This was done exactly at ten o'clock at night on the 14th: and, with such expedition and secrecy was this retreat conducted, that the enemy, although only five miles distant, knew nothing of it until day-break next morning, when not a ship of the British squadron was to be seen. They arrived on the 19th, after sun-set, in St. John's road in Antigua, and sailed for Barbadoes on the 22d, in quest of Sir George Rodney, and to get a supply of water. In the morning of the same day, the French squadron, with the Marquis de Bouillé on board, and near fifty sail of brigs, sloops, and schooners, with troops, sailed from St. Christopher's on their return to Martinico, and in the afternoon of that day, came off the island of Montserrat, which surrendered to them at the first summons.\*

While Sir Samuel Hood was at Antigua, he received advice, that a squadron of French frigates,† under the Count de Kerfaint, had arrived on the coast of Demerary, in the night between the 29th and 30th of January, and had landed about two hundred and fifty troops, under the Chevalier d'Alais, in order to attack the fort. When they were on their march, M. de Kerfaint entered the river, and grounded on the flats several times, but having surmounted these difficulties, got up to the fort.

\* See Note 280. † See Note 281.



fort. On his appearance, the troops in it abandoned it, got on board of their ships and vessels, and ran up the river. The French Commodore took possession of the fort; and on the 31st, went up the river with his ships, in pursuit of the British. On the 1st of February, he received a message in the name of the Governor, and Captain Tahourdin, offering to surrender, asking the same terms formerly granted by Sir George Rodney, and desiring to be sent on their parole, with their effects and domestics, to Barbadoes. On the 5th, the French made themselves masters of Issequibo, and a few days after of Berbice. On this occasion, the enemy took at Demerary, five sloops of war and a small armed vessel, belonging to his Majesty, and thirteen merchant ships, several mounting twenty and twenty-four guns. They made about four hundred men prisoners, and found about eighty pieces of cannon.†

Sir George Rodney arrived at Barbadoes with twelve ships of the line on the 19th of February; and soon after that, formed a junction with Rear-Admiral Hood off Antigua, and with the other ships sent from England at St. Lucia, where he completed the water and provisions of his fleet. Having put his ships in the best condition possible, he kept them in readiness to push out after the enemy, if they should venture to leave Fort Royal Bay, Martinico: and had some of his fastest sailing frigates, constantly cruising off that place, to give him early intelligence of their motions.

The Ministers of France and Spain having concerted a joint expedition against the island of Jamaica, Admiral Comte de Grasse and M. de Bouillé had, for this purpose, about the beginning of April, collected the whole French force at the island of Martinico. The fleet consisted of thirty-three line of battle ships, and two of fifty guns. In these ships a large body of troops was embarked, accompanied with a train of heavy cannon, and every other thing requisite for accomplishing the reduction of an island of so much importance. In forming an idea of the number of the ships and vessels which composed this fleet,

† See Note 282.

fleet, the artillery and ammunition vessels, those destined to carry the baggage and tent equipage, and the trade for Hispaniola, are to be reckoned; and these altogether made a very large convoy.

With this great force, it seemed to be the French Admiral's intention, if possible, to reach the harbour of Cape François, in the island of St. Domingo, without hazarding an action with the superior fleet commanded by Admiral Rodney. For this purpose, after leaving Martinico, he kept to windward, steering close to the island of Dominica: and it appeared, that he intended to continue his course near the islands, keeping his convoy between the ships of war and the shore. He might be encouraged to hope, that he would be successful in avoiding an action, as he had upon a former occasion completed the conquest of the island of Tobago, notwithstanding the presence of the British naval force; and as he well knew, the difficulty of bringing on a general battle with a great fleet inclined to avoid it.

But the prospect of advantage, which presented itself to the French Admiral on the 9th, was the origin of his defeat on the 12th.

It was the apparent opportunity of disabling the van of the British fleet, whilst the centre and rear were becalmed, which the Comte de Grasse had not sufficient prudence to resist; and this fixed his fate, and that of the expedition. If he had uniformly declined coming to action, and kept his fleet in the best positions for defending his convoy, and for repelling the attacks which the British might have made upon him, it is impossible to say what the consequence might have been of a junction with the Spaniards, which, in that event, he might possibly have been able to effect. This mode of defence had the better chance to succeed, that in all attacks with fleets, the assailants ly under an evident disadvantage, by being obliged to present the heads or bows of their ships to the first fire, which, in ships of war, is the most powerful and best directed. But it has been said, that Admiral de Grasse was prompted also by personal

sonal considerations to hazard a battle. His conduct in America, had not raised his reputation for courage among his officers, with many of whom he was supposed to be on bad terms; and these circumstances might have urged him not to decline an action, to which he saw he must be repeatedly provoked, by a fleet but a little superior to that which he commanded.

To counteract the operations of this great armament, Admiral Rodney lay at St. Lucia, with a fleet of thirty-six ships of the line, seven frigates, and some sloops: and as it was of the utmost importance, that the French fleet should be attacked before its junction with the Spaniards at Cape François, he had carefully kept small ships cruising off Fort Royal Bay in Martinico, to observe its motions.

Early on the morning of the 8th of April, the frigates stationed to watch the French fleet, were perceived standing over to St. Lucia, with the signal flying, which gave notice that the enemy had left Martinico. Admiral Rodney immediately made the signal to weigh; and, about noon, the whole fleet had cleared the Bay, the ships carrying all their sails, in order to discover the enemy. About half past two o'clock, the headmost frigate got sight of the French fleet; and about six, some of the ships of which it was composed were seen from the mast-heads of the line of battle ships of the British fleet, which continued the pursuit during the night. At day-light on the morning of the 9th, the enemy's fleet was again seen, at a less distance than on the preceding night, and the ships considerably separated from each other. Two of the French flag-ships, with fourteen or fifteen sail of the line, were in the passage between Dominica and the rocks called the Saints: and the remainder, with a numerous convoy of transports and merchant ships, were becalmed, very near the shore, in and about Prince Rupert's Bay, in the island of Dominica.

One of the enemy's line of battle ships was becalmed at a distance from the rest, and not far from the van of the British fleet, some of the ships of which were coming fast up with her; but a contrary breeze springing up, favoured the escape of the  
French



French ship, and she was enabled, by this light air of wind, to rejoin the squadron to which she belonged. About seven o'clock in the morning, part of the van of the British had got the sea breeze, with which they stretched on to the northward, forming the line of battle ahead; but the centre and rear still continued becalmed, and at a considerable distance from Rear-Admiral Hood's division, which formed the van. In the mean time, several of the enemy's ships had got clear of the island of Dominica, by favour of light breezes off the land. These were forming a line of battle ahead upon the starboard tack: and finding, that the centre and rear of the British could not come to the assistance of the van, as the greatest part of those divisions were still becalmed, or had very little wind, at half an hour past nine, they bore down, to attack Rear-Admiral Hood. At a quarter before ten, the signal was made to engage; and in a few minutes after that, the action began, between the Alfred, then the headmost of Rear-Admiral Hood's division, and the centre of the enemy. The British van then brought to, that it might not be farther separated from the rest of the fleet. The French ships still continued to sail; and when they had passed the headmost ships of their opponents, tacked in succession, and formed again in the rear, in order to continue this mode of attack. Thus, were eight ships of the British van engaged with fifteen of the enemy, for a considerable time, without a possibility of being assisted by the rest of the fleet.

Whilst this was passing in the van of the British, the centre, aided by a partial breeze from the northward, had got much nearer in-shore; and about eleven o'clock the sea breeze reached them. They immediately tacked and stood to the northward to join the van; and the enemy hauled their wind close, ceased firing, and tacked to the southward to join their rear, in order to prevent the British centre from getting to windward of them.

About half past eleven the French fleet wore, and formed a line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack; but by this evolution, the British centre had reached so far to windward upon them,

them, as to bring their rear to a distant action, which ceased about noon. By the approach of the French in wearing, and the situation of the British van, which was still considerably separated from the centre and rear, Admiral de Grasse was again tempted to make an attack upon it. The action began about noon, and continued in much the same manner as before, till a quarter past one; when the French, finding the whole British line coming up, hauled their wind close, and tacked in succession. Before two o'clock, the signal for battle was hauled down; and the French, in whose power it was to renew the action, declined seizing that opportunity. Instead of making further attacks, they carried all the sail they could to keep to windward: and their convoy, under the escort of the two fifty gun ships, was out of sight of the British fleet early in the afternoon. The French line of battle ships were now disencumbered of the charge of protecting their numerous convoy; and the English, trusting to success in a renewal of the action, after repairing their damages, persevered in the pursuit, and continued plying after them to windward.

On the 10th, the French, by the changes of the wind, had gained a considerable distance to windward, and continued to avoid all approach to the British fleet. At day-light on the 11th, it was perceived, that two of the French line of battle ships had been disabled, and were considerably to leeward of the rest of their fleet. Admiral Rodney immediately made the signal for a general chase, to approach those crippled ships, as it seemed probable, that Admiral de Grasse must either give them up, or support them with his whole fleet. He chose to support them; and accordingly, in the afternoon, his fleet bore down, to prevent the attack which would otherwise have been made upon his disabled ships. About five o'clock, Admiral Rodney called in the ships from chasing, to put his fleet in a collected state to receive the enemy, and formed the order of sailing. At six in the evening, the British were about three leagues to leeward of the French fleet, which then consisted of thirty-one ships of the line, its number having been diminished  
by

by two, which had been so disabled in the different actions on the 9th, that they were obliged to put into Basseterre road in the island of Guadaloupe, to refit.\* Besides these two ships, several others of the French squadron had sustained considerable damage in these engagements; and one of them had lost her foremast and bowsprit. The British, on the contrary, were not so much disabled as might have been expected. Their van, which had been twice attacked by double its force, did not experience any loss of masts, which could render the ships unmanageable; neither were there so many men killed in Rear-Admiral Hood's division, as might have been apprehended from the continuance of the action.

It appears, that the French, in both their attacks, kept at a considerable distance, not chusing to venture upon close action; and that their caution, was the reason why no material damage was sustained by the British van from so great a superiority, in the repeated cannonades which took place.

The greatest loss on the part of the British, was the death of Captain Bayne of the *Alfred*, who was killed, whilst he was discharging his duty to his country in a most gallant manner.

The *Royal Oak* suffered some damage; but not such as was irreparable at sea.

These were the most material consequences of the actions of the 9th, which were followed by the decisive battle of the 12th. On that day, at sun-rise, the British fleet was about five leagues to leeward of Prince Rupert's Bay, with little wind, standing to the northward in order of sailing.

The French fleet, at that time, were to windward of the Saints, upon the same tack, with a fresh breeze; but one French ship, which had lost her foremast and bowsprit, was in tow of a frigate, standing in for Guadaloupe. As soon as this disabled ship was perceived, Admiral Rodney sent four ships in chase of her. The French Admiral, observing the danger to which she was exposed, immediately bore down to her assist-

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\* These were the two ships afterwards taken by Lord Hood's division in the Mona Passage.



ance with his whole fleet. The British Admiral, foreseeing the consequences of such a measure, made the signal for his fleet to form the line of battle ahead upon the starboard tack; and the division, commanded by Rear-Admiral Drake, was ordered to form the van of the fleet. It was most proper that the blue division should begin the action for two reasons: it was at that time the weathermost; and it had sustained least damage, by having had little or no share in the actions of the 9th. The French Admiral continued his course towards his disabled ship but for a short time; for he soon saw, that by persevering, he should allow the British to gain the wind. He therefore abandoned the idea of protecting her, and formed a line of battle ahead upon the larboard tack. The two fleets were now forming their lines upon opposite tacks, and the French van was but a little to windward of the British. These motions of the two fleets were made between six and seven o'clock; and at a quarter past seven, Admiral Rodney called in the four ships which were in chase of the French line of battle ship in tow of the frigate. About a quarter before eight, the two fleets were nearly formed in order of battle, standing upon different tacks, the French but a little distance to windward; and the leading ship of the British van then began the action with the centre of the enemy's fleet. About this time, the signal was made for battle, and at eight o'clock, Admiral Rodney made the signal for close action. The ships of the French centre and rear, continued engaged with the van and centre of the British, till a little before ten, at which time Rear-Admiral Drake's division had passed the rear of the enemy. During this first part of the battle, the ships engaged had a fresh sea breeze, which was owing to their having the passage between Dominica and the Saints fully open, through which the wind came in a direct line. But with respect to those parts of the two fleets which were under the land of Dominica, the case was different.

About ten o'clock, the van of the French fleet, part of the centre, and the whole of the rear of the British had little wind  
from

from the southward, which forced that part of the French fleet to alter its course: and which, by obliging the van to steer to the westward, whilst the rear continued its course to the southward, completely deranged the French line of battle, and formed the opening in which Admiral Rodney found his ship, and some part of his division, when the firing ceased and the smoke cleared away. This happened about twelve o'clock; but it was between ten and eleven that the first derangement of the lines formed by both fleets took place. The van of the French had been obliged, by the southerly breeze, to steer a westerly course; and it was by these means forced into action with the British rear. The ships of the British centre, by changing their course with the alteration of the wind during the battle, steered to the eastward instead of to the northward, as the fleet had been originally steering. This occasioned the British line, by the parts steering different courses, to be also completely broken. The rear of the French fleet, consisting of about thirteen ships, was between the British van, which was composed of about seventeen ships, and Admiral Rodney with six of the centre division: these six ships, had also Admiral de Grasse with five ships on the other side of them; and he was completely divided from the rest of his own ships, by Rear-Admiral Hood's division, then engaged with the van of the French fleet. Thus were the two fleets, by changes of the wind alone, and by no other cause, completely deranged: each of them divided into three different parts, which were entirely separated, by some of the ships of the opposing fleet intervening. In mentioning these different parts, the words van, centre, and rear, have been used, although in this case, these terms are not to be understood to mean the established division of the fleets, but such parts as were then connected by accidental circumstances. It has been said already, that about noon all firing ceased on both sides, and the situation of the two fleets became apparent. Whether by signal from Admiral de Grasse, or from the established regulations of the French navy, we have not been able to learn; but it is certain, that all the parts of

the French fleet endeavoured to reunite, by sailing before the wind. Upon a supposition, that Admiral Rodney had kept his wind, without endeavouring to prevent this junction, the measure might have been attended with the desired success. But the British Admiral, instead of waiting to arrange his own ships in any regular order, continued the attack, which was now formed into the mode of a pursuit : and the disabled ships of the French fleet were immediately attacked, by those British ships which could first approach them. They were consequently very soon obliged to yield. In the course of the action, before the firing ceased at noon, many ships of the French fleet were much disabled in their masts and rigging ; and the Prince George, Duke, Agamemnon, and Prothée, which sustained material damage in their masts or yards, were the only ships of the British fleet, which were not in good condition to pursue the enemy. About a quarter past twelve, the French frigate which towed the Glorieux of seventy-four guns, which had been entirely dismasted, quitted her, and she struck to the British ships which approached. This first prize was taken possession of by the Royal Oak, the Admiral having made a signal for that purpose. The Bedford and Centaur attacked the Cæsar of seventy-four guns, which, after an obstinate resistance to a force so much superior, yielded ; and the Centaur took possession of the prize. The Hector of seventy-four guns, also submitted to the Canada and Alcide ; and the Admiral made the Alcide's signal to take possession of her. The Canada in the mean time pushed on, and was so fortunate as soon to come up with the Ville de Paris, on board of which was Admiral de Grasse. She engaged closely till the Barfleur, Rear-Admiral Hood, came up, to whom the French Admiral very soon struck, after having sustained great damage both in the hull and in the rigging, and after having had a great number of men killed and wounded. About this time, the Ardent of sixty-four guns, (the same ship which had been taken in the Channel by the combined fleet), struck to the Belliqueux, and this closed the battle. It was now sun-set ; and the British

Admiral,



Admiral, considering the French fleet as completely defeated, and disabled from pursuing the object they had in view, did not think proper to risk a further pursuit.†

Upon considering the various circumstances of this long continued and most important battle, some observations may be made deserving attention.

The most obvious of these circumstances is, the great change of the wind, which happened during the heat of the action. This alteration of wind, was as singular as it was extraordinary. Owing to its not effecting the whole ships of the two fleets, and to the breeze continuing from the eastward to the northermost ships, and changing to the southward upon the southermost end of the lines, it obliged one part of the French fleet to alter its course, whilst the other part, by continuing its course, was completely disordered. Indeed the wind, by changing forward upon the French ships, necessarily broke the line of battle ahead, which could not be continued, when they were forced from their course by its coming more from the southward, while they sailed in that direction.

The case of the British fleet in this change of the wind was essentially different. Being upon the contrary tack to that of the French, the same wind which came ahead upon the French fleet came more from the sterns of the British ships; and they were not therefore, by this change, disabled from continuing the line of battle ahead, in the most direct and close manner. This advantageous position, however, was not maintained. Admiral Rodney in his own ship, by changing his course with the change of the wind, was separated from his second ahead, and from his whole van; and connected only with six ships, kept to windward of the French van. He was divided also from his own rear, by Admiral de Grasse and five line of battle ships, which continued connected with him. Whether this change of the course of Admiral Rodney's ship, happened from inadvertence in the heat of battle, or from design, does

† For the principal evolutions and positions of the two fleets, on the 9th and 12th of April, see Licut. Mathews's Plans, who was present in these actions.

not clearly appear. It took place about ten o'clock, when the two fleets were still engaged, particularly in the centre, and was probably unknown to the Admiral himself.

The whole success of the battle on the 12th of April, has been sometimes attributed to this measure, which has of course been deemed a masterly evolution, worthy of imitation. The British Admiral has also been supposed to break through a connected line of the enemy's ships. These representations, however, appear to proceed from mistakes; for the French line was completely deranged, by the change of the wind *alone*: and so far was the measure of sailing through the enemy's line with six ships, unconnected with the rest of the fleet, from being decisive of victory, that it may be doubted whether it was a fortunate evolution. If Admiral Rodney's fleet had kept a connected line of battle ahead, sailing large, across the bows of the French ships, which were necessarily forced towards the broadsides of the British by the wind, and totally disordered, it is highly probable that the fleet of France must, upon the whole, have sustained much more damage, than it did from the fire of the six ships attached to Admiral Rodney, which had an opportunity of attacking three or four of the French collected in a confused manner, and forced to leeward of the British Admiral. And this is the only real advantage, which has been supposed to arise from Admiral Rodney's weathering the French rear with six ships. Whilst the ships of both fleets were in the disorder which has been mentioned, as owing to the change of the wind, they were so little under the direction of the Commanders in Chief, that many of the Captains must have been guided entirely by their own judgment, in the courses which they were to steer, and in the measures which they were to pursue.

The next circumstance worthy of attention in this battle is, the method which the French Admiral took to collect his ships, by bearing away to leeward of the British fleet. When Admiral de Grasse chose this measure, it would seem that he did not advert to the length of time which was required to draw  
together

together a numerous fleet, with so little wind. Had he kept the wind with all his ships, however disordered their line of battle ahead might be, they would, in all probability, have more readily assisted each other: and the attacking fleet, it must be considered, was not at that time in a connected order of battle.

When a fleet endeavours to run to leeward after having been engaged, it is obvious that the disabled ships must be left behind; and consequently taken, if the enemy to windward should continue to pursue. But if the French Admiral had gone to leeward no faster than his disabled ships; or rather, if he had endeavoured to make the best of a confused action for the remainder of the day, it is doubtful, if so complete a victory over him could have been obtained.

It likewise deserves notice, that notwithstanding the great length of time, during which the two fleets were engaged, in little wind, and in smooth water, very few men were killed, and the damage done to the ships was inconsiderable. Large ships, in general, cannot be engaged closely, and in smooth water, without great slaughter. It would appear, therefore, that the different actions between the several parts of these two formidable fleets, must have been but of short duration; or that some of them must have engaged at a considerable distance from each other. The whole number killed in the British fleet, including both engagements on the 9th and 12th of April, did not amount to more than two hundred and sixty men; a number which has been exceeded in an action of an hour or two with six or seven ships. From this view of the important victory of the 12th of April, so decisive of the fate of the French naval force in the West Indies, it may be inferred, that it was gained at a very small expence to the conquerors: and that, if the French Admiral had not retreated before the wind, so great an advantage, over such a fleet as his, must have been bought at a much dearer rate.

The last circumstance upon which any observation shall be



made is, the general confusion of the whole action, owing to the change of the wind.

French sea-officers are supposed to be more particularly instructed, concerning the movements of ships in fleets than those of Britain: and their directions, in certain cases which are most likely to occur, are clear and definite. But in an uncommon and improbable situation, such as that which happened about ten o'clock on the 12th of April, their plans and instructions became useless; and nothing could have collected the fleet in the best defensive position, but the comprehensive understanding of a real thorough bred seaman, conversant in the motions of fleets, who could direct every movement of his ships, by a clear and extensive system of signals.

The conduct of the French, rendered all the steps which the British ought to take so evident, that no mistake could be made on their part. They had only to pursue and to conquer those ships, which the bad management of the French had left without protection. In this action, therefore, the gross mistakes which were made, in the attempts to recover order in the French fleet, so completely destroyed all hopes of success, that those who are acquainted with the circumstances of the battle, have not been surprised at the loss which they sustained, but have rather wondered, that so many of their ships should have escaped; and have attributed to the intervention of darkness alone, the saving of this formidable fleet from utter destruction.

On the morning of the 13th, Sir George Rodney attempted to follow up his blow, by pursuing the enemy, but his fleet was unluckily becalmed, during that and the two succeeding days, under the island of Guadaloupe. This was a most fortunate circumstance for the fugitives, as it afforded them an opportunity of making their escape. Four of their ships of the line reached the port of Curacao in a very shattered condition. This greatly alarmed the Dutch Commandant, who feared that his sheltering such guests, might be an inducement to the British to attack the island. Conscious of the weak state  
of

of its fortifications, he therefore earnestly pressed their departure. They accordingly sailed for Cape François, which they reached in safety : and found there seventeen sail of the line, which had the good fortune to escape on the evening of the 12th of April, under M. de Bougainville and the Comte de Vaudreuil.

During the three days in which the British fleet was becalmed, the damages it had sustained were repaired, in as complete a manner as circumstances would admit : and before Sir George Rodney should go to the leeward he was resolved, that in these seas, no enemy should be left, who could disturb any of the British possessions. He therefore carefully examined the bays and harbours of the neighbouring islands : and not finding any of the French fleet in this search, he determined to proceed to Jamaica with the squadron, lest the French, when joined by the Spaniards, should still persist in their designs against that island. In the mean time, however, as he thought that there might still be a probability of falling in with some of the enemy's disabled ships, and as Sir Samuel Hood's division had been in the rear on the 12th of April, and had therefore received less damage in the battle fought on that day, than the van and centre of the fleet, he judged it proper to send him after them on the 18th ; instructing him to sail with as much expedition as possible, and to join him off Cape Tiberoon, at the west end of the island of Hispaniola. With the remainder of his fleet and prizes, he then proceeded to that rendezvous, under an easy sail.

Sir Samuel Hood obeyed his orders with the utmost alacrity : and on the 19th, the very day after his departure, he descried five sail in the Mona Passage, which separates the island of Porto Rico from Hispaniola. He immediately made the signal for a general chase : the chased ships not answering the private signal, he found they were enemies. After several hours pursuit, two of his ships, the Valiant and Magnificent, being considerably ahead of the squadron, came up with the enemy, who then hoisted French colours. After a brisk though short engage-

engagement, they took the *Caton* and *Jafon* of sixty-four guns each : and some more of his ships coming up, took the *Aimable* of thirty-two, and *Ceres* of eighteen guns. The *Warrior* made after the *Astrée* frigate of thirty-six guns, on board of which was the Marquis de Bouillé, and was on the point of taking her, when she had the good fortune to escape, by means of an unexpected shift of wind in her favour. The *Caton* and *Jafon* lost a number of men, and were much damaged in the action ; but the loss in the two British line of battle ships which engaged them, was but trifling.\*

The loss of men which the enemy sustained, in the several actions with the fleet under Sir George Rodney, was very great. As they had embarked their whole army, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, on board of the line of battle ships, these must necessarily have been so much crowded, that the carnage in the action must have been immense : especially, when it is considered, that the British engaged so close, that every shot told ; and that the water was so smooth as to permit all the ships to use their lower ports. Their number of killed and wounded has accordingly been computed at three thousand. Their loss in ships amounted to eight of the line, a frigate, and a sloop. Of the line of battle ships six remained in possession of the conquerors. The most valuable of these was the *Ville de Paris* of one hundred and ten guns. On board of this ship were thirty-six chests of money, destined for the pay and subsistence of the troops, which were to invade the island of Jamaica. Every peculiar circumstance relating to her, rendered her a prize highly flattering to the victors. She was the first, first rate, ever taken from the French, as well as the most beautiful. She was a present, given by the city of Paris to Louis XV., towards the close of the late war, in which the glorious successes of Britain had almost annihilated the royal navy of France. In compliment to the donors, the King of France

* Valiant,	4	killed,	6	wounded,
Magnificent,	4		8	
Total,	8		14	



France named her *La Ville de Paris*. No pains or expence were spared, to render the gift worthy of that great city, and of the Monarch to whom it was presented. She is reputed to have cost 176,000*l.* in building and fitting her for sea.

The *Cæsar* of seventy-four guns, was looked upon as one of the best ships of her rate, in the French navy. She was unfortunately burnt, in the night of the 12th of April. By this accident, four hundred of her crew, with a Lieutenant and fifty British seamen, perished, though all possible means were used to save them. This misfortune was owing to a French sailer drawing off spirits and setting the cask on fire. The extreme bad discipline of the French seamen was such, that all of them, upon their ships striking, were guilty of disobedience to their officers, and of every enormity. The *Diademe* of seventy-four guns sunk in the action of the 12th: and the other prizes, viz. the *Glorieux* and *Hector* of seventy-four guns each, the *Ardent*, *Jafon*, and *Caton* of sixty-four guns each, the *Aimable* and *Ceres*, with the *Ville de Paris*, were purchased into the service, and added to the Royal Navy. On the arrival of the *Ardent* and *Jafon* in England, their names were changed, the former to the *Tiger*, and the latter to the *Argonaut*.

The loss sustained in the several actions of the 9th and 12th of April, by the British fleet,\* was astonishingly small, considering the length and violence of the battles, the heavy and incessant fire, the keenness of the combatants, and the obstinate bravery of the enemy. The number of killed and wounded in both of these engagements, amounted only to one thousand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty-three were killed on the spot. The three British Captains, viz. Bayne, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, were greatly lamented. The first was an old and excellent officer, who had distinguished himself on many occasions. The second was the same gentleman, who, in the North Sea, commanded the *Dolphin* in the  
action

\* See Note 283.

action against the Dutch, on the 5th of August, 1781, in which he behaved with consummate bravery. The last was a son of the late Marquis of Granby, and brother to the late Duke of Rutland. He inherited all the virtues of his noble and illustrious family. This gallant young nobleman, in the command of the *Resolution* of seventy-four guns, had been highly distinguished during the war, by a series of the most brilliant actions. In the battle of the 12th he was grievously wounded, having one leg shot off, besides several other wounds: and although, from the excellency of his constitution, great hopes of his recovery were entertained, yet, to the great loss of his country, of the service, and of his family, he was carried off by a locked jaw, a few days after the action, on his passage to England, on board the *Andromache* frigate.

The great advantage which close fighting gives to British ships and seamen over their enemies, was never more happily exemplified, or more clearly demonstrated, than in the glorious battle, fought in the West Indies, on the 12th of April. A comparative view of the loss of men in both fleets, will confirm this observation. In this combat, the enemy's ships suffered so severely, that their fleet, in general, was little less than ruined: while on the other hand, one division of the British fleet was fresh and fit for action, when night put an end to the conflict. It must farther be observed, that the small superiority as to the number of ships on the side of Britain, did not contribute so much as is imagined to the success of the day; for more ships of Sir Samuel Hood's division, than were sufficient to balance that difference, were precluded from participating in the glories of the day, by being becalmed, until near the end of the engagement. It is universally allowed, that in close fight, no seamen of any nation possess the manly presence of mind and self-command, which so eminently mark the conduct of the British sailors.

Never was a victory attended with more beneficial and important consequences to Great Britain than this. Of itself, it

was

was great almost beyond example; but the advantages of which it was productive, were rendered more conspicuous, by the critical point of time in which it was gained. It was the happy means of preserving the remainder of her West India possessions: it opened the way to the general peace which followed it in a few months: it produced a sudden and a favourable change, as great as it was unexpected to the kingdom, not in its internal situation only, but in its relative condition; for it restored it to the respectful rank which it formerly held among the European powers. All this it accomplished, at a time when the British Empire seemed to be nearly overwhelmed, by numerous and powerful enemies, who exerted themselves to the utmost to effectuate its ruin.

This extraordinary and fortunate exertion, so worthy of the ancient reputation of the kingdom, enabled her either to negotiate a peace, or, if necessary, to prosecute the war. In the mean time, it obliged the combined powers of France and Spain to relinquish all thoughts of attacking the island of Jamaica, after they had been at the greatest expence in preparing for their intended enterprize. The Spaniards had at the Havannah, fourteen sail of the line under Don Joseph Solano, and eight thousand land-forces under Don Bernard de Galvez, ready to join the Comte de Grasse and the Marquis de Bouillé, on their arrival at Cape François. It was peculiarly fortunate, that in the victory gained by Admiral Rodney, the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages, intended for the attack on Jamaica, happened to be on board the ships which he took on the 12th of April.

Rear-Admiral Hood, with his squadron and prizes, continued his course to Cape Tiberoon, where he was soon joined by Sir George Rodney. The latter, considering that, notwithstanding the severe blow which the French had received, they and their allies had still in these seas a very formidable force, selected, from among his ships of the line most fit for service, a fleet of upwards of twenty sail, the command of  
which



which he gave to Sir Samuel Hood, with directions to proceed off Cape François, to watch the motions of the French, and to prevent them, if possible, from forming a junction with the Spaniards. He then sailed, with the remainder of his Squadron and all his prizes, to Port Royal in Jamaica, in order to repair his ships, and to get them ready for service. Happily, for this purpose, the British Admiralty had sent to that island, very ample stores of every kind for the fleet in the West Indies.

Sir George Rodney sent home his dispatches, containing the important tidings of his success, by Lord Cranston, Captain of the *Formidable*, in the *Andromache* frigate. Never did officers, on the like occasion, meet a more gracious reception from their Sovereign. The whole nation indeed, expressed the most excessive joy, and seemed to be roused, from a strong impression of despondency, to vigour and magnanimity. The name of Rodney was everywhere re-echoed: and the many important services, which he had done to his country, were represented in the strongest light. His good fortune in the present war had, without doubt, been peculiarly singular, as well as highly glorious. Within little more than two years, he had given a severe blow, to each of the three most powerful and dangerous foes of Great Britain, the Spaniards, Dutch, and French: he had taken an Admiral from each of these powers, a circumstance unparalleled in the naval annals of the nation. He had, in that time, added to the navy of Britain twelve line of battle ships, all taken from her enemies, and destroyed five more. To render his victories still more brilliant, the *Ville de Paris* was said to be the only first rate ship of war, that ever was taken and carried into port, by any commander of any nation. After so meritorious services as these, it can be no object of wonder, that he was extremely popular with the nation; especially when it is considered, that the bad fortune of the British arms, contrasted with his great success, had made him stand without a rival. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to him and his officers, in the most honourable

able manner:\* and in passing this vote, the conduct of Administration was most severely animadverted on, for recalling an officer of such distinguished merit as Sir George Rodney, without so much as any cause being assigned for so doing. On this head, the Ministry defended themselves, by averring, that in recalling the gallant Admiral, no disgrace was intended: it was only an act of authority, which Ministers, who were responsible, had a right to exercise. The House of Commons went still farther, and agreed to address his Majesty, humbly desiring that his Majesty would be pleased to give directions, that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memories of Captain William Bayne, of his Majesty's ship *Alfred*, and Captain William Blair, of his Majesty's ship *Anson*, who fell nobly in the naval engagements of the 9th and 12th of April last, off the island of Dominica: and also, to the memory of the Right Honourable Lord Robert Manners, Commander of his Majesty's ship the *Resolution*, who, unfortunately for his country, received a mortal wound in the engagement on the 12th of April, when a decisive victory was obtained by Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney over the French fleet, then commanded by the Comte de Grasse: and that the House would make good the expence attending the same. The merit of Sir George Rodney, and the

\* HOUSE OF COMMONS, *May 22, 1782.*

Resolved—"That the thanks of this House be given to Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. for his able and gallant conduct, in the late most brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet in the West Indies.

"That the thanks of this House be given to Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, Rear-Admiral Drake, Commodore Affleck, and Sir Charles Douglas, and to the several Captains and officers of the fleet, under the command of Sir George Rodney, for their bravery and gallant conduct on the late most glorious occasion: and that Sir George do signify the same to them.

"That this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the services of the seamen, mariners, and soldiers, on board the ships under the command of Sir George Brydges Rodney, in the late glorious victory over the French fleet: and that the Captains of the several ships do signify the same to their respective crews, and do thank them for the same.

N. B. The thanks of the House of Lords were conveyed in the same words.

the great services rendered by him, had been so universally allowed in both Houses of Parliament, that his Majesty, on the 19th of June, was pleased to create him a Peer of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Lord Rodney, Baron of Stoke Rodney, in the county of Somerset, to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten : and on his return to England, had a pension of 2000*l.* a-year, on the establishment of Ireland, settled on him during his own life, and the lives of Lady Rodney and his children. Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood was created Baron Hood of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland ; and Rear-Admiral Drake and Commodore Affleck were created Baronets of Great Britain.

That our view of the different operations of his Majesty's naval forces in the West Indies may be as distinct as possible, we shall continue our narrative of what occurred at the Leeward Islands until the end of the war ; and then turn our attention to the events most worthy of notice on the Jamaica station. It has already been observed, that soon after Lord North and his friends quitted their offices, Admiral Pigot was appointed to the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands. On the 5th of May, he hoisted his flag, at Plymouth, on board the *Jupiter* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Pasley, sailed for his destination on the 18th,\* and arrived at Antigua about the middle of June. When close in with St. Lucia, he took a schooner called the *Charmante*, belonging to the King of France. She was from St. Pierre's in Martinico, and bound to Tobago. She had a Captain and two Lieutenants of infantry on board, a chest containing three thousand dollars for paying the troops, and a cargo of flour and beef. Admiral Pigot, finding that the fleet had gone to leeward, immediately proceeded to Jamaica, where he took the command of it.† Before the

\* On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, a King's messenger arrived at Plymouth, with orders to stop Admiral Pigot from proceeding to the West Indies. This was said to be in consequence of the arrival of Lord Cranston, with accounts that Sir George Rodney had defeated the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse.

† See Note 284.



the hurricane months set in, he sailed with the squadron to New York; remained there until the end of October; once more steered his course for the West Indies, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 21st of November, with eighteen sail of the line; having, on his voyage hither, detached Lord Hood with eleven sail of the line,\* to block up the harbour of Cape François in the island of Hispaniola. At Barbadoes, Admiral Pigot was joined, on the 8th of December, by Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes and eight sail of the line, which had been detached under his command, by Lord Viscount Howe, after he had relieved the garrison of Gibraltar, and fought the combined fleets of France and Spain. On the 6th of December, about forty leagues to the windward of Barbadoes, Sir Richard Hughes fell in with a small fleet of French ships of war, which had been detached from Martinico ten days before, with a design to intercept some of the British convoys expected from Europe. A general chase was immediately ordered; and, about twelve minutes past one, the Ruby of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain John Collins, came up with the Solitaire of sixty-four guns, commanded by the Chevalier de Borda. A very brisk and close action then took place, which lasted forty-one minutes, when the enemy, having lost her mizen-mast, and being otherwise very much damaged, struck her colours. She had upwards of twenty men killed, and thirty-five wounded, among the latter was the Captain en Seconde. The Ruby had only two men slightly wounded, but her fore-mast, sails, and rigging were damaged. The Solitaire was purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy by the same name. His Majesty was so much pleased with the behaviour of Captain Collins, that when he returned to England, he conferred on him the honour of Knighthood. A French sloop of war, called the Amphytrite, of eighteen guns, was taken by some of the squadron, at the same time. The remainder of the French ships, viz. a ship of sixty-four guns, and a frigate, made their escape.

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A very gallant action was fought by Captain Payne, Commander of his Majesty's ship *Leander* of fifty guns. Having been ordered, by Admiral Pigot, to convoy a cartel ship to the northward of the islands, on his return from performing this duty, about one in the afternoon of the 18th of January, he discovered a large ship to windward, bearing down on him; but she soon after hauled her wind, and pursued her course to the southward. She had approached near enough for the people on board the *Leander* to see, that she was a large two-decked vessel: and they conjectured, that she was a French ship of seventy-four or eighty guns. Notwithstanding this great disparity of force, Captain Payne resolved to bring her to close action if possible: and, for this purpose, about four in the afternoon, tacked and stood after her with a press of sail. Between twelve and one next morning he got very close to her. The enemy perceiving this brought to, and the *Leander* ran alongside of her, within about sixty yards. Being placed directly on the enemy's lee bow, with his larboard quarter abreast of her main-mast, a very warm action commenced at the same instant on both sides. It continued for near two hours, both ships remaining in the same position, during which time, the enemy made an attempt to board the *Leander*, but were received with such firmness, and repulsed with such slaughter, that they never repeated it afterwards. The metal of the enemy was of so very superior weight, that the *Leander*, at the end of the two hours, was almost reduced to a wreck; her masts being much wounded, her yards, sails, and rigging, all cut to pieces, and the ship under no sort of management. The enemy, though considerably damaged, perceiving the state of the *Leander*, attempted to wear under her stern and rake her: but in this they were luckily disappointed; for before they could put their design in execution, the *Leander's* people suspecting their intention, exerted themselves, and got their starboard side on their opponent's larboard bow. The enemy's fire slackened apace; and she continued dropping astern, until she got to the distance of half a mile, where

where, it was supposed, that she meant to repair her most material damages, and renew the action at day-break. When that time came, however, no ship was to be seen. It afterwards came to be certainly known, that the ship which the *Leander* engaged was the *Couronne* of eighty guns, one of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's squadron, from Boston, and that she had on board a considerable number of land-forces, besides her crew. So closely did the *Couronne* and *Leander* engage, that the latter was three times set on fire, by the wads from the former; yet, by the same steady bravery which her men exhibited during the whole time of the action, they extinguished the flames, without in the least interrupting it. The *Leander* had a good many men killed, and as most of the wounded were hurt by cannon shot, few of them recovered.

The *Argo* of forty-four guns, fell in with and took *Le Dauphin*, a large French ship *armée en flute*, pierced for sixty-four guns, and having a cargo of provisions and military stores, a number of brass cannon and mortars, and two hundred soldiers, bound for Martinico.

His Excellency Governor Shirley, having business at Tortola, the Admiral appointed the *Argo* of forty-four guns, Captain Butchart, to convey him to and from that island. He remained there near three weeks. The enemy having got notice of this, detached two frigates, viz. the *Concorde* of forty guns, and *Nymphé* of thirty-six guns, to intercept him on his return to Antigua. The *Argo* sailed on the 10th of February from Tortola, with the Governor and his suite on board. Owing to the strong lee currents and unfavourable winds, she had got no farther than the island of Sombrero, on the 18th at day-break. A gale of wind springing up soon after that, and a high sea running, she sprung her main-topmast; and in this situation, about ten o'clock of that day, unfortunately fell in with the two French frigates. Captain Butchart immediately gave orders to clear the ship for action: and about eleven, the headmost of the enemy's ships came up with him, and both began to engage. As he found it impossible to use his lower deck



guns, on account of a very high sea, which, when he attempted to open the ports, rushed in with such impetuosity as to endanger the sinking of the ship; and as he perceived, that the other frigate, which was a very heavy one, was rapidly coming up, he judged it expedient to keep up a running fight, in hopes that the enemy, by setting a press of sail in pursuit of him, might carry something away; and that, by these means, he might effect his escape and get into Tortola. In the space of an hour and a half, the other frigate came up with the *Argo*, and both of them engaged her very close. Captain Butchart made a most gallant defence against such an evident superiority, and did not surrender until four in the afternoon, when finding all further resistance fruitless, he ordered the colours to be struck. He had thirteen men killed in the action, and several very badly wounded. The main-mast was very much hurt by a double headed shot, the main-topmast gone, the mizen-topmast sprung, the mizen-mast much wounded, and a great part of the rigging shot away. Governor Shirley kept the deck during the whole time of the action.

The *Argo* remained in possession of the enemy until the morning of the 20th; when, about five o'clock, by the greatest good fortune, his Majesty's ship *Invincible* of seventy-four guns, Captain Saxton, beating up from Jamaica, fell in with her and the two French frigates, a little to the windward of Porto Rico, and immediately gave chase to them. The frigates effected their escape; but the *Argo* was taken.

From the violence of the weather, the French had made no attempt to repair the damages of the *Argo*; so that she was retaken, exactly in the same condition in which she was, when she struck to them.

On the 28th of March, his Majesty's frigate *Santa Monica* of thirty-six guns, Captain John Linzee, was lost, by striking on a sunken rock near Tortola. Only one man was drowned: all the guns, and most of the rigging and stores, were saved.

The *Alcmene* frigate, commanded by Captain James Douglas, having got sight of the *Hulker*, an American privateer of twenty guns,

guns, gave chase to her. In the pursuit the privateer overfet, and of her crew, which consisted of one hundred and twenty men, only forty-five were saved.

Admiral Pigot sailed with the squadron from Barbadoes to Gros Islet Bay in the island of St. Lucia, where he arrived in the end of February, 1783. Having learned there, that the French had detached the Triton of sixty-four, and Amphion of fifty guns, together with two frigates, from Martinico, on some secret service, he immediately dispatched Captain Inglis in the St. Albans, with the Prudent, Magnificent, and Barbadoes sloop, to range along the islands, as far as St. Eustatius, in quest of them. In this search, they discovered the Amphion, and Concorde frigate of thirty-six guns, at anchor off Sandy Point in the island of St. Christopher's. On seeing the British ships, they hauled close under the batteries; but not liking their situation, they weighed and pushed for St. Eustatius. The Amphion, Captain Macnamara, with some difficulty got under the protection of the fort on that island; but the Magnificent intercepted and took the Concorde, a very fine frigate of thirty-six guns.

The Jupiter, Captain Pasley, being on her way from Lord Hood's squadron to the island of Antigua to heave down, fell in with and took a large ship belonging to M. de Vaudreuil. She was loaded with large masts, yards, bowsprits, jib-booms, oak standards, oak plank, great numbers of spars of all sorts, bar iron, and many other articles, which the French had collected while they were at Boston.

A confirmation now came of a general peace, by which the islands of St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat, Grenada and Grenadines, Dominica, and St. Vincent, were restored to Great Britain, and the island of St. Lucia was restored to France. Admiral Pigot therefore sent home the fleet in detachments, under Rear-Admiral Drake and Captain Shirley. The last detachment he conducted home himself, having left on this station Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, who hoisted his flag on board of the Leander of fifty guns, with that

ship and some frigates, to see all the articles of the peace properly observed in these parts.

### WEST INDIES.—JAMAICA STATION.

THE fleet on this station remained under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, who had under him Rear-Admirals Rowley and Graves.\* The garrison was strongly reinforced, and consisted of the 1st battalion of the 60th, 79th, 85th, 88th, 92d, 94th, and 99th regiments, Dalrymple's and Lord Charles Greville Montagu's corps of infantry, and three companies of artillery, making in all about four thousand five hundred regular troops: and the militia of the island were not less than eighteen thousand. Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell had succeeded Sir John Dalling, as Governor of the island, and Commander of the troops, and had under him, Brigadier-Generals Garth and the Earl of Harrington. The enemy's intentions of attacking the island being well known, Governor Campbell took every measure that prudence could devise, to render their designs abortive, and to defend to the utmost, the trust committed to his charge: and notwithstanding the mighty force with which Jamaica was threatened, the enemy would not have found the conquest of it, so easy as they imagined. Martial law was proclaimed on the 2d of March, and the military and militia were ordered to their respective posts. In this disagreeable situation of suspense, expecting every day to be attacked, did they remain, until the joyful tidings arrived, of Admiral Rodney having gained a complete victory over the French fleet on the 12th of April. On the 29th, they had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing the Admiral himself enter the harbour of Port Royal, with his victorious fleet, accompanied with the prizes which he had taken from the enemy. This was the most glorious sight that the inhabitants of Jamaica had ever beheld: and nothing could exceed the demonstrations of heart-felt joy, which they gave on this occasion,

\* See Note 286.



occasion. Nor is this an object of wonder, for their transition from danger to safety was great and unexpected. The conquest of the island had all along been marked out by the Spaniards as one of their grand objects in the war. From the commencement of hostilities it had been menaced with invasion: and the military and naval equipments, which they had collected against it were so formidable, that nothing similar to them had ever before been seen in the West Indies. Trusting to their immense preparations, the combined powers of France and Spain deemed its fall inevitable. Feeling themselves rescued from the most imminent danger, beholding the Commander in Chief of the naval armament, which had so long been the object of their terror, brought a prisoner into the intended scene of his hostility and conquest; seeing six of the capital ships, which had so lately been the destined instruments of their destruction, now displaying the British flag, and under the command of British officers, it will not be wondered that the joy of the inhabitants of Jamaica was excessive.

On the first of May, the Magistrates and principal inhabitants of Kingston in Jamaica, presented a most elegant address to Sir George Rodney, congratulating him on the glorious victory, which he had obtained over the French fleet. In this address, they said, "Great are our thanks to you, Sir, and the officers and men of your victorious fleet. You have relieved us from the dread of the combined force of our enemies, from the exercise of military law, and restored us to the peaceable enjoyment of our civil rights." To this address, Admiral Rodney made a suitable return. The repairs of the fleet were instantly set about: and, as a large fleet of merchant ships were ready to proceed to England, they were dispatched under convoy of the Sandwich, Russell, and Intrepid. Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker hoisted his flag on board of the Sandwich, in which ship were embarked the Comte de Grasse and the principal French prisoners. They all arrived safe at Portsmouth.

While the fleet was repairing in Port Royal harbour, it very

narrowly escaped destruction by a general conflagration. At two in the morning on the 22d of June, the *Mersey* storeship was discovered to be in flames, about half a mile ahead of the *Namur*. The *Mersey* was a ship of twelve hundred tons burden, laden with yards, sails, spars, flux, tar, cordage, and other stores for the King's ships and dock-yard there; but had fortunately got out a considerable part of her cargo. When she took fire, she lay close to Port Royal. Ahead of the *Namur* lay the *Hercules* and *Prince William*. A great number of boats from the squadron, repaired with the greatest dispatch to the assistance of the *Mersey*, and attempted to tow her clear of the shipping; but unfortunately, some of the people on board of her, had loosened her fore-top-sail and dropped the fore-sail, with a view of preventing the wind from extending the flames. This brought her head round before the wind, and carried her right down for the fleet, which the boats were not able to prevent. She passed the *Prince William* very close; but going to leeward, did her no damage. She next got close to the *Hercules*; and, for a second or two, was entangled with her rigging: but the wind freshening, carried her off without any bad consequences. The *Namur* was now in great danger. The *Barfleur*, which was the nearest ship to her, had got under way in order to escape. Not a moment was now to be lost in hesitation: and although cutting her cable could not entirely free her from the hazard of running ashore, or of getting foul of other ships, yet it was the only expedient that appeared likely to avert the ruin with which the *Namur* was threatened. Captain Fanshaw gave orders to cut it away, and while this was doing, the storeship, then all in a blaze, got very near her to windward, and for a short time was so close, that she was looked upon as irretrievably lost. Great numbers of boats were sent to her, rather with a view of preserving the lives of the men, than of saving the ship; but fortunately when the cable was cut, she disengaged herself from the *Mersey*, which was soon after towed on shore, where she was totally consumed. The *Hercules* and *Namur* had a most narrow escape,

escape. If they had unluckily caught fire, there is no knowing where the conflagration might have stopped; as, in all probability, they would have driven among the squadron, which was then lying so close, that scarce a ship could have escaped the flames.

As the naval force which the French and Spaniards had in these seas was still very considerable, it was absolutely necessary to watch its motions with great care, lest, notwithstanding the severe check which they had received, they should attempt some enterprise. To prevent this, Rear-Admiral Hood, having under him Commodore Affleck, was detached with a strong squadron to block up the port of François: and Rear-Admirals Rowley and Graves were sent to sea, with smaller squadrons, on different services.

The severe blow, which the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse had received from Admiral Rodney, had luckily completely deranged all the grand projects which the Courts of Madrid and Versailles had formed. The shattered remains of the Comte's fleet were collected at Cape François, under the command of Chef d'Escadres de Bougainville and de Vaudreuil. It amounted to twenty-four sail of the line, most of which were reported to be in a very bad condition, and incapable of farther service for some time.\* The Spaniards, finding it impossible to carry on their long concerted design against Jamaica, returned to the Havannah, with their fleet and such land-forces as they had brought from thence. M. de Bougainville proceeded, soon after that, to Europe, with a large convoy, escorted by some of their most crippled line of battle ships. The Sceptre of seventy-four guns and two large frigates, were sent on an expedition, under M. de la Perouse, against the British settlements in Hudson's Bay: and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with the remainder of the French fleet, except a few ships which were left in a disabled state at Cape François, proceeded to Boston in New England, to avoid the hurricane season, recover his men, and to get his ships repaired

\* See Note 287.



paired. When this was accomplished, he intended to return with his squadron to the West Indies, and to put in execution such orders as his Court might send him.

In the mean time, the Spaniards had not neglected to take advantage of the unfortunate state of the British affairs, in other parts. The British had been under a necessity of withdrawing their forces from Omoa: in the fatal and ill concerted expedition from Jamaica, against the fort on the river St. John, at the mouth of the lake of Nicaragua on the Spanish Main, some thousands of the King's troops, as well as of the provincial forces of that island, had become victims to the poisonous air and water of a most destructive and mortal climate: and Britain, hard pressed by numerous and powerful enemies, was unable to send the necessary succours to every part of her dominions. Of this distressing situation of public affairs the Spaniards availed themselves, by falling upon the British settlers, and upon their faithful allies and adherents the Mosquito Indians, and by driving them from several of their settlements, on the Mosquito shore and Bay of Honduras. They began their military operations with an expedition against the island of Rattan. On the 13th of March, two frigates, viz. the Santa Matilda and the Santa Cecilia, commanded by Captains Don Miguel Alphonso de Souza and Don Andre Tacon, sailed from Port Truxillo, accompanied with one privateer, called Purissima Conceptioné, four gun-boats, and sixteen smaller vessels, on board of which were the grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Guatemala, and six hundred militia, with their respective officers, under the command of Don Mathias de Galvez. On the 15th at day-break, the Spaniards got sight of the island of Rattan, and at ten o'clock their Commandant sent Don Enrique Macdonald, a Captain in the Spanish navy, with a summons to the British Governor, requiring him to surrender at discretion, and promising, if he complied, that the garrison should have all the military honours of which circumstances would admit. The Governor requested a delay of six hours; at the end of which time, he informed

ed Don Galvez, that he would defend himself to the last extremity. About eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the enemy's frigates got under way, and made for the harbour: and a little before ten o'clock, the Santa Matilda began to cannonade the forts St. George, Despard, and Dalling, and the batteries which the British had erected for the defence of the harbour; and in a few minutes after was seconded by the Santa Cecilia. They continued the attack until two o'clock; when the garrison, finding them untenable, abandoned the forts and batteries along shore, spiked up the guns, and retreated to four heights, on the summits of which they had some guns planted, with which a warm fire was kept up on the enemy. The Spaniards soon effected a landing with their troops, and took possession of the deserted fortifications, where the artillery, which had been spiked in a hurry, was soon rendered serviceable. These were played with such success, on the posts occupied by the British, that before night came on, the Governor sent two officers to propose terms for surrendering the garrison, the place, and its inhabitants. The answer returned by the Spanish General was, that if they surrendered at discretion they would meet with humane treatment, otherwise they must abide the consequences. On the 17th, the garrison and inhabitants surrendered prisoners of war, to be sent to the Havannah, there to be exchanged, and the slaves fold. The enemy set fire to all the buildings, levelled all the forts and batteries to the ground, and carried off or destroyed all the cannon, stores, &c. Some of the negroes, as soon as the Spaniards landed, began to plunder their masters, and then retreated into the woods, where about thirty of them were retaken, by a detachment of troops which the enemy sent after them. When every thing was demolished, the Spaniards re-embarked their forces, and sailed on an expedition against the British settlements on Black River, which had been long, in seasons of trouble and danger, a secure refuge to the Baymen. They soon became masters of these: and established themselves in their new possessions, in considerable force.

They

They likewise attacked and took Fort Dalling on Cape River, and possessed themselves of other strong posts in the country. Having driven the British settlers from all these places, they concluded, that they had reduced them so low, that they could never again be able to make head against them. In this, however, they were mistaken, for they had to deal with a set of people, who might be often beaten but could not be subdued. The Baymen have, at all times, been celebrated as a most hardy and intrepid race: they are the remains of the ancient Buccaneers. To the want of discipline, and of proper subordination among themselves, may be chiefly imputed the success of the Spaniards in dispossessing them of their settlements; but their bravery and perseverance rendered impracticable their entire expulsion from the country, or their reduction to the Spanish yoke. In this spirit of resistance, they were always well seconded by their negroes, whom they never regarded or treated as slaves. On the contrary, the kind usage which they received from their masters, the terms of kindness, and almost of equality upon which they live together, has so secured their friendship, that they are become highly interested in their fortunes; and are therefore, upon all occasions, ready to encounter the greatest dangers in their behalf. Nor is it more extraordinary than praise-worthy in the history of the Baymen, that though they are in a great measure without the restraint of laws, and have no settled government among them, yet, for some generations, they have observed so exact a probity in all their transactions with the Indians, as never to have forfeited their esteem and friendship.

A well concerted plan had been laid by the Baymen, for dispossessing the Spaniards of their former settlements, and driving them off to their own territories. This had been sent to Jamaica, accompanied with solicitations, that the Governor would approve of it, and that he and the Admiral would lend them aid to enable them to put it into practice, with a probable prospect of success. But before he had time to do the one, or to grant the other, a Captain Campbell of Wank's river district,  
one



one of their own number, at the head of a little band, consisting of a hundred and fifty bold and able negroes, who had been assembled for the purpose of harrassing the Spanish garrison stationed at Black River, had persevered in a depredatory war, with unremitting assiduity from the 14th of July, annoyed the enemy and forced them to narrow their posts to the eastward. A repetition of successful irruptions, served to encourage this daring partisan and his black associates, to attempt bolder and more important enterprises. He therefore made a movement with his whole corps to the westward, with great dexterity and address avoided all the outposts of the enemy, which, in a great measure surrounded Fort Dalling, and, in the night of the 23d of August, reached that fortress unperceived. He instantly began a furious and well conducted assault; and, after a stout resistance, carried the place, with the loss of two men only. It fared much otherwise with the Spaniards. Sixty-five of their men were killed on the spot; nine, (mostly wounded,) were made prisoners; and the remainder of the garrison, amounting to about forty, had the good fortune to make their escape in the dark. Three field-pieces brass, three field-pieces iron, one cohorn, and one garrison piece, with the colours, some small arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the assailants; who, notwithstanding the danger of their situation, which was environed on all sides by the enemy, waited to destroy the works, and retired with safety to their own quarters.

This success, together with repeated skirmishes, in which the enemy met with considerable loss, contributed to render the Spanish post at Black River an easy conquest to the force preparing to act against it. Both Governor Campbell and the Admiral had approved of the plan for dispossessing the Spaniards of these settlements, and the latter had agreed to send some frigates under Captain Parry,\* to assist in carrying it into execution. Every thing being in readiness, the little army, consisting of eighty American Rangers, under Major Campbell;  
five

\* See Note 288.

five hundred shoremen, free people of colour and negroes; and six hundred Mosquito Indians, who had assembled at Gracias à Dios, under their respective chiefs, was put in motion. Previous to their march, they chose Lieutenant-Colonel Despard, (Captain in the 79th regiment) to be their leader. On the 28th of August, they reached the mouth of Plantain river, about seven leagues to the eastward of the enemy; and on the 30th arrived at Black River Bluff, opposite to the eastern block-house. The enemy then dispatched a flag, to know who they were, and what they wanted. In reply to this message, a summons was sent to the Commandant, to surrender the Spanish posts, troops, and artillery, to his Britannic Majesty's forces. The treatment which the Spaniards had recently received at Fort Dalling, by no means encouraged them to attempt a long defence: and their apprehensions of falling into the hands of a rough enemy, exasperated by repeated injuries and unprovoked severities; or of Indians, who always regarded them with the most implacable animosity, induced them to think of surrendering. The terms of capitulation were accordingly adjusted, after a little altercation. The garrison, consisting of twenty-seven officers, and seven hundred and fifteen rank and file, chiefly of the regiment of Guatemala, laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.\* They were to be sent to St. Fernandez de Omoa, in the most convenient and expeditious manner. With the troops was taken one stand of colours; and in the forts, the colours, twenty-five pieces of artillery, &c.† a competent quantity of ammunition, and the property of the British settlers which the Spaniards had carried off. A small detachment of the fleet had been sent by Admiral Rowley from Jamaica, under the command of Captain Parry of the *Acteon*, to assist the land-forces on this enterprise; and they exerted themselves with their usual zeal and activity on this occasion. On the day after the Spaniards had surrendered, one of the squadron took a polacre of sixteen guns, loaded with provisions for the Spanish garrison at Black River. She had  
also

\* See Note 289.

† See Note 290.

also on board some money, and one hundred soldiers, as a reinforcement for Truxillo. Lieutenant-Colonel Despard had great merit in the whole of this enterprise, especially for his accepting so cheerfully, at the request of the shoremen and Indians, the command of the land-forces, as he was on the coast, merely with a view to recover part of his baggage, which had escaped the enemy's hands at Rattan.

In no naval war in which Britain had ever been engaged, had her fleets, in the same space of time, sustained so many heavy losses as in the present one. These arose not so much from the enemy, as from mischance, and the irresistible violence and fury of the elements. Nor did this scene of disaster end but with the war : and it is to be regretted, that, of the trophies so gloriously won by the British tars on the 12th of April, few had the good fortune to reach the British shore.

It is an established fact, that the West Indian seas and climate are exceedingly destructive to shipping, as well as to the health of the crews. The numerous enemies, and potent fleets, with which Great Britain had to contend in Europe, made it necessary for her ships to remain longer on foreign stations, than was consistent with a due regard to these circumstances. By her inability to relieve them so often as their condition required, their complements of men were greatly diminished : and the ships themselves were severely damaged by continual hard service, and by the severe conflicts which they had with the enemy in these seas, where it was impossible, at any of the ports belonging to Britain, that they could be so properly refitted, as to be in a state either for service or for encountering boisterous weather, for any length of time. The dock-yards, the small number of ship carpenters, and corresponding quantity of stores at Jamaica, were calculated only to afford some hasty repairs to the most injured parts ; but were far from being adequate to the complete reparation of the damages which the ships had sustained. It may be truly said, that they were only patched up, for the immediate pressure of the occasion ; but by no means thoroughly refitted. In this respect,



respect, the French were nearly on a par with the British; and, owing to these circumstances, it frequently happened that the ships of both nations were in a bad condition. This unfortunately proved to be the case with the ships captured by Lord Rodney's fleet. The affairs of Britain required the aid of all her war ships that were capable of being fitted for sea. The prize-ships, therefore, and some others of the squadron that stood most in need of repairs,\* were ordered to proceed along with the trade to England, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Graves, that, during the winter, they might be taken into dock, and got ready for service against the ensuing campaign. It was truly unfortunate, that this valuable fleet was so late of sailing from Jamaica, for if they had sailed three or four weeks sooner, they would, in all probability, have escaped the dreadful calamities which befel them. On the first of July, Rear-Admiral Graves received from Sir George Rodney his orders, by which he was enjoined "to take under his command, the ships  
 " named in the foregoing note, and to proceed with the convoy  
 " bound to Great Britain, at such time as the said ships may  
 " have joined him in Bluefield's Bay; taking care, before he  
 " approached the coast of Europe, to keep in the latitude of  
 " the Mizen-head in Ireland, at least one hundred and fifty  
 " leagues west of that Cape, sending one of his ships ahead to  
 " make the coast of Ireland for intelligence, that he might  
 " be acquainted with the situation of affairs, in order to avoid  
 " the combined fleets of the House of Bourbon, should they be  
 " stationed with a view to intercept his squadron and convoy.

" And

* Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	
Ramillies,	74	{ Rear-Admiral Graves. Capt. Syl. Moriarty.	
Canada,	74	— Hon. W. Cornwallis.	
Centaur,	74	— J. Inglefield.	
Pallas,	36	— Chr. Parker.	
La Ville de Paris,	104	— Geo. Wilkinfon.	} French Prizes.
Le Glorieux,	74	— Hon. T. Cadogan.	
L'Hector,	74	— J. Bouchier.	
L'Ardent,	64	— J. Lucas.	
Le Jason,	64	— J. Aylmer.	
Le Caton,	64	— — Fisher.	

“ And whereas Sir George Rodney proposed to take the  
“ above-mentioned tract, with the *Montagu* and *Resolution*,  
“ he should, if there was occasion, on his making the coast of  
“ Ireland and receiving intelligence, order either the *Resolu-*  
“ *tion* or the *Alert* brig to cruize to the westward, in the lati-  
“ tude of the *Mizen-head*, to give the Rear-Admiral that  
“ intelligence, for his better guidance on his entering the  
“ British Channel.”

In pursuance of this order, Rear-Admiral Graves sailed from Port Royal harbour on the 10th, and from Bluefields on the 25th, being the very day of the arrival of the prize-ships of war *Caton*, *Jason*, and *Ardent*. The King's ships in general were in bad plight, and very short of men: but the prize-ships of war were by no means in a proper condition to undertake a voyage to Europe, at so tempestuous a season of the year, as the autumnal equinox. Indeed, the officers of the *Ardent* gave under their hands, such a representation of the miserable state of their ship, that Rear-Admiral Graves ordered her back immediately to Port Royal. The *Jason* could not put to sea with the convoy, for she was obliged to remain behind them, to fill her water casks, having brought from Port Royal, no more than twenty-five tons of water. She never afterwards joined the convoy, although the *Belle*, that sailed with her, and other merchant ships did. The *Hector* on the 25th or 26th of August, lost company, being then in the gulph stream, about the latitude 34° N. The rest proceeded on with the convoy, which, after the ships bound to New York had separated, generally consisted of ninety-two or ninety-three sail.

On the 8th of September, the *Caton* sprung a leak, and made the signal of distress, with such alarming complaints, that the Rear-Admiral ordered her and the *Pallas*, then likewise very leaky, to keep together, and make for Halifax, which then bore N. N. W., and was no more than eighty-seven leagues distant.

The afternoon of the 16th showing indications of a gale and foul weather from the south-east quarter, every preparation for

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such an event was made on board the *Ramillies*, both for her own safety, and for an example to the convoy. The Rear-Admiral collected his whole fleet by six o'clock; and lay to, under the main-sail upon the starboard tack, with all his other sails furled, and the top-gallant-yards and masts got down. The wind increasing, soon blew strong from the E. S. E., with a very heavy sea: and about three o'clock on the morning of the 17th, flew suddenly about to the N. N. W., without any lull of the sea or any previous notice whatever. It blew tremendously with prodigious rain, taking the ship by the lee and the main-sail aback. The main-mast came by the board, the mizen-mast half way up, and the fore-topmast over the starboard bow; the fore-yard broke in the slings, the tiller snapped in two, and the rudder was almost torn off the stern-post. Thus, in the space of a few minutes, was the *Ramillies* of seventy-four guns, by the impetuosity of the stroke of the sea, and the fury of the tempest, acting in opposition to each other, reduced to a mere wreck. She was pooped: the place where the Admiral's bed swung flooded; and his cot, by the violent shock and instantaneous revulsion of the ship, jerked down; insomuch, that he pulled on his boots, half leg deep in water, and, huddling on his cloaths, got upon the deck in a wet condition. Two of the Lieutenants were immediately sent below, to examine into the state of things there, and to keep a sufficient number of people at the pumps, whilst the rest, with the Admiral and Captain, kept on deck, to encourage the men to clear away the wreck. As it was overboard, the violence of the sea made it beat, at every wave, with the greatest force, against the starboard side of the ship, and tear off a great deal of the copper sheathing; by which means, the seams became exposed to the sea, and the decayed oakum was washed out, which made the frame exceedingly porous and leaky, though till then it had been perfectly tight. The oldest seaman in the fleet had never beheld so violent a hurricane. It exceeded in degree the severest storms which they had ever experienced between the tropics, where sudden shifts of wind are frequent in  
the



the midst of the greatest hurricanes; but generally preceded by some particular symptoms, by which the mariner is prepared for the expected change. Violent gales, at this season of the year, are peculiar to these latitudes, for in the more northern ones they seldom occur. To increase the miseries of the night, the rain which accompanied this tempest was so furious, that at the instant, when all their exertions were called for to save the ship from sinking, it was not possible for the seamen to face the weather.

Imagination cannot paint any thing more dreadfully grievous, or distressing to a feeling mind, than the scene which presented itself when the morning dawned. Signals of distress were seen in every quarter; destruction, in its most hideous forms, was spread all around; and the sea was covered with wrecks, to which clung numbers of unfortunate beings of both sexes, struggling for life. Their piteous efforts to attract attention, and to obtain assistance, which from the fury of the storm it was utterly impossible to give, while it rent every heart with the most poignant grief, filled the spectators with horror and dismay: it made them dread, that what these miserable beings were then suffering, might, in a few moments, be their own unhappy fate.

Close under the lee of the Ramillies appeared a large ship, lying upon her side, water logged. Her crew made an attempt to wear her, by cutting away, first her mizen-mast and then her main-mast; but she went down very soon by the head, the last thing visible being the fly of the ensign. It was afterwards discovered that she was the Dutton, formerly an East Indiaman, but then a storeship in his Majesty's service. She was commanded by a Lieutenant of the navy, who, as she was going down, in his agitation, leaped off the deck into the sea, and was instantly overwhelmed by the violence of the waves. A better fate awaited about twelve or thirteen of the crew, who, possessing more presence of mind than their commander, contrived to loose and slide off her boat, and get into it. Running with the wind, they first attempted to reach a

large ship that was before them ; but not being able to fetch her, and afraid to venture to haul up for the purpose, lest their boat should be filled and swamped, they made for another more to leeward, the crew of which fortunately espying them, flung over ropes, and thereby afforded them means of scrambling up her sides, and saving their lives. Of a fleet, consisting of more than ninety sail on the former day, only twenty could then be seen. Of his Majesty's ships, as they were seen from the flagship, the Canada was half-hull down upon the lee quarter, with the main-topmast and mizen-mast gone, the main-top damaged, but the main-yard aloft, and the main-sail furled : the Centaur was far to windward, without a mast, bowsprit, or rudder : the Glorieux was without foremast, bowsprit, and main-topmast ; but when hailed by a merchant ship, her Captain stoutly answered, that he wanted no help. The Ville de Paris did not appear to be damaged. On board of her were two Captains.† Captain George Wilkinson, her commander, was a most experienced seaman, and had made four and twenty voyages to and from the West Indies. Of the convoy, besides the Dutton before-mentioned, seven were discerned without mast or bowsprit, and according to the best information that could be obtained, three or four had foundered, and eighteen or twenty were dismasted. What a dreadful havock in so short a time ! At ten o'clock, the Ramillies had six feet water in the hold ; nor could the pumps with all their exertions keep her free, the waterways having worked out the oakum, and her beams amidship being almost drawn from their clamps. All the buckets were therefore ordered to be manned, and every officer to help towards freeing the ship. The main-top-gallant-sail was set upon the foremast, and the fore-top-gallant-sail on the stump of the mizen-mast. With these, as soon as the tiller was shipped, bearing away, she scudded on at a good rate, and held pace with several of the merchant ships. To ease the ship, in the course of the day, several of her guns and  
other

† Captain George Wilkinson, the Captain of the Ship, and Captain Laurence Graham, late of the Sylph sloop, a passenger.

other heavy articles were thrown overboard. The weather still continuing very boisterous, though somewhat abated in violence, by the great and continual exertions of the officers and crew, the ship was kept above water until the 21st, when she was so completely a wreck, and her people so much exhausted with fatigue, hunger, cold, and wet, that the Admiral, upon the representations of the officers, consented to abandon her. At this time, not a war ship was in company to give assistance, and only about nineteen of the convoy. At noon on that day, the *Ramillies* had ten feet water in her hold. The Admiral then made the signal for the convoy and their boats, which they readily obeyed; and the crew, with what little of the beef, pork, and flour, could be got, were embarked in the boats, and distributed on board the merchant ships. Notwithstanding the swell of the sea, which was prodigious, this arduous business was performed without the loss of a man. The Admiral left the ship about two o'clock, and she was completely abandoned by four in the afternoon. She had fifteen feet water in the hold a little before four, when the Captain and first and third Lieutenants left her. Lieutenant Young and a boat's crew, were the only persons left in order to set fire to the ship, which they soon did. As she burned rapidly, the flames quickly reached the filled powder in the after magazine, where, by the special injunction of the Captain, it had been lodged very high; so that within thirty-five minutes, the deck and upper works blew up with a great explosion, and the lower part of the vessel instantly went to the bottom.

The Admiral embarked on board the *Belle*, Captain William Forster, who had been the first of the convoy that had bore up the evening before, when he perceived the *Ramillies* to be in such imminent danger and distress. By his anxious humanity he set a most noble example, which had great influence, and was generously followed by sixteen more, through whose help, every individual on board of his Majesty's ship were happily saved.



saved.\* The crew of this unfortunate ship were scarcely two hours on board of the merchant ships, when the weather became again exceedingly stormy, and continued so for six or seven days without intermission, insomuch, that no boat could, during that time, have lived in the water. It therefore must be deemed a peculiarly fortunate circumstance, that the weather had become comparatively moderate, during the few hours in which the crew of the *Ramillies* were removing on board of the merchant ships: for both before and after that time, it would have been absolutely impossible to have accomplished it. On so small a thread, hung the preservation of more than six hundred lives. Indeed, during the four days immediately preceding, it had blown such a gale, and so great a sea had followed the ship, that it had been found necessary to keep her always with the wind upon the quarter, with seldom more than the spritsail hoisted on the foremast, and at times with no sail at all, in which mutilated state, she ran at the rate of six knots an hour. When the fore-top-gallant-sail was set on the stump of the mizen-mast, she commonly griped too much, so as to render her steerage very difficult, and yet this sail was carried  
whenever

\* *Thanks, October 17th, 1782.*

MY LORD,

It is with the utmost satisfaction I have the honour to pray your Lordship, to become the means of conveying to the Captains of the merchant ships belonging to the port of London, who were the preservers of the lives of the company of his Majesty's ship the *Ramillies*, the following orders and approbation of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, transmitted to me by their Secretary, viz.

"That their Lordships are highly pleased with the humane and good conduct of the Masters of the *Belle* and of the other merchant ships, who were instrumental in saving the lives of yourself, officers, and people, which they desire you will communicate to them; letting them know, at the same time, that orders will be given to the Commissioners for victualling his Majesty's navy, to reimburse them whatever expences they may have been put to, for victualling yourself, and such of the people as they may have respectively received on board, upon their producing an account thereof to the said Commissioners."

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAVES.

*To the Right Hon. W. Plover, Lord Mayor of London.*

whenever it could be done, with the view of keeping pace with the merchant ships, the dullest sailing of which, under their bare poles, went still at a greater rate. Even in running thus, the ship rolled very much, and every day as she grew lighter, the more uneasy her motion became; so that the men could scarcely stand at their work, nor could they keep their legs without something to hold by. There was no such thing as repose when sitting or lying upon the deck, nor was it possible to procure steadiness enough to eat and drink with any security: no meat could be dressed: and to all these inconveniencies, every person on board was obliged to submit. Until the afternoon of the 20th, they could not venture to bring the ship to, for a boat to come on board. But notwithstanding this desperate condition, when the people were dropping down through fatigue and want of rest, and when the decks were covered with water, never was there perhaps any instance of a whole company behaving with more exemplary obedience, sobriety, and attention: nor did any ever make greater or more unremitting exertions for the preservation of any ship.

The officers, who were distributed with the crew on board of the merchant ships, had orders respectively, to deliver the men to the first of his Majesty's ships or vessels with which they should meet, acquainting the Secretary of the Admiralty, by the earliest opportunity, of their proceedings: and a pennant was hoisted upon the *Belle* by way of distinction, to lead, if possible, the rest. Some kept with her, and others made the best of their way, under a very natural apprehension of soon being short of provisions, by having so many additional mouths to feed. The *Canada*, which was very much disabled in the storm on the 17th, and had separated on the following day from the fleet, made the best of her way for England, arrived on the 4th of October at Spithead, and brought the first news of the dispersion, distress, and jeopardy of this ill-fated fleet. A few days after her, some of the convoy reached Plymouth, others put into Falmouth, and the *Jason* prize-ship ran up the British Channel. Several of the convoy, with part of the com-

plement of the unfortunate *Ramillies* on board, fell afterwards into the hands of the enemies privateers. Two were taken in sight of the *Belle*; but she had the good fortune, though singly, to reach Corke harbour on the 10th of October, with Rear-Admiral Graves and thirty-three of his Majesty's men. Finding the *Myrmidon* frigate there, the Rear-Admiral re-hoisted his flag on board of her, and proceeded for Plymouth, where he arrived on the 17th, and there found about twenty-four of his convoy.

Great as the sufferings of the officers and crew of the *Ramillies* were, they were mild in comparison of what was sustained by those of his Majesty's ship *Centaur*. When this ship left Jamaica, she was rather in a leaky condition, keeping two hand-pumps going, and when it blew fresh, sometimes a spell with the chain-pump; but no dread was entertained, of her being unable to encounter a common gale of wind.

On the 16th of September, when the fatal storm came on, she was properly prepared for meeting with the weather which might be reasonably expected in these latitudes; but its violence far exceeded their expectation, and all the preparations they had made, were of no avail against such an irresistible hurricane. Towards midnight, the ship made so much water, that the Captain was forced to turn all hands up to the pumps. The gale still increasing, he thought of trying the ship before the sea, and perhaps it might have been fortunate if he had made the experiment: but the impropriety of leaving the convoy, except in the last extremity, and the hopes of the weather growing more moderate, made him persist in keeping company with the fleet.

Although she was, perhaps, but a few leagues distant from the *Ramillies*, she experienced a very material difference in the weather. In the Admiral's ship, they had no previous indication of a sudden shift of the wind; but between two and three in the morning of the 17th, on board the *Centaur*, they perceived the wind lulled, and entertained hopes that the gale was breaking up. Soon after that, there was much thunder and lightning



lightning from the south-east with rain, and it began to blow strong in gusts of wind, which obliged Captain Inglefield to give orders to haul up the main-sail, the ship being then under bare poles. This was scarcely done, when a most violent gust of wind laid the ship on her beam ends. The water forsook the hold, and appeared between decks, so as to fill the hammocks to leeward: the ship was motionless, and seemed irrecoverably overfet. The water increased fast, and forced through the cells of the ports. The main and mizen-masts were ordered to be cut away, in expectation of wearing the ship when she righted. On cutting a lanyard or two, the mizen-mast went away without any effect to right the ship; and on cutting the lanyard of one shroud, the main-mast followed; but much to the disappointment of the officers and crew, the foremast and bowsprit went also. The ship instantly righted, but with such violence, and with so quick a motion, that the men could hardly work the pumps. Three main-deck guns broke loose, and, in securing them, several men were maimed. The shot, thrown loose from the lockers, and the wreck of the deck, destroyed every thing moveable. The officers, who had started from their beds naked when the ship overfet, had not in the morning one article of cloathes to put on, nor could their friends supply them. Ten minutes after the masts went away, the tiller broke short in the rudder head, and before the cheeks could be placed, the rudder itself went away. The ship then lay at the mercy of the wind and waves. One comfort remained: the pumps rather lessened the water in the hold.

At break of day on the 17th, the weather moderated; and they got sight of two line of battle ships, which appeared to be disabled in their masts, and about fifteen sail of the convoy, but the *Ramillies* was not in sight. At seven o'clock, they got sight of the *Ville de Paris*, ahead; all her masts were standing: the *Centaur* fired a fore-castle gun, and hoisted an ensign, union downwards, on the stump of the mizen-mast, as a signal of distress; the ensign soon blew away, and it was the only one they had left. They entertained hopes that their signal had  
been

been observed, as they perceived the *Ville de Paris* standing towards them. Several of the merchant ships hailed the *Centaur* and offered assistance; but Captain Inglefield, depending on the *Ville de Paris*, thanked them, and requested them, if they should meet with Admiral Graves, to inform him of his condition. No doubt was entertained of the *Ville de Paris* approaching, as she seemed not to have suffered; and from her wearing, it was evident that she was under the command of her helm. The weather was now so moderate, that the merchant ships carried their topails; but the *Centaur's* people experienced the cruel disappointment of seeing the *Ville de Paris* pass about two miles to windward. One of the merchant ships seeing this, wore, came under the *Centaur's* stern, and offered to go to her with any message. Captain Inglefield desired them to acquaint Captain Wilkinson of the *Ville de Paris*, that the *Centaur* had lost, not only all her masts, but her rudder, and made much water, and that he would keep with her, till the weather grew moderate. The merchant ship went with the message; but the *Ville de Paris* did not change her tack, which made them apprehend, that she was worse than she appeared to be.

The quarter-deck guns, and all the main-deck guns, except the six which had overset, were thrown overboard. Towards night the gale again increased, and the ship laboured prodigiously: the officers and crew were incessant in their exertions to ease her, and endured much fatigue at the pumps: in the night they lost sight of the *Ville de Paris*, and the other ships of the convoy.

Towards the morning of the 18th, there was seven feet water upon the keelson of the *Centaur*. Their misfortunes now crowded fast upon them; for one of the winches broke, and they found that the two spare ones would not fit, and that the hand-pumps were choaked. These circumstances were sufficiently alarming, but upon opening the after-hold to get some rum for the people, they found that their condition was much worse than they had supposed it to be.

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That we may understand the wretched plight to which they were reduced, it will be necessary to mention, that the Centaur's after-hold was inclosed by a bulkhead at the after part of the well. Here all the dry provisions and ship's rum were stowed, upon twenty chaldron of coals. The coals, by the violent agitation of the water, were forced into the well, and by them the pumps were continually choaked. The chain-pumps were so much worn, as to be of little use; and the leathers, which, if the well had been clear, would have lasted twenty days or more, were all consumed in eight. All the rum, (twenty-six puncheons), and all the casks with provisions for two months, having been floated and dashed with great violence from side to side, were stove; and even the staves, which were found upon clearing the hold, were most of them broken in two or three pieces. In the fore-hold, the crew had the dismal prospect of perishing: for if the ship should swim, no water remained but what was in the ground tier, and over it was all the wet provisions; and the butts filled with salt water were floating with so much motion, that no man could with safety go into the hold. The only resource now left was, to try to reduce the water by bailing with buckets at the fore-hatchway and fish-room: and twelve large canvas buckets were immediately employed at each place. On opening the fish-room, a most agreeable discovery was made of two puncheons of rum, belonging to Captain Inglefield, which had escaped the general wreck. They were instantly got up, and served out at times in drams; and this seasonable relief was of the greatest service to the exhausted crew, who, if they had not been refreshed occasionally by this rum and by some lime juice, must have dropped down with fatigue.

The bailing luckily succeeded: and it was aided by the spare pump, which was put down the fore-hatchway, and another pump which was shifted to the pump-room; but the motion of the ship had washed the coals so small, that they reached to every part, and soon choaked the pumps. By noon the bailing had considerably diminished the water; but there appeared



no prospect of saving the ship, if the gale should continue, for when it blew strong, the water increased, and when it became moderate, the crew gained on it. The labour, however, was too great and incessant for men who had not a drop of water to drink; yet they worked without a murmur, and even with cheerfulness. The weather becoming more moderate, a couple of spars were got ready, for shears, to get up a jury foremast; but, as the evening approached, the gale again increased. Only one ship was now in sight. It was one of the line of battle ships, which they had seen on the morning of the 17th. She had lost her main-mast, appeared to be almost as much disabled as the Centaur, having fired guns of distress; and before night, she lost also her foremast.

The Centaur laboured so much in the night, that scarce a hope could be entertained that she would float till morning. However, by great exertions at the chain-pumps, and by bailing, the water was kept from increasing; but the sufferings of the crew from want of water were excessive, and many of them could not be restrained from drinking salt water.

At day-light on the 19th, there was no vessel in sight; and flashes from guns having been seen in the night, it was apprehended that the ship seen on the preceding day had foundered.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon, the weather became more moderate, the water diminished, and the people were encouraged to redouble their efforts to get it low enough, to admit of their taking a cask of fresh water out of the ground tier in the hold. Some of the most active and resolute among the seamen were employed in the attempt. At noon, they luckily succeeded in getting up one cask, which, though little, was a seasonable relief. On the 20th, the weather grew better, and though every person on board was not a seaman, was set to some work or other, while the officers and sailors were using their utmost endeavours to get up a jury foremast, heaving overboard the lower deck guns, preparing the machine to steer the ship, to work at the pumps, and to clear the wrecks of the fore and after-holds, which consisted of the bulkheads of the  
after-

after-hold, fish-room, and spirit-rooms. It was astonishing to think how much work they had accomplished, in the course of which, they found that they had pumped out all their coals. The standards of the cockpit, an immense quantity of staves and wood, and part of the lining of the ship were thrown over-board, that if the water should again appear in the hold, the people might have no impediment in bailing. The machine for steering the ship, which was similar to the one used by the *Ipswich* in a like distress, was in such forwardness, that if the weather should continue moderate, hopes were entertained, that they might be able by noon next day to steer her, and at least to save the people on some of the Western Islands: but even with these hopes, such was the bad condition of the vessel, that if there had been any ship in company, Captain Inglefield would gladly have embraced the opportunity of quitting the *Centaur* without delay. In the night, the crew got some rest by relieving the watches; but in the morning of the 21st, all their flattering hopes disappeared, and they had the mortification to find that their misfortunes were not at an end: the weather threatened, and by noon it blew a storm: the ship laboured greatly, and fresh leaks made their appearance. Nor was it a small addition to their distress, that the carpenter reported to the Captain, that the leathers were nearly consumed, and likewise that the chain-pumps, by constant exertion, and by the friction of the coals, were rendered almost useless.

The only resource that remained was in bailing. Orders were accordingly given to cut scuttles through the decks, and to introduce more buckets into the hold; but although the crew made the greatest exertions, in thrumming of sails to put under the bottom of the ship, and in bailing, there was no prospect of saving their lives, except a change of weather should speedily take place. The ship appeared so weak, in consequence of her labouring, that she could not last long; the orlop-deck had fallen in on the larboard side; the fore and after cockpit, with all the store-rooms, had fallen down; and the

the stern-post was so loose, that as the ship rolled, the water rushed in on either side in great streams, which the exhausted crew could not stop. With the same dreary prospect which they had on the former evening, the night again approached, and was passed in continual effort and labour. The day-light of the 22d brought no change for the better : towards night, another of the chain-pumps was rendered useless, by one of the rollers being displaced at the bottom of the pump ; and this disaster was without a remedy, because there was too much water in the well to get to it. As only six leathers now remained, the fate of the ship approached fast. Still, however, the labour went on without any apparent despair, every officer took his share of it, and the men continued to be cheerful and obedient.

During the night, the water increased : and about seven in the morning of the 23d, a fresh leak brought a great quantity of water into the fore-hold, which presently set the whole of the stowage of the hold ground tier in motion, so that in a short time, there was not one whole cask to be seen. The ship was now perceived to be settling by the head, the lower deck bow ports being even with the water : and the carpenter acquainted the Captain, that the well was stove in, being destroyed by the wreck in the hold, and that the chain-pumps were displaced, and totally useless. They had now no chance of saving their lives, but by redoubling their efforts in bailing ; and in this work they met with great interruptions, as the quantities of staves, planks, anchor stocks, and yard-arm pieces, which were there washed from the wings, and floating from side to side with the motion of the ship, rendered it exceedingly difficult for them to fill their buckets. To ease the vessel as much as possible, Captain Inglefield gave orders to throw overboard the only two anchors that still remained. One of these, the spare anchor, had been most surprisingly hove in upon the fore-castle and midships, when the ship had been on her beam end, and had gone through the deck.

The unshaken fortitude of the unfortunate crew of the *Centa*  
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taur, and their unwearied exertions, under every degree of distress, and with scarcely a ray of hope, while it heightens the merit of the sufferers, renders their fate grievous in the extreme. By labour almost unparalleled, they kept the ship above water from the 17th of September until the 23d; but the struggle was then at an end. They were in the middle of the vast Atlantic Ocean, without the smallest prospect of receiving assistance by accidentally falling in with any other ship, and at several hundred miles distance from the nearest land, when they perceived on that morning, that all their efforts were fruitless, that the ship was filling fast with water, and going gradually down. Her remaining above water a single minute was extremely precarious, her swimming in any manner of way could not outlast the day, and the terrible aspect of both weather and sea, precluded every hope of relief by means of boats or rafts. Every shadow of hope, faint as it was, in which the heart had till then fondly sought for refuge, being thus at once dispelled, the immediate effects, though various, were in every instance highly deplorable. Many of the men, who had with the most undaunted bravery fought the enemies of their King and country, who had hitherto persevered in their excessive sufferings and labour without murmur and without fear, on seeing that all farther exertions were vain, were suddenly struck with a melancholy and a tender recollection of home, and of every thing that was most dear to them, burst out openly into tears, and wept like children; others, appearing perfectly resigned to their fate, as if disdaining to contend with impossibilities, went to their hammocks, and called to their messmates to lash them in; a greater number were lashing themselves to gratings and small rafts; but the putting on their best and cleanest cloathing was an idea that generally prevailed.

By noon on the 23d, the water washed even with the orlop-deck. The carpenter then assuring the Captain, that the ship could not swim long, proposed to make rafts to float the ship's company. As the Captain could encourage them no longer  
with

with a prospect of safety, and as the weather became more moderate, they accordingly set about making the rafts. Captain Inglefield says, in his most excellent narrative, that he thought it right to make the attempt, though he knew that the booms could not float half the ship's company in fine weather, but they were then in a situation to catch at a straw. He therefore called the men together, communicated to them his intention, and recommended to them, to remain regular and obedient to their officers. Every preparation was accordingly made, and the boats, of which there were three, viz. the cutter, the pinnace, and the five-oared yawl, were got over the side. A bag of bread, and any liquors that could be got at, for the purpose of supplying the rafts, was ordered to be put into each. The Captain intended to go into the five-oared yawl. While these preparations were making, the ship was gradually sinking, the orlop-decks were blown up by the water in the hold, and the cables were floated to the gun-deck. The men had for some time quitted their employment of bailing, and the ship was left to her fate.

In the afternoon, the weather again threatened, and blew strong in squalls, the sea ran high, and one of the boats, the yawl, was stove alongside, and sunk. As the evening approached, the ship appeared little more than suspended in the water. There was no certainty that she would swim from one minute to another, and the love of life, which never shewed itself later in the approach to death, began then to level all distinctions. It was impossible, indeed, for any man on board to deceive himself with a hope of being saved upon a raft in such a sea: besides, it was probable that in sinking, the ship would carry every thing down with her in a vortex.

It was near five o'clock, when the Captain, coming from his cabin, observed a number of people looking very anxiously over the side of the ship. Looking over it himself, he saw that several men had forced the pinnace, and that more were attempting to get into her. He had immediate thoughts of securing this boat, that she might not be sunk by numbers. He had

had not a moment left to consider. To remain and perish with the ship's company, to whom he could no longer be of any use; or to seize the opportunity, which seemed the only way of escaping, and leave the people with whom he had, on a variety of occasions been so well satisfied, was the only alternative that presented itself to his view. The love of life, which is so incident to our natures prevailed; he called to Mr. Rainy the Master,\* the only officer upon deck, and desired him to follow him: they immediately descended into the boat, at the after part of the chains, and not without great difficulty, got her clear of the ship. Twice the number that she could carry pushed to get into her, and many jumped into the water. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman of fifteen years of age, leaped from the chains after the boat had got off, and was taken in. The boat having fallen astern, became exposed to the waves, and they used endeavours to pull her bow round, to keep her head to the break of the sea, and to pass to windward of the ship; but in the attempt, she was nearly filled. The sea ran so high, that the only means to prevent her from sinking, was by keeping her before the wind.

To the wonderful escape of Captain Inglefield and ten of his people, we owe the knowledge of the unhappy catastrophe of his Majesty's ship the Centaur and near six hundred of her crew, besides several passengers, among whom were Captain George Augustus Keppel of the navy, and the Hon. Captain Lindfay of the army, a son of the Earl of Crawford's. It was past five in the evening when the boat left the ship, and in half an hour's time she lost sight of her. The number in the boat was twelve, and they were by no means in a condition to encounter the dreadful dangers to which they were exposed. When these are stated, whether their situation was apparently preferable to that of their numerous friends who remained in

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\* This gentleman was made a Lieutenant soon after he returned to England; and in the year 1791, commanded a cutter, which was supposed to have foundered on her return from Gibraltar that year, as she was never more heard of.



the ship, is a question which every person will solve for himself. They were, at the approach of a dreadful night, nearly in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, in a leaky boat, with one of her gunwales staved, without compass, without quadrant, without sail: a heavy gale of wind blowing, and a great sea driving. Their provisions consisted of a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, a few bottles of French cordials; but of water, that most indispensable of all necessaries, they had only two quart bottles. The weather, along with its other severities, being extremely cold, it was no small aggravation of their immediate distresses, that they were all very thinly clothed, and that they had not so much as a cloak, or a great coat among them. In this condition, all except those who were bailing, were necessitated to sit through the night, in the bottom of the boat, with the water generally up to their middle. Scarcely could they clear her of the remains of one great sea, till she was almost filled by another, and each moment they expected to be swallowed up by every succeeding wave.

It happened most fortunately, that a blanket had been thrown in, and was discovered before it grew dark, in the bottom of the boat. This, they immediately bent to one of the stretchers, and used as a sail, under which they scudded during the night. Providence seemed disposed to favour their struggles. The weather became moderate on the day following: and what was of still greater importance, the wind, (any considerable shift in which would have been fatal), continued to hang in the north-west quarter. This favoured their only hope, which was to reach the Azores, or Western Islands: and these, by their estimate, lay about two hundred and sixty leagues to the south-east of the place where the ship was when they quitted her. On the fifth morning, they made the doleful discovery, that the salt water had spoiled almost the whole of their bread. From this time, the whole company were reduced to the necessity of living upon the miserable pittance of two biscuits in the twenty-four hours; one being divided, and distributed, without

without favour or respect of persons, into twelve equal portions, at each of their sorrowful meals. The want of water was still more distressing; the neck of a bottle, broken off with the cork in it, was the measure allotted to the support of each individual, during the twenty-four hours. By the kind interposition of Providence, they got an unexpected relief, which in some degree mitigated this great distress; and if this had not occurred, they must all have perished of thirst. By a most fortunate accident, which could have originated only in perturbation of mind, during the confusion which prevailed in the ship, a pair of sheets had been thrown into the boat without being observed, and were now found in it. As some rain fell, they were enabled, by alternately spreading and wringing these sheets, to catch and save a few quarts of water: but this supply, fortunate as it was, could not prevent them from being extremely enfeebled through the want of food. Nor was the quantity of water thus found, sufficient to prevent them from experiencing great distress from the want of drink.

Captain Inglefield, wisely aware that gloom and despair are exceedingly destructive to the animal faculties, successfully endeavoured to divert the attention of the people from their situation and distresses, by inducing them, during the heavy and pensive hours of the evenings, to amuse each other, by every one relating a story, or singing a song in turn: and this was, undoubtedly, an admirable expedient in such circumstances.

On the 13th day it fell calm, soon after which, a breeze sprang up from the N. N. W., and increased to a gale, so that the boat ran before the wind, at the rate of five or six miles an hour, under their blanket, till they judged they were to the southward of Fyal, and to the westward sixty leagues. It blew so strong, however, that they could not attempt to steer for it, and their earnest wishes were, that the wind might shift to the westward. On the fifteenth day during which they had been in the boat, their prospects were very melancholy. They had then bread for one day only, and but one bottle of water remaining of a second supply from rain. Their sufferings were

now as great as human strength could bear; but they were convinced, that good spirits are a better support than great bodily strength; for on that day, Thomas Matthews, Quarter-master, the stoutest man in the boat, perished from hunger and cold. On the preceding day, he had complained of want of strength in his throat, as he expressed it, to swallow his morsel; and in the night had drank salt water, become delirious, and died without a groan.

Gloom and despair had hitherto been successfully debarred from possessing any of the people in the boat, but this night they made their appearance; for notwithstanding all Captain Inglefield's endeavours to obtain a song or a story, he was unsuccessful in both. As the night came on it fell calm, and about midnight a breeze of wind sprang up. By the swell of the sea, they guessed that it was from the westward; but they were afraid of running out of their way, and waited impatiently for the rising sun to be their compass.

As soon as dawn appeared, they found the wind to be exactly as they wished, at W. S. W., and immediately spread their sail, running before the sea at the rate of four miles an hour. Their last breakfast of the bread and water remaining had been just served, when John Gregory, Quarter-master, declared with much confidence, that he saw the land in the S. E. They had so frequently been deceived with fog-banks, which had the appearance of land, that Captain Inglefield, greatly doubting the truth of the report, entreated his people, who were extremely elated, to be cautious of giving too much credit to it, that they might not feel the effects of disappointment. At length, one of them broke out into a most immoderate swearing fit of joy, which the Captain could not restrain, but the man persisted in averring, that he had never seen land in his life, if what he then saw was not.

They immediately shaped their course towards it, as Captain Inglefield owns, with very little faith on his part. The wind freshened, the boat went at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and in two hours time, the land was plainly seen by every man

in



in the boat, but at so very great a distance, that they did not reach it before ten o'clock at night. The shore must have been at least twenty leagues distant when they first discovered it. Captain Inglefield, in his narrative, very properly observes, that he could not help remarking, with much thankfulness, the providential favour shewn to them in this instance.

In every part of the horizon, except where the land was discovered, there was so thick a haze, that they could not have seen any thing at the distance of more than three or four leagues. Fyal, by their reckoning, bore E. by N., which course they were then steering; and in a few hours, if the sky had not opened for their preservation, they must have increased their distance from the land, got to the eastward, and of course missed all the islands. As they approached the land, their belief had strengthened that it was Fyal. Had it been clear weather, the island of Pico would have made them certain of it; but it was at that time capped with clouds: and it was some time before they were quite satisfied, having traversed for two hours a great part of the island, where the steep and rocky shore refused them a landing. This circumstance was borne with much impatience, for they had flattered themselves that they should met with fresh water, at the first part of the land which they should approach. Being disappointed, the thirst increased their anxiety almost to a degree of madness; so that they were near making the attempt to land in some places, where the boat must have been dashed in pieces by the surf. They at last discovered a fishing canoe, which conducted them into the road of Fyal, about midnight; but by the regulations of the port, they could not be permitted to land, till they were examined by the health-officers. After what they had suffered, however, they did not think much of remaining one night more in the boat, especially as the pilot brought them some refreshments of bread, wine, and water. In the morning they were visited by Mr. Graham, the British Consul, whose humane attention made very ample amends for the formality of the Portuguese. Captain Inglefield expresses his gratitude, in the

strongest terms, for the kindness and humanity which he and his companions received from that gentleman; and says, that he believes it was his sole employment, for several days, to contrive the best methods of restoring them to health and strength. It is true, adds he, there never were more pitiable objects; for some of the stoutest men belonging to the Centaur, were obliged to be supported through the streets of Fyal. The Captain, and Mr. Rainy the Master, were rather in better health than the rest; but even they could not walk without being supported: and for several days, with the best and most comfortable provisions and lodgings, they grew worse rather than better.

This ample account of the escape of Captain Inglefield and ten of his people, is highly worthy of a place in these Memoirs. It may well be considered, as among the most remarkable deliverances, of which we have any record; and it affords a most admirable encouragement to mankind, never to sink in their spirits, or fail in their exertions, under any weight of danger, or in the most forlorn condition.\*

Such was the fate of his Majesty's ship the Centaur. Nor was that of the Ville de Paris and Glorieux less deplorable, although all the particulars of the various distresses and calamities which they underwent, can never be so perfectly known. These two unfortunate ships, were both destined to become victims to the rage of this merciless hurricane, which proved so fatal to the Ramillies and Centaur. They did not appear, (particularly the Ville de Paris,) to have suffered in the violent storm on the 17th of September, near so much as the Centaur had done. They were afterwards fallen in with at different times, by some of the scattered ships of the convoy, within a few of the first days after the hurricane; but from their accounts, there was too much reason to fear, that they had received so much damage, that they could not be able to withstand the bad weather and mountainous seas which still continued, especially as the last report of their condition, described

\* See Note 291.

ed it as being much worse than the preceding had done. As however they were seen steering for the Western Islands, a course in which the weather was likely to become every day more favourable, and as the voyage was of no considerable length, great hopes of their safety were long entertained.

No intelligence being received of them, the public anxiety and suspense became at length painful, and every ray of hope was nearly extinguished, when a certainty of their unhappy fate was obtained, through one of those extraordinary accidents of fortune, to which a seafaring life is so peculiarly liable. A Danish merchant ship, returning from the West Indies, took up a man who was floating on a piece of wreck. He was alive, but quite insensible and motionless when brought on board: nor was he quite recovered, when the vessel put into Havre de Grace, where he was sent to the hospital, and treated with great humanity. He there recovered, and told all the circumstances of his misfortunes, which being communicated to the King, he was, by his order, sent to the British Admiralty Board, in a Russian vessel. This man, whose name was Wilson, had been a seaman in the *Ville de Paris*, and said, that when she was going to pieces, he had clung to a piece of the wreck: but he had been so overcome by terror, that he could remember nothing farther, and was in a state of total insensibility, during the greatest part of the time that he lay in the water. He, however, perfectly recollected, that the *Glorieux* had foundered, and that he had seen her go down, on the day preceding that in which the *Ville de Paris* perished. Such was the singular fortune of this man, who appeared to be exceedingly deficient, both in the activity and resolute boldness, which are so characteristic of the British seamen, and yet was destined, unconsciously, to escape that destruction, which swallowed up two noble ships, with their brave and numerous companies.

The fate of *L'Hector* of seventy-four guns, Capt. Bouchier, though not attended with such entire destruction as either of the preceding ships, yet exhibits various scenes of accumulated



misfortune and distress, more tedious and in some respects nearly as calamitous as theirs. This ship had left Jamaica in a much worse condition, in every respect, than any other of the squadron. Besides her defects and her very bad condition, on account of which she had only fifty-two guns mounted, she was scarcely more than one-third manned. Her whole crew, officers and men, amounted only to two hundred and twenty-three. To these must be added, sixty-two French and American prisoners, twenty-seven invalid soldiers, seven officers, and thirty-nine serjeants, corporals, and privates of different regiments, making altogether three hundred and fifty-eight men. Captain William O'Brien Drury of the navy was a passenger, and proved very useful to Captain Bouchier. The prisoners were a great encumbrance to him: nor could the British invalids be considered in almost any other light, especially under such circumstances of distress as L'Hector encountered.

In this wretched state did L'Hector join Rear-Admiral Graves in Bluefield's Bay, and proceed along with the squadron and convoy. Except the daily decrease of the ship's company by death, nothing material happened until the 22d of August, when, in lat.  $32^{\circ} 25'$  N. long.  $75^{\circ} 53'$  W., they lost sight of the fleet, owing to light airs of wind and calms, the ship sailing badly, and being a great way astern. All possible means were used to join the Admiral again, but in vain; and the masts, sails, and rigging, being in a very bad state, Captain Bouchier thought it prudent to make the best of his way to the eastward, in which course he proceeded without interruption, until the 5th of September, when, in lat.  $39^{\circ} 50'$  N. long.  $61^{\circ} 0'$  W., about two in the morning, he perceived two sail bearing down on him, seemingly with an intention to engage. These proved to be L'Aigle and La Gloire, two of the best frigates in the French service.\* These frigates were on their voyage from France to America, quite clean, manned with upwards of six hundred men, and besides being commanded by

officers

\* Of 44 and 36 guns.

officers of high reputation, had on board several of the most distinguished land officers, with some hundreds of the best troops in France, whom they were conveying to the Chesapeake. The enemy must have perceived the weak state of the *Hector*, from the manner in which she was worked, and this no doubt encouraged them to make the attack. Captain Bouchier ordered every thing to be got ready for action, which commenced in twenty minutes afterwards, one of the enemy's ships being on the beam, the other on the quarter. They shifted their positions during the fight, and pointed their guns so well, that they did much mischief on board of the *Hector*, which could not be prevented, as their small original crew was then considerably reduced, by their having on the day of action thirty on the sick list. Encouraged by the slackness of the *Hector's* fire, the enemy continued the engagement until half an hour after day-break, when they thought proper to sheer off and make sail. The *Hector's* foremast was very badly wounded in two places. One shot was quite through, about seven feet below the yard, and another near halfway up from the forecastle deck: the mizen-mast and bowsprit were both shot through: the sails were so much shattered as scarce to be worth repairing: four main and seven fore shrouds, the main and spring stays, together with the greatest part of the running rigging, fore and aft, were almost totally destroyed: several shot were in the hull, and some between wind and water: nine men were killed and thirty-three wounded; among the former was Lieutenant Tothill, and among the latter Captain Bouchier, who had his right arm and back so much shattered, that he was obliged to be carried off the deck, about the middle of the action. In his public letter, he bestowed the highest praises on the officers and men for their gallant behaviour; and acknowledged, that he received great assistance from Captain Drury before he was wounded, and that his gallantry and good conduct afterwards were highly meritorious. When the action was over, the enfeebled crew of the *Hector* knotted, spliced, and did every thing that was possible, to put the ship  
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in a condition for proceeding on her voyage; but for want of the necessary articles which could not very well have been dispensed with, even in a well manned and good conditioned ship, things were in such a situation, that it was judged necessary to bear up for Halifax; and the wind favouring that design, they shaped their course for that place.

Before the enemy quitted the *Hector*, confiding in their number of men, and in the bravery of their land officers and troops, who were eager to signalize themselves in so new a scene of action, they made an attempt to board her. This effort the good conduct of her officers rendered abortive: and although her but too visible weakness, gave every encouragement to repeat the experiment, they declined it. Finding the resistance still continue, far beyond what they could have expected, to the astonishment of all on board of the *Hector*, they retreated, at a time when the British most apprehended their persevering in the engagement.

In the account given of this action in the Paris gazette, the enemy endeavours to palliate their dastardly conduct, by pretending, that when day-light came, several ships made their appearance, which they supposed to be the British squadron. This, they said, obliged them to give over the attack, and to make the best of their way to escape the supposed danger. Happy it had been for the crew of the *Hector*, if the French account had proved true: but, to their unspeakable concern, no ships of any nation hove in sight; and they were soon reduced to such a miserable plight, that they would have rejoiced to strike even to a pirate or a Barbary corsair. Much more, as things afterwards turned out, would it have been a happy circumstance to the officers and crew of that ill-fated ship, if they had been taken by the French. It was surely a most grievous, as well as a very singular case, that the courage and constancy which they displayed in her defence, should have proved the very means of subjecting them to undescribable calamities.

Scarce a day passed in which they did not bury some of their people. On the 10th, the wind increased; and on the 11th,  
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in a very heavy swell, in the morning, the ship rolled away her main-topmast, but the crew, by their activity, saved the mast and sail. They repaired this disaster as well as they could, but the ship had suffered so very much in the action of the 5th, that she was rendered very unfit to encounter rough weather. On the 17th, it began to blow strong, and on the 18th, it increased to a gale, which obliged them to bring to under the main-sail; but the jack giving way, and the sail being much worn, it was driven from the yard. The sea and wind increasing in the evening, the fore-topmast went by the board at six o'clock, and soon after that, the main-mast also went close to the partners of the upper deck, which carried away the mizen-mast five feet above the poop. The fore-yard went in the flings, and the tiller broke in the rudder-head at the same time. In this dreadful situation, the oven got loose upon the main-deck, and killed a man: the sea was extremely agitated the whole night: the ship began to be leaky, and laboured so much, that the rudder broke in the morning, and they were obliged to clear it from the stern-post. At noon, the wind abated a little, and the water in the hold was reduced pretty low by pumping; but from that time, the pumps were kept constantly at work. On the 19th, they discovered a leak under the orlop-deck, on the larboard side; and as it increased very much, and the ship laboured exceedingly, they were under a necessity of throwing overboard several of the guns, and of fothering a sail and getting it under her bottom.

On the 22d in the morning, they threw overboard fourteen eighteen pounders and nine nine pounders, to ease the ship, but with little effect. They found that the lower-deck was much sunk, and that two of the orlop-beams had fallen into the hold, on which they threw overboard the lower deck guns. On the 23d, four men died. On the 24th, they fothered another sail, and put it under the bottom. By the 26th, they had buried seven of the prisoners: and they had now a small sail upon the foremast, and another upon the mizen-mast, but whenever they attempted to loose them, the weather was so bad,

bad, and the canvas so much worn, that they generally split to pieces. On the 27th, the chain-plates forward gave way, the foremast went by the board, and they fothered another sail for the bottom. Their misfortunes were now very great, and seemed to be drawing to a conclusion : they began to despond, and from this time, they had no other view than to keep the ship above water, until it should please God to afford them some relief, or to think proper to put an end to their miseries, which they could not but expect would be ere long, as their water was all spoiled by the leaks increasing and filling the hold, and there was only a trifling quantity of spirits remaining, to keep them from famishing. Add to this, that the ship was without a rudder, and under no management, the masts all gone, and the last sail was under the ship's bottom, with fothering to stop the leaks. In this dreadful condition, however, by the noble example of Captain Drury and the officers of the ship, the pumps were kept going until the 3d of October, when they descried a sail standing towards them. It is not possible to describe the joy which this occasioned. Every countenance brightened up : nothing else could have saved them from perishing, for the water was gaining on them fast ; and they were so dispirited, and worn out with fatigue, that it cost the officers very great exertions to keep the men at the pumps, where several of them died. In short, they could not have stood it many hours longer, as during the four last days, they had neither spirits nor water. This sail proved to be the Hawke snow, a letter of marque, bound from Lisbon to St. John's, Newfoundland, and commanded by Captain John Hill of Dartmouth, a man whose name deserves to be handed down to posterity in the fairest colours, for his humane and generous treatment of the crew of his Majesty's ship L'Hector. Without regarding the great risk to which he was exposing himself, his people and his vessel, and leaving the future event to Providence, he applied himself only to the immediate consideration of discharging, in the amplest and kindest manner, the duties of humanity. He brought his vessel under the stern of  
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the Hector, that night took out part of the crew, and next morning, Captain Bouchier and the remainder, who altogether still exceeded two hundred in number. These crowded the Hawke very much : but to accommodate them, he cheerfully threw overboard a considerable part of his cargo. To place the merit of Captain Hill in a proper point of view, it is necessary to observe, that although they had a fair and full wind to St. John's, the last cask of water had been broached on the day on which they had discovered land, so that a common shift of wind, or bad weather, would have involved the deliverers and delivered, in a fate no less deplorable than that from which the latter had, in the first instance, been so generously extricated. Owing to their confined situation in the snow, and to a scarcity of water, many of the Hector's people died before they reached St. John's, where they arrived on the 7th : and several died after their arrival at that port. Captain Bouchier found there Vice-Admiral Campbell, the Commander in Chief on this station, who exerted himself to the utmost in promoting the recovery of the surviving sufferers : and to his great humanity and attention, they justly attributed the return of health, from a state so very much enfeebled and emaciated, that life was scarcely to be expected.

The Caton of sixty-four guns, and Pallas frigate, reached Halifax, in a very leaky and disabled state. Here they were repaired : and when their crews were sufficiently recovered, they proceeded on their voyage to England. The former reached her destined port ; but the latter proved so very leaky, that Captain Parker was glad to make for the Azores, where the ship was run on shore, to save the lives of the crew, and what stores could be got out of her.

Such was the hard fortune to which the fleet from Jamaica, under the command of Rear-Admiral Graves, was subjected. Of nine ships of the line, only the Canada and Jason reached England : the Ardent put back : the Caton was obliged to bear away for Halifax : the Ville de Paris, Ramillies, Centaur, Glorieux, and Hector, perished : and the Pallas frigate was  
run



run ashore at Fyal. The loss of seamen, invalids, and prisoners, coming from Jamaica in the war ships, as well as of the seamen and passengers in the merchant ships that foundered at sea, was so very great, that its whole amount, in this truly disastrous voyage, may be safely computed at three thousand five hundred men.

Admiral Pigot arrived in the end of June at Jamaica; and Lord Rodney, having dispatched Rear-Admiral Graves with the convoy for Europe and North America, and delivered over the command of the fleet to him, sailed in the *Montagu* for England, about the end of July, taking along with him the *Resolution*, Sir James Wallace; and Anson, Captain John Rodney.

On the 13th of July, Admiral Pigot assumed the command of the fleet at Jamaica, gave out an order of battle,\* and sailed for New York, taking with him Rear-Admirals Lord Hood and Sir Francis Samuel Drake, and Commodore Sir Edward Affleck. The command of the ships left at Jamaica devolved on Rear-Admiral Rowley. When Admiral Pigot left New York in the end of October, he proceeded with a considerable part of the fleet to the Leeward Islands, and detached Rear-Admiral Lord Hood, with thirteen sail of the line, for the Jamaica station. His Lordship brought with him, in quality of midshipman, his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, who, as hostilities had ceased in North America, was anxious to go where he could be of some service to his country. As the enemy had not relinquished their designs upon Jamaica, he had therefore requested leave of Admiral Digby to accompany Lord Hood to the West Indies. Lord Hood had orders to cruize for some time before Cape François, in order to observe the motions of the enemy.†

To distress the enemy as much as possible, Rear-Admiral Rowley sent the ships under his command to cruize in the stations, in which he thought it most likely that they should fall in with their ships. On the 17th of October, the *Torbay*  
of

\* See Note 292.

† See Note 293.

of seventy guns, Captain Gidoin; the London of ninety guns, Captain Kempthorne, and the Badger sloop, were on a cruize off the east end of the island of St. Domingo. The London being ahead, at nine in the morning, made the signal for seeing two sail in the N. W., and Captain Gidoin made the signal to chace. The chace were at this time on the larboard tack, and standing towards the London. They were soon perceived to be a ship of seventy-four guns and a frigate, and afterwards proved to be the Scipion and the Sybille, French ships of war. On seeing the British ships in chace of them they tacked, and made all the sail they could from them, going large with the wind on the starboard quarter. At twenty-five minutes past two, the Scipion hoisted French colours, and fired her stern chace guns at the London; and soon after that, the frigate did the same. Captain Kempthorne, finding that they continued their fire, and that their shot went over his ship, ordered the London to bear, and to fire the starboard guns at the line of battle ship: and forty minutes past five he repeated this, the enemy still firing their stern chaces. At eight o'clock, the London got close up alongside of the Scipion, hauled up the main-sail, and took in the fore-studding-sail: and, in fifteen minutes, began a close action, with a very heavy fire, which lasted near forty minutes. The Sybille kept firing all the while on the London's larboard bow. The Scipion attempting to bear up, Captain Kempthorne ordered the helm of the London to be put hard aport, in order to cross her bows, or lay athwart hawse; but being very closely engaged, the two ships fell on board of each other, bow and quarter, the enemy's larboard cathead abreast of the London's starboard gangway, and the action was renewed with as much keenness as before. The enemy then backed clear of the London's quarter, her main and mizen-top-sails being aback. Captain Kempthorne instantly attempted to wear the ship, in order to close with the enemy, on the starboard-bow; and was much disappointed in not being able to accomplish this. Owing to the leading-block of the weather-tiller-rope being shot away, with part of the sweep, the ship  
came

came with her head to the wind, before it was possible to get the helm aweather, with the assistance of the relieving tackles ; by which means the enemy had time to pass to leeward, under the stern of the London, and to rake her with their starboard guns. The London having wore as soon as possible, the enemy were again brought to action, by her leading down on the Scipion's starboard bow ; and the frigate, a little ahead of her, kept up a constant fire from her broadside, until twenty minutes past ten. The Scipion having now ceased firing, and her colours appearing to be down, the Captain and his officers concluded that she had struck, as the frigate had by this time quitted her, and made off.

At forty minutes past ten, the Scipion being then a little ahead of her antagonist, was observed to bear up, and was endeavouring to get away ; but to prevent this, the London hauled up to bring some of her bow guns to bear, and fired three shot. The enemy then hauled up his main-sail, and seemed to bring to, his main-top-sail half down, and his top-gallant sheets flying. At this time, the Torbay coming within hail of the London, Captain Kempthorne informed Captain Gidoin, that he supposed that the enemy had struck ; and requested that he would go down to her, as the damages which his ship had received, prevented him from making sail and doing it. He told him, that the starboard fore-yard-arm was shot away, that all the sails were much cut, with some of the braces, running rigging, and tiller-rope ; that the mizen-mast was very much wounded, that the mizen-mast and tiller were partly shot through ; that all the boats except one were rendered unserviceable, and that he would follow him with all the sail he could possibly make, as soon as he could get the ship under command. Captain Gidoin replied, that he would instantly go down, and made sail accordingly. The Scipion was then making off with all the sails she could set. On board the London, they reeved the tiller-rope and braces, set all their larboard studding sails, and hauled in the starboard.

At half past twelve at night, the Scipion was right ahead,  
about



about a mile and a half distant, under a press of sail. The light airs of wind during the night, enabled the enemy to preserve their distance next morning, to keep without reach of shot, and to steer for the shore. At day-light on the 18th, the east end of Hispaniola appeared south, distant four or five leagues. At ten it became almost calm, and the London being very near the land, Captain Kempthorne was obliged to haul to the northward, to prevent driving on shore, where there was no anchorage. As the enemy were close in with the breakers, standing along shore towards Samana Bay, Captain Kempthorne sent an officer to inform Captain Gidoin of what he had done, and the Torbay continued the chase.

At one in the afternoon, Captain Kempthorne spoke the Badger sloop, whose Captain sent two pilots on board the London; but when they learnt the state of the ship, neither of them would take charge of her, to stand farther into the bay after the enemy. All that they could therefore now do, was to repair their damages as fast as possible.

The Torbay came up with the enemy at half past three, and poured a broadside into her. She then put large, and run into a small bay called English Harbour, in the island of St. Domingo, where she came to an anchor, immediately after which, she struck on a sunken rock, and was that night totally lost; but her crew were saved. She was commanded by the Chevalier de Grimouard,\* who was wounded in the action, in which he had fifteen men killed, and forty-six wounded. If the enemy had had a few more leagues to run, they must have struck to the Torbay, as they had been so roughly handled in the action with the London, that they were not capable of making much resistance; but Captain Gidoin was too well ac-

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acquainted

\* The Chevalier de Grimouard commanded the frigate *La Minerve* of thirty-two guns, when she was taken by Lord Mulgrave in the *Courageux* of seventy-four guns, in January, 1781. He was sent out to take the command of the *Scipion*, when her Captain was recalled, together with all the Captains of the line of battle ships of M. de Grasse's fleet, in order to stand trial for their conduct on the 12th of April, 1782.

quainted with the dangers of the coast to follow them any farther than he did, and he well knew, from the fresh breeze that then blew, that it was impossible for them to extricate themselves.

On board the *London*, nine men were killed in the action, and two died of their wounds. Lieutenants Burgefs, Hankey, and Trigge, and seventy-two men, were wounded.

As the French and Spaniards had publicly avowed their intention of attacking the island of Jamaica, with a very powerful fleet and army, in the beginning of the campaign 1783; and as they had even named the general officers who were to command them, if the negotiations carrying on for settling a general peace should fail of success, the King's Ministers took every measure in their power to render their designs abortive. Accordingly, when Charlestown in South Carolina was evacuated by the British troops, Major-General Leslie received orders to detach the 3d, 19th, and 30th regiments to Jamaica, under the command of Brigadier-General Alexander Stewart. The fleet, consisting of one hundred and thirty sail, left Charlestown on the 18th of December, and went, with the loyalists and their negroes, to St. Augustine. Part went for New York, under convoy of the *Assurance* and *Belisarius*; part for England, under convoy of the *Adamant*; part for St. Lucia, under convoy of the *Narcissus*; and the remainder, being thirty-eight sail, arrived on the 13th of January, at Port Royal in Jamaica. The regular troops amounted to one thousand six hundred men. Upwards of four hundred white families came to settle in this island, and brought with them four thousand five hundred negroes. This fleet was escorted to Jamaica by the *Emerald* of thirty-two guns, Captain W. Knell; the *Endymion* of forty-four guns, Captain Edward Tyrrell Smith; the *Magicienne* of thirty-six guns, Captain Thomas Graves; and the *Hornet* sloop, Captain F. Tinsley. On the 2d of January, they fell in with a French convoy of seventeen sail, from Cape François, bound for Boston and Old France. The *Endymion* and *Magicienne* were ordered to chase. The former took the  
Celerity,

Celerity, one of the convoy, valued at 20,000*l.* but she unfortunately ran on a sunken rock, (on the 9th of January), off the island of Heneaga, and was totally lost.

This convoy was perceived at day-light by the *Endymion*, which then made the signal for seeing two strange sail in the N. E.; on which Captain Knell, the senior officer, made her signal to chase. The *Magicienne* edged towards the chase and repeated the *Endymion*'s signal. The latter, at half past six, made the signal for a fleet, and hoisted French colours, to denote that they were of that nation. At nine o'clock, the *Endymion* came up with one of the convoy and brought her to. She proved to be the *Celerity*; and the *Magicienne* soon came up, and hoisted out her barge, to assist in taking out the prisoners. At half past nine, the *Endymion* made the *Magicienne*'s signal to chase to the N. E., on which she hoisted in her barge, and made all the sail she could. The same was done by all the French convoy, except five, which hauled their wind and stood towards the *Magicienne*. As she approached them, she perceived that the two headmost were French ships of war,\* the largest of which wore a Commodore's pendant at the main-top-gallant-mast head. Captain Graves ordered the royals and studding-sails to be taken in, that the *Endymion*, which sailed very badly, and was then four or five miles astern, might come up; and in the mean time flung his lower yards, stopped the top-sail sheets, and prepared for action. Soon after that, the three leewardmost of the enemy's five ships bore up, and followed the convoy. The *Magicienne* stood towards the French ships of war, which had hoisted their colours, and had every appearance of intending to give battle: but when she got within random shot of them, they wore, and made all the sail they could from her, firing, at the same time, their stern chaces, which they continued to do until they were brought to action. The *Magicienne* crowded sail and followed them, firing her bow chase guns as they bore on the enemy, who kept close together;

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\* Sybille, 40 guns, Captain Comte de Kergariou de Lozmaria.

Railler, 16 guns, Captain M. de Hebert.



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gether; the smallest ship being upon the larboard quarter of her Commodore. The *Endymion* was four or five miles astern, using every effort to come up. At twenty minutes past twelve, the *Magicienne* got close up with the sternmost and smallest of the enemy's ships. A short action then took place: and her ensign being down, and her fire ceasing, it was concluded that she had struck. As her pendant was still flying, Captain Graves hailed her to know whether or not she had struck; but owing to the confusion in which she was, taking in her sails, the ship being in the wind, and her studding and small sails flying about in great disorder, no distinct answer was returned. Soon after that, the *Magicienne* got on the larboard quarter of the French Commodore and brought her to close action, which continued very brisk on both sides for an hour and three quarters. During the engagement the ships frequently touched each other; and the British tars heaved grape and other shot on board of the enemy, and frequently made use of their half pikes and rammers, to annoy them and prevent them from loading their guns. The enemy's smallest ship, fearing least the battle should not end favourably to her consort, hoisted her ensign, fired a broadside, and made off as fast as she could. At a quarter after two, the *Magicienne* had nearly silenced the enemy's fire, and there appeared every reason to think that she must soon submit. Some unlucky shot, however, brought down the *Magicienne*'s mizen and fore-topmast, and the wreck falling clear of the enemy, she fell a little astern, and in about five minutes afterwards, her fore and main-masts followed. The French ship instantly availed herself of these unfortunate circumstances, and made off, while the *Magicienne*, quite unable to pursue her, fired every gun that she could bring to bear into her stern. At half past three, the *Endymion* passed the *Magicienne*, in full pursuit of the enemy's ship, which, at that time, was about two miles distant, and had lost her main-top-gallant-mast. The ships cheered each other as they passed. When the *Endymion* got within a mile of the *Sybille*, it unfortunately fell calm, during the continuance of which, the enemy repaired the  
damages.

damages which their rigging and masts had sustained, so that when the breeze returned, they were able to set a crowd of sail: and as they went much faster than the *Endymion*, they made their escape. Captain Smith persevered in the pursuit for some hours; but, finding it to no manner of purpose, he reluctantly desisted, and went in search of the *Magicienne*, in order to give her all the aid in his power. He was not however so lucky as to fall in with her. In the account published by the enemy of the loss of men which they sustained in this battle, they acknowledged that they had thirteen killed, twenty-nine dangerously wounded, and eight slightly. The *Magicienne* did not reach Jamaica until the 17th of January, was much damaged in her hull, lost all her masts, and had sixteen men killed and thirty-one wounded in the action. Too much praise could not be given to Captain Thomas Graves, his officers and crew, for the bravery and good conduct shewn by them in this engagement: nor did the least deficiency of spirit appear on the part of Captain Smith of the *Endymion*, his officers and men, who exerted themselves to the utmost to support Captain Graves, and to come in for a share of the glory of the day, of which they were deprived only by the dull sailing of their ship.

The *Fox* of thirty-two guns, Captain George Stoney, being on a cruize, fell in with, and, after a short action, took a Spanish frigate, of twenty-two guns and one hundred and sixty-three men, named the *Santa Catalina*. The *Fox* had four men killed and one wounded in the action.

The squadron on this station, particularly the ships under the command of Lord Hood, made many valuable captures. The *Pegasus* frigate took the *Allegiance*, a French transport, formerly a sloop of war belonging to his Majesty, having on board two hundred French troops: and the *Albemarle* took *La Reine de France*, a French ship with masts for M. de Vaudreuil's fleet, and two hundred and fifty French troops on board.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil returned to the West Indies, after the hurricane season was over, with a fleet of seventeen sail of the line, including two of fifty guns, and intended to

go to Martinico. He left Boston in the beginning of January ; but, learning on his voyage, that Admiral Pigot was gone to the Leeward Islands, with a strong squadron, he bent his course for Cape François. Bad weather, however, and the disabled condition of his ships, prevented him from reaching that port: and after beating about for some time, and encountering a variety of dangers, he arrived on the 6th of February, with thirteen ships, at the Dutch island of Curacoa. He was joined here, on the 10th of that month, by La Couronne of eighty guns, one of his squadron, which had been engaged by the *Leander*, a British ship of war of fifty guns. Three of his squadron were glad to take shelter in Port Cavallo on the Spanish Main, but it did not fare so well with the *Bourgogne* of seventy-four guns, another of his ships; for she was driven ashore in a gale of wind, and wrecked, about ten leagues to the westward of Port Cavallo. Of her crew, which consisted of upwards of eight hundred men, more than one half were drowned.

The gale which prevented M. de Vaudreuil from reaching Cape François, drove Lord Hood and Commodore Affleck from their station off that port. The former, with most of his squadron, arrived at Port Royal harbour in Jamaica, on the 8th of February. His Lordship left Commodore Affleck, with the *Bedford*, *Invincible*, *Alcide*, *Ajax*, *America*, and *Prince William*, on a cruize to watch the motions of the enemy.

With Lord Hood arrived his Royal Highness Prince William Henry, his Majesty's third son, who was received with every mark of attention and respect, due to his elevated rank.

On the 2d of March, his Majesty's ship *Resistance* of forty-four guns, commanded by Captain King, coming through Turk's island passage, in company with the *Du Guay Trouin* sloop, discovered two ships at anchor, which, on seeing them, cut their cables, got under way, and stood to the southward. The *Resistance* immediately gave chase to the sternmost, a twenty gun ship, which, by carrying a press of sail, soon lost her main-topmast, and then hauled her wind. She quickly  
came



came up with her; and, on firing a few shot at her, she struck. Leaving her to be picked up by the sloop, Captain King pushed on after the headmost of the enemy's ships, which soon began to fire her stern chase guns, and continued so to do for a quarter of an hour, when, ranging up alongside of her to leeward, she struck her white flag, after discharging her broadside. Possession was then taken of *La Coquette*, a royal French frigate of twenty-eight guns, but mounting only twenty-three, her other five guns having been landed on Turk's island. She had two hundred men, and was commanded by the Marquis de Grasse, nephew to the Admiral Comte de Grasse. The *Resistance* fired only a few guns, and had two of her officers wounded by the enemy's fire.

*La Coquette* and her consort, with two transports, sailed from Cape François in the beginning of February, with troops on board, on an expedition against Turk's island, which they reduced and fortified, leaving in it a garrison of five hundred and fifty men. A day or two after the capture of *La Coquette*, the *Resistance* fell in with his Majesty's frigates *Albemarle* and *Tartar*, and the *Drake* and *Barrington* armed vessels, when it was resolved, that an attempt should be made to retake the island. For this purpose, two hundred and fifty men were landed, under the command of Captain Dixon of the *Drake*, and the two brigs were stationed opposite to the town, to cover the disembarkation, and to dislodge the enemy from the houses; but a battery of four twenty-four pounders, and five six pounders, being unexpectedly opened against them, they were compelled to retire, the *Drake* having seven men wounded and the *Barrington* two. Captain Dixon, at the same time, finding it impossible to dislodge the enemy, who were advantageously posted behind a strong work, and greatly superior to him in numbers, drew off his men, and re-embarked them without loss. On the following night, the *Tartar* was drove off the bank, and went to sea with the loss of an anchor. It was next determined upon, to attack the battery with the large ships; but the wind coming about to the westward, and blowing so hard,

that it was with great difficulty that the ships could be cleared of the lee shore, the project was abandoned.

The Fox of thirty-two guns, commanded by the Hon. Thomas Windfor, took, while on a cruize, two Spanish prizes, viz. the Socorro Guipuscoano, a ship of twenty-six guns, and the Dama Biscayma of twenty. They were bound to the Havannah, from St. Sebastian's, with very valuable cargoes of silks, velvets, &c. They engaged the Fox for near an hour and a half, killed her boatswain and one seaman, and wounded several, before they struck. His Majesty's frigate Hinchinbrook of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Fish, coming in from sea, extremely leaky and in great danger of sinking, in endeavouring to get into St. Anne's Bay on the 19th of January, unfortunately run on a rock and was lost; but her crew, guns, masts, rigging, and most of her stores were saved.

Some Spanish row-boats, from their neighbouring settlements, gave the coasting trade of Jamaica a good deal of trouble. One of these attempted to board the ship Neptune, but being on her guard, the Spaniards met such a reception, as soon obliged them to strike. Another had the audacity to come up to the town of Kingston, and to anchor off the wherry-wharf, while four of her crew came ashore, for the purpose of purchasing provisions. She was luckily observed, by a gentleman well acquainted with the construction and rigging of Spanish vessels, whose suspicion was so strong, that he was induced to take a boat properly manned and armed, and to go on board to see if they were well founded. He there found the remainder of the crew secreted under a sail, waiting the return of their companions. They, together with their people who had gone on shore, were properly secured, and sent to prison. By their own confession, it appeared that they had a consort, a schooner privateer then in the offing, and that this device was contrived, to furnish them with provisions, in order to enable them to prolong their cruize.

On the 19th of January, a daring act of piracy was committed on board of the schooner General Campbell, Captain Archbold,

Archbold, on her passage from Dry Harbour to Kingston. She was off Rio Bueno, when the mate, having previously possessed himself of the Captain's pistols, and being seconded by two of the crew, surprised the Captain in his cabin while he was shaving himself, and immediately confined him in irons, where he was kept for an hour. They then thought proper to give him and two of the hands the boat to go on shore, saluted him with three cheers, and informed him, that they were bound to America. In this design, however, they were greatly disappointed; for in the course of the evening, they fell in with his Majesty's sloop Victor, whose Captain, making the proper inquiries, soon discovered their villainous transaction, had the guilty properly secured, and sent the schooner, the cargo of which was very valuable, under the command of Lieutenant Harrison, to Kingston. The people who seized the General Campbell were Americans, from Rhode Island, who had entered themselves on board as British seamen.

Captain Gideon Duncan,\* of the Surprise letter of marque of fourteen guns, fell in with a Dutch frigate of forty guns, near the island of Curacoa, and mistaking her for a merchant ship, he resolutely attacked her. After a desperate engagement, in which he lost many men, and had his ship rendered almost a wreck, this gallant officer was obliged, by the enemy's superiority, to submit.

## NORTH AMERICA.

THE command of his Majesty's ships on this station remained invested in Rear-Admiral Digby † and it has already been mentioned,

\* This is the same Captain Duncan, who, as the reader will remember, gave a proof of his determined courage, in the offer he made to Lord Howe, to fit out his ship as a fireship, and to lay her aboard of M. d'Estaing's ship the Languedoc, then off Sandy Hook, in 1778: but the offer was not accepted. In coming home, he was cast away in the Channel; and though he had ordered insurance, by some unaccountable neglect, he found on his arrival in London, that no insurance had been made, by which means he lost a considerable sum of money.

† See Note 294.



mentioned, that Lieutenant-General Sir Guy Carleton was appointed Commander in Chief of his Majesty's land-forces in North America. He was dispatched to New York in the *Ceres* frigate, as soon as the season would admit of his sailing, arrived there in the beginning of May, and immediately announced to General Washington his arrival and his intentions. The letter which he wrote on this occasion, does honour to his head as well as to his heart. He requested from his Excellency, a passport for Mr. Morgan, his Secretary, to go to Philadelphia with his dispatches to Congress. This letter Mr. Washington answered, but declined to grant his request, without the permission of Congress.† Notwithstanding the pacific dispositions of Great Britain, the Congress approved of what their General had done; and finally, determined on an utter rejection of all proposals for peace, unless the British fleets and armies were withdrawn from North America, the independency of America acknowledged, and France included in any treaty that should take place. By the resolutions of Parliament, all offensive operations of war in North America were now, in a great measure, at an end. The narrative of this campaign in that country must therefore necessarily, both in copiousness and interest, fall very much short of former details, because the scale of hostilities was circumscribed within much narrower bounds. A very great force was still in garrison at New York and its environs: and there Sir Guy Carleton fixed his head-quarters. Major-General Leslie was in garrison at Charlestown in South Carolina, with a strong garrison. To watch the motions of both, General Washington, with the principal army of the Americans, was posted in the neighbourhood of the former, and Major-General Green, with a body of forces, in the neighbourhood of the latter.

The Spaniards, who had paid the whole of their attention to the enterprise against the island of Jamaica, embarked as many troops as they could find transports for at the Havannah. These sailed for Cape François, under Don Bernardo Galvez, to

† See Note 295.

to form a junction with the French troops assembled there. They found some difficulty in conveying thither the second division of their troops, commanded by Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, as they had no shipping of their own; but they had recourse to an expedient which obviated this deficiency. The Governor of Cuba laid an embargo on the ships there, by which means, a sufficient number of vessels belonging to the Americans were obtained, and they very readily hired them to go against the Bahama Islands, at their own risk. The reduction of Jamaica was the real object of all these mighty preparations: but the Spanish General, finding that the winds proved unfavourable for the second embarkation proceeding to Cape François; considering the risk which arose from many of the vessels having been hired on account of the Americans; and having received the most positive assurances, by several of the inhabitants of Providence and other islands, who were employed by Government in flags of truce, that they might with great facility be subjected, resolved to make the attempt: and trusted, that his making this conquest, on his way to the grand rendezvous, would be in no degree detrimental to the principal design of the armament. They accordingly sailed from the Havannah, and on the 5th of May appeared before the island of New Providence, with three frigates, sixty sail of transports, forty of which were topsail vessels, having on board two thousand seven hundred regular troops, under the command of Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, Governor of the Havannah. In the course of the day they landed their forces, next morning at day-break invested the fort, and at nine o'clock, summoned John Maxwell, Esq; the Governor, to surrender. Unfortunately, they found the islands exactly in the situation in which they had been described to them: the garrison consisted of no more than one hundred and seventy invalids fit for duty, and these but newly arrived; the inhabitants who were fit to bear arms, and to join them in defending the fort, were mostly employed in privateers, and out on cruizes; so that the Governor was in a great measure left without any choice, but that  
of

of surrendering on the best terms he could obtain. He first called his Council together, and afterwards what military officers he had under his command, to know their opinion; but a very great majority of both, foreseeing that all defence would be to no purpose, were for giving up the place. In consequence of this a capitulation\* took place, by which the troops obtained the honours of war, and the inhabitants fully as good terms as they had reason to expect. It would appear, from the Spaniards leaving the Havannah to go on this enterprize, that no official accounts had been received there, of the defeat of the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse on the 12th of April, so late as the beginning of May; and yet the wind, which was against this second division of their armament failing to Cape François, was favourable for bringing intelligence from thence.

Although, by means of the defeat which the French squadron had sustained in the West Indies, the fleet of Britain had become master of these seas, yet the French so far recovered from their consternation, as to be able to collect their trade, which they dispatched at different times to Europe, under escort of some of their most disabled line of battle ships; and to detach M. de la Perouse, in the *Sceptre* of seventy-four guns, accompanied with the *Astrée* and *Engageante* frigates of thirty-six guns each, on an expedition against the British settlements in Hudson's Bay. On board of this little squadron were embarked two hundred and fifty men, of the regiments of Armagnac and Auxerrois, forty artillerymen, two eight inch mortars, three hundred bombs, and four cannon. They sailed from Cape François on the 31st of May, just forty-nine days after the 12th of April: and on the 17th of July, entered Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company had been at very great expence in fortifying their different factories, and in furnishing them with abundance of artillery and stores; but they were all so very poorly garrisoned, that a long or an obstinate

\* The reader will find a full copy of the capitulation in the Appendix. See Note 296.



nate defence was not to be expected. The smallness of the French force, however, and the many difficulties which they had to encounter in that inhospitable climate, might have induced the Governor, considering the state of the forts, to have delayed his surrender, until he had seen what time would work in his favour.

The French Commodore had great merit in persevering in his design, and in overcoming such a number of obstacles as daily presented themselves. His squadron was without a pilot, in a very intricate navigation, in which the ships were often in great danger of being crushed by large pieces of floating ice, and frequently enveloped in thick fogs, which rendered it necessary for them to come to an anchor: nor did they escape free of damage, for the ice had greatly hurt the bows of the frigates, and the Sceptre had very nearly lost her rudder. After many hairbreadth escapes, they at last got sight of Churchill, or Prince of Wales's Fort, in the evening of the 8th of August. Next day, they approached within a mile and a half of the fort, sounding all the way. Early on the morning of the 10th, they landed their troops, marched towards the fort, and sent an officer with a flag of truce, requiring the Commandant to surrender. It would appear from his conduct, that he was panic struck; for he made no terms, but immediately surrendered at discretion. Here M. de la Perouse got ample information of the weak state of the garrison at York Fort. The Commandant of Prince of Wales's Fort, had not even the precaution to destroy his papers, or to dispatch an express through the woods, to the Governor of York Fort, to inform him of the enemy being at hand; though he could easily have done this, by means of the Indians, who were strongly attached to the British. The French plundered the place, demolished the works, set the houses on fire, and sailed on the 11th for Nelson's river. After a very fatiguing and dangerous voyage, they got sight of the entrance of that river on the 20th, and came to an anchor about five miles from the land. By means of boats, which M. de la Perouse brought from Prince of Wales's Fort,

Fort, he was enabled to sound the river, on an island of which York Fort is built; and, as soon as the tide favoured, he weighed anchor and entered Port Nelson. The weather on the 21st proving favourable, he landed his troops, who began their route for York Fort, before which place they appeared on the 23d, very much exhausted and fatigued with their march. The whole country through which they passed was very rough, the ground being interspersed with woods, thickets, and bogs. These obstacles were so hard to surmount, that a whole day was spent in marching seven miles, and neither mortars nor cannon could be brought along with them. It is likewise to be considered, that this body of troops, when before the fort, were at least twenty miles from their ships, which were anchored in a place that could not afford them much shelter from a boisterous sea, at a dangerous season of the year. Their ships could not, therefore, easily co-operate with them, unless the weather should prove extremely favourable; and they could receive no supplies, but what came from their vessels. Cold, hunger, and fatigue would, of consequence, be working hourly in favour of the garrison, which, although not numerous,\* was in good spirits, and amply supplied with every necessary, while the fort was very capable of defence, and the approaches to it were extremely difficult. The Governor, notwithstanding all these circumstances in his favour, resolved not to defend the place. He would not even permit the guns on the ramparts to be fired, when the enemy's troops were quite exposed to them as they advanced towards the fort: and without waiting for a summons from the enemy, "he held out a white flag with his own hand, which was answered by a French officer, shewing his pocket handkerchief. Under the sanction of this flag of truce, a parley took place, and the Governor received a summons written in English. In this summons two hours were granted him to consult about his situation: but this indulgence was made no use of, and the place was most ingloriously given up in about ten minutes, without one

" officer

\* The garrison of York Fort consisted of sixty British and twelve Indians.

“ officer being consulted, or a council assembled : so that this  
“ fort, which might have withstood the united efforts of double  
“ the number of those by which it was assailed, in an attack  
“ with small arms, was surrendered to a half starved wretched  
“ group of Frenchmen, worn out with fatigue and hard labour,  
“ in a country to which they were entire strangers.”† M. de  
la Perouse treated his prisoners with the greatest politeness and  
attention ; and gave large presents to the Indians, of such  
stores as could be of use to them, and of fire-arms and ammu-  
nition. He took on board what peltry he found in the fort :  
and, as his men were turning very sickly, he set the factory on  
fire, destroyed the cannon, blew up the fortifications, and sail-  
ed down the river on the 31st of August, having found the  
weather for some weeks to be extremely stormy. The first in-  
telligence of this enterprize that reached Britain was, by one  
of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s ships, which was lying in Port  
Nelson, when the French ships appeared off the mouth of that  
river. The Captain of this ship put to sea in the night, and  
arrived at one of the Orkney islands on the 19th of October.

On the 4th of April, some British privateers from Charlestown surprised the town of Beaufort in North Carolina, took the fort and all the shipping which they found in the harbour, and weighed and brought off a very fine American galley, which had been sunk in a creek, to prevent her from falling into their hands. After remaining near three weeks masters of the place, they embarked all the stores and merchandize, demolished the fort and guns, and returned with their booty to Charlestown. A circumstance which contributed very much to their success was, that one of the privateers, which had been dismasted in a hard gale of wind a day or two before they appeared off the place, was towed into the harbour by another of the privateers, as a prize, having the American flag over the British ensign. A number of the principal inhabitants and pilots, misled by this device, came on board in six or seven boats : nor did they discover the deception, until they had  
been

† Umfreville’s Present State of Hudson’s Bay, pages 127, 128.



been on board for some time, when it was too late to retrieve the error they had committed. On the 1st of July, the Americans retaliated this descent on Beaufort, by causing some privateers from Boston in New England, to enter the harbour, and take by surprise, the town of Lunenburg, situated about ten leagues to the westward of Halifax in Nova Scotia. They burnt the blockhouses, destroyed the guns, and embarked the stores, and a great deal of valuable merchandize. The inhabitants, who had made all the opposition in their power, were obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion, when the privateers brought their broadsides to bear on the principal blockhouse, to which the militia had retired. They afterwards agreed to give 1000l. sterl. as a ransom for the town; and for the payment of this sum the Americans carried away with them, some of the principal people as hostages.

M. de Bougainville having gone to Europe, with the most disabled ships of the French fleet at Cape François, the command of what remained at that port devolved on the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who, to avoid the hurricane season in the West Indies, soon proceeded with his squadron, consisting of six ships of eighty, and eight of seventy-four guns, and some frigates,\* to North America. He detached two of them to Portsmouth in New Hampshire to be refitted; and, with the remainder, entered the harbour of Boston, on the 13th of August. In going into port, the *Magnifique* of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships of his fleet, run ashore upon Lovel's island, about the time of high water; and when the tide ebbed, she overset, and was bilged. Her guns, sails, and stores, were saved, but the ship was obliged to be broken up.† Other five of his ships struck the ground, and were injured, one of them very materially. As soon as Admiral Pigot obtained certain

\* See Note 297.

† On hearing of this disaster, Congress, in order to shew the gratitude of America to the King of France, for the great benefits she had derived from his alliance, requested his acceptance of a ship of seventy-four guns, lately launched at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, to replace the *Magnifique*. The King was pleased to accept the offer, and she was named *L'Amerique*.

certain information that M. de Vaudreuil had failed for North America, he failed from Port Royal in Jamaica, with the squadron under his command,\* and arrived at New York early in September.

His Majesty's ship *Santa Margaritta*, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and fifty-five men, commanded by Captain Elliot Salter, being on a cruize on the 29th of July, at dawn of day, gave chase to a sail in the S. E. quarter, the wind being at N. E. by N., Cape Henry then bearing west, distant about five leagues. Having approached within a mile and a half of the chase, she was discovered, by her signals and manœuvres, to be a French frigate, and of equal force to the *Santa Margaritta*; but at this instant, eight sail of large ships were perceived to be bearing down on them, under a crowd of sail. Two of these were at no great distance. Captain Salter, therefore, after consulting with his officers, judged it proper to wear, and to stand from the chase to the northward, having at this time, not only an enemy, but also a lee shore to contend with. The enemy's frigate immediately gave chase to the *Santa Margaritta*, and persevered in the pursuit, until three in the afternoon, when she tacked, and stood to the westward. At this time, the weather was perfectly clear, and as the large ships were not to be seen from the mast-head, the officers and crew, with a spirit that does them great honour, most earnestly solicited Captain Salter, once more to give chase to the frigate, and bring her to action. This the Captain could not refuse; and the ship was instantly tacked, and stood after the enemy.

The French seemed determined not to balk the British tars, for in a quarter of an hour afterwards, they also tacked and stood towards the King's ship. As courage did not appear to be wanting on either side, superior seamanship was to decide the contest; and never was a battle better fought. At five o'clock both ships were within a cable's length of each other, the French with their starboard, and the British with their larboard tacks on board. The former then commenced the

VOL. V. M M action,

\* See Note 298.

action, by firing her broadside, and instantly wore. The Santa Margaritta reserved her fire, till an opportunity occurred to rake the enemy in wearing, which was done with great effect from the starboard guns. Both ships then gradually closed, until within pistol shot of each other, Captain Salter keeping the French ship on his larboard beam : and in this manner did the action continue with great ardour on both sides, for an hour and a quarter, when the enemy struck her colours, and proved to be l'Amazone, a French frigate of thirty-six guns, long twelve and six pounders, carrying three hundred and one men, commanded by the Viscount de Montguiote, who was killed in the early part of the action. Captain Salter sent a Lieutenant, and one-third of his ship's company, to take possession of the prize. Every effort was made to repair the damages sustained in the action, and to shift the prisoners, in order to make the best of their way to New York, and to avoid the large ships, which, by the information given by the prisoners to the Captain, were a part of the French fleet, under M. de Vaudreuil, from the West Indies. Unavoidable delays however occurred : Captain Salter had only one boat in a condition to be hoisted out, and she transported on board the Santa Margaritta, sixty-eight prisoners including officers : the very disabled and shattered state of the Amazone, which had lost her main and mizen-masts soon after she struck, and had been otherwise greatly damaged in the action, obliged him to take her in tow during the night : and though, with all the sail he could set, he stood to the N. E., in hopes of increasing his distance from the French Squadron, at day-break on the 1st of August, he had the mortification to perceive the whole of it in chace of him. There was no time to deliberate : he immediately recalled his officers and men on board, cut the hawser, and, not being able to hoist her in, set adrift his boat, and abandoned the prize, after having ordered the small remains of her fore rigging to be cut away. Had time and circumstances admitted of it, he intended to have shifted all the prisoners, and to have burned the prize, to prevent her from being retaken by the enemy.

Captain



Captain Salter, in his public letter, bestowed the highest approbation on his officers and men for their bravery and spirited conduct during the action; and for their vigorous exertions afterwards, in repairing in the best manner possible, so as to enable his Majesty's ship to escape from the enemy's fleet. At the same time, he gives a due share of praise to the officers and crew of *l'Amazone*, for the courage and good conduct which they displayed on this occasion, and pays a handsome tribute to the memory of the Viscount de Montguiote, who, he says, led his ship into action, in the most gallant and officer-like manner. In this conflict, the *l'Amazone*, besides her Captain, had seventy men killed, and between seventy and eighty wounded. Among the latter was the Chevalier de Lepine, Second Captain, on whom the command devolved. He did every thing that an experienced officer in his situation could possibly do; for when he surrendered the ship, he and all his officers, excepting one, were wounded; one half of his men were either killed or wounded: and there were four feet water in the hold.

The damages and loss of men in the *Santa Margaritta* were but trivial, when compared to those sustained by the enemy. Her main-mast was shot through in several places: her fore-mast, main, fore, and mizen-topmasts, and several of the yards were wounded: many grape shot were lodged in her copper, between wind and water: and her sails, and all her standing and running rigging, except the mizen shrouds, were entirely cut to pieces. Five of her men were killed and seventeen wounded: among the former was Mr. Dalrymple, a midshipman, a very promising young man.\*

On the 1st of September, Captain Purvis, commanding his Majesty's sloop *Duc de Chartres*, of sixteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men, fell in with a French ship of war, called *l'Aigle*, of twenty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-six men, commanded by M. Lemoine de Preneuf, bound from Cape François, with dispatches to the Marquis de

M M 2 Vaudreuil

\* His father, Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston, Baronet, has erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Vaudreuil at Boston, and after a very brisk action of an hour, obliged her to strike. His Majesty's sloop, though her masts, sails, and rigging, were much shattered, had the good fortune not to lose a single man: but the enemy had their Captain and twelve men killed; their Second Captain and First Lieutenant, and thirteen men wounded. His Majesty was so well pleased with Captain Purvis's behaviour on this occasion, that he ordered him to be promoted to the rank of Post-Captain.

The Hon. Keith Elphinstone, commanding his Majesty ship Warwick of fifty guns, was on a cruize, along with the Lion of sixty-four guns, Captain Fooks; the Vestal of twenty-eight guns, Captain Fox; and the Bonetta sloop, Captain Keats. On the 11th in the evening, the Lion and Vestal made the signal for seeing some strange vessels, on which Captain Elphinstone made their signal to chase. In the morning of the 12th, five sail were seen from the deck of the Warwick. Two of these were to windward, and their appearance led Captain Elphinstone to suppose that they were enemies: the three to leeward were, by his conjecture, some of the ships under his command. These circumstances induced him to chase to windward. About seven in the morning, he was joined by the Bonetta sloop, the Captain of which informed him, that the two sail to windward were ships of war, and had declined to answer the private signals which he had made to them in the preceding night. The Warwick and Bonetta continued to chase to windward, tacking occasionally until nine, when a third ship stood across from the eastward, showing signals which were not understood by the British officers, and firing guns: but when this ship found that her signals were not answered, she changed her course, and the Warwick, being the nearest and most to leeward, immediately made after her. At noon she came up with her, on which she hoisted French colours, and soon after struck. She proved to be the Sophie, from Bayonne to Philadelphia, with a cargo on board, armed with twenty-two nine pounders, and carrying one hundred and twenty-four men. She was completely fitted for war and quite new. From the prisoners, Captain Elphinstone learned, that the Sophie  
had

had parted from l'Aigle and La Gloire, French frigates, having a French brig under their convoy for America; and that the frigates had many passengers of rank on board, with a large sum of money. The Lion and Vestal were now at no great distance, and Captain Elphinstone sent an officer, to desire Captain Fooks to use every effort to gain the Delaware, and to anchor there, in such a situation as would most effectually prevent the enemy from entering; and to tell him, that he would follow with the Warwick, as soon as the prisoners were shifted. At this time the wind was out of the river, and blowing strong.

On the 13th at day-light, the enemy were seen at anchor without Cape Henlopen light-house, with his Majesty's sloop the Racoon brig, their prize, in company. The signal was made to chace, and the enemy weighed, and ran into the river. At this instant the wind shifted to the eastward, which enabled the Warwick and Vestal to weather them. Being thus cut off from the proper channel, it remained only for the French Commodore, to determine whether he would bring to and engage a superior force, or attempt to find a passage among the sand banks called the Shears, where his Majesty's ships, by reason of their drawing more water than his, might not be able to follow them. He chose the latter, and ran up the false channel, where Captain Elphinstone did not hesitate a moment to follow him, rightly judging, that although the risk was great, the object was considerable. Unfortunately, neither of the King's ships had a pilot. This gave the enemy an advantage over them, as Captain Elphinstone was well informed, that the pilot of the Racoon had not honesty enough to resist the offer of five hundred Louis d'Ors, to take charge of their ships.

About noon, the Warwick was obliged to come to an anchor, on account of shallow water, and was joined by the Lion, Bonetta, and Sophie prize-ship. The enemy anchored at the same time. The boats of the squadron were ordered out to sound, and the Bonetta sloop to go ahead, and lead in the best water. In this manner did the ships keep sailing and anchoring, as circumstances permitted, until the 15th, the enemy all this time retiring with the same precaution. At three in the



afternoon the signal was made to weigh; and soon after that, the enemy were under sail, evidently in great confusion, and changing their course frequently on account of shallow water. About six in the evening, the Bonetta made the signal for being in shallow water; and in a little time she made the signal to anchor immediately, which was accordingly done, in four fathoms and a half. A boat came on board, with a message from Captain Keats to Captain Elphinstone, informing him, that it was impossible to advance further. This was a great mortification; but it was considerably mitigated, by the satisfaction which they received, from seeing the largest of the enemy's ships run aground, and stick fast. Captain Elphinstone sent Mr. Lock, First Lieutenant of the Warwick, with orders to Captain Fox of the Vestal, and to Captain Keats of the Bonetta, to run upon each quarter of the enemy, as near as possible, and attack. Mr. Lock was directed, after having delivered these orders, to take the command of the Sophie, then furnished with one hundred and fifty men, from the Warwick and Lion, and to join in the attack: and Captain Elphinstone had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing his orders put in execution, with a celerity and address that did the greatest credit to the different officers. The Vestal ran aground on the starboard quarter, the Bonetta within two hundred yards on the larboard quarter; and the Sophie, placing herself under the stern, the French Commodore found himself obliged to surrender on the Vestal's beginning to fire, not having a gun that could bear on any of the British ships. Thus, owing to the good conduct of the Captains and other officers employed on this service, and to the activity of the men, was l'Aigle of forty guns, the finest frigate ever sent from Europe, taken possession of for his Majesty. She was commanded by Comte La Touche, bearing a broad pendant. He was an officer of abilities and reputation, and made very great exertions to extricate himself from his difficulties. He cut away the masts, and bored the bottom of his ship before he struck. L'Aigle carried very heavy metal for a frigate, having twenty-eight guns,

guns, twenty-four pounders, on her main-deck, and twelve nine pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with upwards of six hundred men on board. The Baron de Viominil, Commander in Chief of the French troops in America, the Viscount de Montmorency, the Duc de Lauzun, Viscount de Fleury, and some other officers of rank, escaped on shore, in the same boats which took away great part of the treasure. Two small casks and two boxes of it, fell into the victors hands. The *Gloire*, drawing less water than *l'Aigle*, got up the river.

As soon as the King's ships were got off the ground and in safety, every man was employed to save the prize, and this was effected on the 17th, with much labour, under the management of Captain Fooks. On the 20th, in running down the bay, two brigs were observed landing their cargoes. The King's ships had prevented them from getting up the river, and Captain Elphinstone sent the *Vestal* to take out their crews, and to burn the vessels, which was accordingly done.

On board the *Aigle* all the *Racoon* sloop's company were re-taken, except the pilot, who escaped in a boat with some French officers. *L'Aigle* was esteemed the finest ship of her rate in the French navy: all her guns were of British cast: she had been very lately coppered, and was only two years old: she was longer than the *Warwick*, and upwards of twelve hundred tons burden. Both *l'Aigle* and *La Sophie* were purchased by Government, and added to the Royal Navy. Some letters passed between the Baron de Viominil and Captain Elphinstone, before he left the river Delaware.\*

On the 19th of December at night, his Majesty's ships *Quebec* of thirty-two guns, Captain Masson; *Diomedé* of forty-four guns, Captain Frederick; and *Astrea* of thirty-two guns, Captain Squires, being on a cruize off the mouth of the Delaware, fell in with the *South Carolina*, an American ship of war, carrying forty guns, viz. twenty-eight forty-two pounders

\* The reader will find copies of these in the Appendix, Note 299.

ders on her main-deck, and twelve twelve pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with a crew of four hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain Joiner, having under her convoy from Philadelphia, a ship, a brigantine, and a schooner. The last of these only escaped. The South Carolina was chased for eighteen hours by his Majesty's ships. When the Diomedé, the headmost, got within gun shot, she fired her stern chaces. Captain Frederick ran his ship close up, engaged her for some time, and was speedily seconded by the Québec. The enemy maintained a running fight for two hours, when finding that she would soon have all the three ships on her, she struck. This extraordinary vessel was built in Holland in the year 1779: her keel was one hundred and sixty feet long, and the ship remarkably strong. She was bound to Charlestown, was taken on the very day on which she sailed from Philadelphia, and had about six men killed and wounded in the action. On board of her were fifty German and eight British foldiers, belonging to General Burgoyne's army, who had been taken out of the American gaols, and compelled to serve as marines. The brigantine prize was coppered, and laden with tobacco: the ship was laden with flour and tobacco.

The Sybille French frigate, of thirty-six guns and three hundred and fifty men, commanded by the Comte de Kergariou de Locmaria, which maintained an obstinate fight with his Majesty's frigate the Magicienne of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Graves, as has been already mentioned, continued her voyage to North America; but on the 22d of January, 1783, she fell in with his Majesty's ships Huffer of twenty-eight guns, and Centurion of fifty, commanded by Captains Thomas Macnamara Russell, and S. W. Clayton. The Sybille having, in a gale of wind, lost her masts which had been much wounded in her action with the Magicienne, was under jury-masts: and being leaky, had thrown twelve of her largest guns overboard. The British ships gave chase, and gained fast on her. The Comte de Kergariou made some signals, and hoisted the British colours over the French; with  
a design



a design to pass for a prize. One of the signals hoisted implied distress, and this was thought by Captain Russell to be done with a design to deceive, and under that pretence to make her escape. The *Huffar* got up first; the enemy hoisted a French ensign; a short action took place; and on the *Centurion's* coming up, she struck. Captain Russell was greatly displeased with the Comte de Kergariou's conduct, which he resented very much when the Comte was conducted on board of the *Huffar*.\* Most of the trading ships, which were under convoy of the *Sybille* when she came from the West Indies, were taken by his Majesty's ships *Amphion* and *Cyclops*; and likewise the *Railleur*, a French sloop of war of fourteen guns, commanded by M. de Hebert.

On the 3d of January, 1782, the *Amphion* of thirty-two guns, Captain Bazely, retook the *Bonetta* sloop of war of sixteen guns, then commanded by M. de Barras, nephew to the Admiral of that name, and on her voyage to Martinico from York town in Virginia, with French soldiers belonging to the Comte de Grasse's fleet, whom he had left behind him sick, when he sailed for the West Indies. The *Bonetta* was purchased by Government, and replaced in the British navy.

The *Belifarius* of twenty guns, Captain Richard Graves, took the *Venus* of fourteen guns of Boston, bound from the Havannah to Philadelphia, with two hundred boxes of sugar and twenty thousand dollars.

His Majesty's ship *Jupiter*, and *Lively* sloop, took the *St. Helena*, a large ship pierced for twenty guns, but mounting only ten nine pounders, bound to Philadelphia, with a cargo of sugar. They put into her a prize-master and a crew, and ordered her for St. Augustine; but some American prisoners whom they had left on board rose, overpowered the prize-master and his people, and ran the ship for the Havannah. When they got to the entrance of that harbour, and close under the

Moro

\* As representations by each party of this affair, appeared in Rivington's *New York newspaper*, I have, for the benefit of such of my readers as incline to see the whole matter at large, inserted them in the Appendix. See Note 300.

Moro Castle, most of the Americans went in a boat to the town, to get a range of cable. The late prize-master, observing this, knocked down one of the Americans on the quarter-deck; but on attempting a blow at another, was seized by him, when a third got up a cutlass and attempted to stab him. The two combatants being struggling, he missed his thrust at the prize-master, and run his companion through the body. The prize-master then seized the cutlass, cleared the deck, liberated the British sailors, ordered the sails to be thrown aback, and escaped; although a frigate was at that instant going in. The *St. Helena*, soon after that, fell in with the *Belifarius*, which saw her safe into *St. John's*. She proved to be a valuable prize: the ship alone sold for twelve hundred guineas.

The *Blonde* of thirty-two guns, Captain Thornbrough, being ordered to cruise off Boston, in hopes of intercepting a frigate of the same name belonging to the Americans, fell in with and took a large ship of theirs, laden with masts for the use of the French fleet. While she was towing her prize into port, on the 8th of May, she unfortunately struck upon some rocks, and was entirely lost. The prize, to avoid sharing the same fate, bore away for Halifax. The crew of the *Blonde*, with about seventy prisoners, by means of a raft, got ashore on an uninhabited island, which afforded nothing eatable but wild peas. Here they remained two days, exposed to an incessant rain; at the end of which time, they were taken off by two American vessels, which landed them near New York, because they had treated their prisoners kindly.

The *General Monk* sloop of war,\* Captain Josias Rogers, being on a cruise, in company with the *Quebec* frigate, on the 7th of April, discovered eight sail of vessels lying in Cape May road. They came to an anchor off the Capes all night, and at day-light on the 8th weighed. The *Quebec* stood up the *Henlopen* channel, for the purpose of cutting off their retreat to Philadelphia, while the *General Monk* proceeded into Cape May

\* Of 16 nine pound carronades, 2 six pounders, and 110 men.

May channel after them. When the latter arrived off the Cape, she was joined by the Fair American, a privateer of sixteen guns, belonging to New York, from sea. Two other New York privateers were to windward, but would not come down. At noon, when the sloop and Fair American entered the road, the vessels belonging to the Americans got under way, and stood up the bay with all the sail they could set. As the General Monk and the privateer approached, they dispersed; and the ship General Green of sixteen guns, ran on shore under the Cape, where her crew abandoned her. On the General Monk firing a shot at a brig of fourteen guns, she struck, and a boat was sent, which took possession of her. At this time, the Fair American unfortunately got aground, by going too close to the land after a brig and a schooner. The General Monk soon after this, came up with the Hyder Ally, a ship of eighteen guns, nine and six pounders, and one hundred and thirty men. Notwithstanding her superior force she cut her boat adrift, and did every thing else to get away. Captain Rogers intended to have run upon her on the quarter, and to have boarded her at once; but after firing two bow chaces, when only at a hundred yards distance, she put their helm aport, and stood right athwart the General Monk. The sloop immediately did the same to avoid being raked; the action began; and she edged towards the enemy until within pistol shot, when she found that her carronades had become quite unmanageable, and that two-thirds of the shot which she fired did not strike the hull of her antagonist. The enemy's superiority now became very evident: and after losing many men, the sloop was so disabled in her masts and rigging that it was impossible to get off. As the Fair American could not come to his assistance, Captain Rogers was obliged to surrender. Mr. Johnson, Lieutenant; Mr. Thomas, master, and six men, were killed. Captain Rogers, Mr. Halliday, purser, the boatswain, and twenty-five men were wounded. Four of the latter died of their wounds. The two prizes got to New York; but the Quebec did not get up  
the



the channel in time, to prevent the Hyder Ally and General Monk from being carried to Philadelphia.

While his Majesty's ship *Narcissus* of twenty guns, Captain Edwards, was on a cruize to the southward, a very alarming conspiracy, the consequences of which might have proved dreadfully fatal, was discovered on board of her. It originated with one Wood, a most desperate fellow. His intention was, to murder the officers, and to carry the ship into a port belonging to the Americans: and he had seduced near fifty of the crew, to become his accomplices in this diabolical scheme. The 9th of May was fixed for the execution of this plot, which had been concealed for some time. Fortunately about ten o'clock of that night, one of the Quarter-masters heard a noise under his hammock, like the clanging of arms, and a confused busy kind of muttering. He immediately suspected that a mutiny had taken place, and directly ran up to the quarter-deck, and communicated his suspicion to the officer of the watch. This officer, without a moment's delay, conveyed the information to the Captain, who instantly ordered all hands to be turned up, and thus crushed the insurrection at a most critical time; for if another half hour had passed, it must undoubtedly have taken effect. Two of the unhappy deluded wretches turned King's evidence, and the whole were that night secured in irons. Captain Edwards immediately bore away for New York, where he arrived on the 14th of May. Soon after this, a Court-martial was held on twenty-five of them, when six of them were condemned to be hanged, and two to be flogged from ship to ship. On the 27th of May the sentence was put in execution, at twelve o'clock, on board the *Narcissus*. On the signal gun being fired, four of them were run up to the main-yard, and two to the fore-yard. The body of Wood, the ring-leader, was hung in chains at Sandy Hook.

His Majesty's ship *Cerberus* of thirty-two guns, commanded by Sir Jacob Wheat, Bart. having been sent to cruize off the Bermuda Islands, put into the harbour for a supply of water. Sir Jacob was there seized with a fever and died; and the

the Cerberus as she was coming out of port, struck on a rock, and was wrecked. The crew, masts, and most of the rigging and sails, were saved. To bring these to New York, the Admiral sent the Mentor sloop of eighteen guns, Captain Tilledge; but on her return from Bermudas, she was overtaken with a violent gale, in which she was supposed to have foundered, as she was never more heard of. The Arethusa, Captain Sir Richard Pearson, retook his Majesty's sloop the Thorn, which was replaced in the list of the British navy.

We shall close our account of this calamitous war in America, with the narrative of a very gallant military exploit. Colonel Andrew Deveaux, commanding the Royal Foresters, a provincial corps in his Majesty's service, then stationed at St. Augustine in East Florida, not having heard of the articles of peace being signed, with the most laudable zeal for the service of Great Britain, formed a design to retake the Bahama Islands from the Spaniards. In this he had the greater merit, that the expedition was undertaken entirely at his own expence. On the 1st of April, 1783, he embarked his troops, which consisted only of sixty-five men, and sailed for Harbour Island, where he recruited for volunteers to join in the enterprise. He staid there about five days on that business, in which he was very successful, and then sailed for the island of New Providence, where he landed on the 13th of April, near the eastern fort. As the Spaniards had not the least suspicion that an enemy was so near, he carried the fort at day-light next morning; and, at the same time, made himself master of three of their best galleys. The principal fort was situated about a mile from the fort which he had just taken: and not allowing the enemy time to get the better of their surprise, he directly sent a summons to Don Antonio Claraco y Sanz, the Governor, requiring him to surrender. Wishing to evade this, the Governor sent Colonel Deveaux some informations, to which he paid no regard. On the 16th, he took possession of two hills which commanded the fort, and erected a battery on each, for some twelve pounders. These were completed  
by

by day-light on the 18th, and the British colours were hoisted at both batteries, which were within musquet shot of the fort. Their fire soon convinced the Spaniards that their resistance would be fruitless. The Governor, as his shot and shells had no effect on the batteries, was induced to propose terms of capitulation, by which the place was to be immediately delivered up, the garrison allowed the honours of war, and to be embarked with all expedition and sent to the Havannah. The Governor stipulated, that he should be sent to Europe. In the east fort, Colonel Deveau found thirteen pieces of cannon, and the three gallies which he took carried twenty-four pounders. With these and the fort, he made about fifty men prisoners. The Spanish Governor surrendered the fort and four batteries, on which were mounted seventy pieces of cannon, and four large gallies, brigs, and snows. These Colonel Deveau converted into flags of truce, and sent off the Spanish troops in them. All this success is the more amazing, as the force which subdued these islands, never at any time consisted of more than two hundred and twenty men, not above one hundred and fifty of whom had musquets, the Colonel not having it in his power to procure them at St. Augustine.

## NEW FOUNDLAND.

VICE-ADMIRAL CAMPBELL sailed from Spithead on the 20th of June, in the Portland of fifty guns, accompanied by the Danae and Oiseau frigates, and Merlin sloop, having under their convoy, the trade bound to Quebec and Newfoundland, amounting to near thirty sail. They had proceeded about a hundred and thirty leagues to the westward of the Lizard, when, on the 25th, they had the misfortune to fall in with the combined fleet of France and Spain, which immediately gave chase to them. The instant that Vice-Admiral Campbell discovered them to be enemies, he made the signal for his fleet to disperse, by which means all the ships of war, and about ten or twelve of the convoy, fortunately effected their escape.

The



The enemies fleet being numerous, and many of their ships coppered, took eighteen vessels on this occasion.

The squadron on this station\* was extremely active in protecting the trade, and in capturing a number of the enemy's privateers. The *Arethusa* frigate, commanded by Sir Richard Pearson, retook his Majesty's sloop of war the *Thorn* of eighteen guns. The following are the names and force of the war vessels taken :

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Viper,	14	80
Lexington,	14	80
Penguin,	8	50
Lord Stirling,	6	40
Junius Brutus,	16	100
Tiger,	16	100
Hope,	10	60
Raven,	12	70
Thorn sloop,	18	110
Total,	114	690

### A F R I C A.

HIS Majesty's ship *Leander* of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Thomas Shirley, accompanied by the *Alligator* and *Zephyr* sloops of war, commanded by Captains Frodsham and Smith, sailed from Spithead on the 21st of July, 1781, for the coast of Africa; where, in the course of that year, and in the beginning of the year 1782, Captain Shirley in the *Leander*, with the assistance of the *Alligator* sloop, destroyed l'*Officieuse*, a French storeship, off Senegal, computed to be worth 30,000*l.* sterling; and took the following forts from the Dutch, viz.

<i>Forts.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Forts.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Mouree,	20	Berricoe,	18
Cormantyne,	32	Accra,	32
Apam,	22		

Captain

\* See Note 301.

Captain Shirley appointed the *Mackarel* transport, a cartel, to carry the Dutch Governors of the above forts, and their garrisons to Europe; and sent the *Alligator* sloop, with his dispatches, to England: but she was taken by *La Fée*, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, after a most gallant resistance, and carried into Brest. In November 1782, the *Leander* joined Admiral Pigot in the West Indies.

### EAST INDIES.

AFTER the capture of Negapatam, the weather, for a considerable time, was so very tempestuous, as to retard Sir Edward Hughes, who continued to command his Majesty's squadron on this station, from putting in execution his design against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalé in the island of Ceylon. This island, with respect both to its situation for commerce, and to its productions, is capable of being rendered one of the most valuable in the world. Trincomalé lies on the north-east quarter of it; and its harbour is esteemed the very best in India. It is composed of several commodious bays, so well sheltered, that the most numerous fleets may anchor in them with the greatest security: but its being very closely shut up from the winds, in a climate intensely hot, is supposed to render it unhealthy. The great natural advantages which the harbour of Trincomalé possesses, rendered the conquest of it an object of the first importance; especially when Holland became a principal in the war against Great Britain, for it was the only place in which fleets could be watered and refitted, when the weather was so boisterous as to prevent them from approaching the coast of Coromandel.

The bloody and expensive war, in which the East India Company was still engaged with Hyder Ally, prevented the Presidency of Madras from granting Sir Edward Hughes any more land-forces, for the expedition against Trincomalé, than would be sufficient to garrison the place, if he should succeed in reducing it. These consisted of an officer, thirty European  
and

and native artillerymen, and about five hundred volunteer sepoys, under a Captain and five subalterns. They were embarked on board of the squadron, which put to sea on the 3d of January from Negapatam road, and arrived in the bay of Trincomalé on the 4th. On his arrival, the Admiral found the Seahorse, Captain Montagu, which had been stationed there ever since the 21st of August, in order to block up the ships in the harbour.

Early in the morning, he made the signal for the troops to disembark: and this service employed all the boats in the fleet, together with six large chillingas and four large rafts or catamarans, which had been brought from Madras for that purpose. The marines, with two six pounders, a detachment of artillery, and two companies of sepoys, acting as pioneers, landed first, about three miles from Trincomalé fort, without any resistance from the enemy. These were immediately followed by the battalion of seamen, consisting of the same number of men and officers, who had served at the attack of Negapatam: and immediately on their landing, they formed a junction with the first debarkation. The remainder of the sepoys composed the third debarkation. It was completed before it became dark: and the whole was under the command of Captain John Gell of the Monarcha, who was well assisted by Captain Montagu of the Seahorse, and Captain Reynolds of the Combustion fire-ship. The seamen and marines, with the guns and pioneers, marched a little before it was dark, and pushed on towards Trincomalé Fort: and on the same night, the grenadier company of marines, with the guns, made themselves masters of it, by pushing on, and, with the greatest resolution, forcing an entry through the gateway, at the instant when the Governor was drawing out on paper, the terms on which he meant to surrender the place. Ten iron guns of different calibres were found in this fort. Its garrison consisted of three officers and forty soldiers: and the possession of it was important to the future operations of the enterprise, as it commanded the only

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place, where provisions and stores could be conveniently landed from the ships.

From the prisoners made on this occasion, information was received, that the enemy's principal force at this settlement was collected in Fort Ostenburgh, which is situated on the top of a high hill that commanded the harbour, and had an open communication with their ships. On the 6th, the requisite stores, provisions, and baggage, for the troops on shore, were landed : and on the 7th, Major Geils, the engineer, and the field-officers, were employed in reconnoitring Fort Ostenburgh and its environs, and in endeavouring to find the best road to the neighbouring heights. Having arranged their plans, the troops marched, early in the morning of the 8th, towards a high hill which commanded the fort. On the top of this hill, the enemy had a post defended by an officer's guard. As the possession of this post, which was situated within two hundred yards of the fort, and commanded it, was deemed of the utmost importance to their future operations in reducing it, it was attacked and carried during the night, by the seamen and marines, and afterwards maintained. Thus advantageously circumstanced, Sir Edward Hughes, very early next morning, transmitted, through Captain Gell, a letter of summons to Mr. Homœd the Governor, in which he informed his Excellency, that he was well acquainted with his total inability to make any effectual resistance to the great armament which he had brought against the place ; urged him in the strongest terms to prevent, by a timely capitulation, the fatal consequences of carrying things to the utmost extremity against a force so decidedly superior to his, both in strength and discipline ; and declared, that if he should refuse to surrender, the loss of lives which might ensue, must be imputed solely to his conduct. Mr. Homœd, not intimidated by his hopeless situation, after stating the trust reposed in him, and the ties of fidelity by which he was bound to defend the place to the last extremity, gave for answer, that he was resolved to obey his orders to the utmost of his power.

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The chief strength of this fort lay in its situation : and as the erecting batteries, and mounting them with heavy cannon, which must have been dragged up a steep hill, would have been a work of great labour, and must have required much time, which the Vice-Admiral could very ill spare, he wished, if possible, to bring matters to a more speedy issue. Major Geils, who had carried the summons to Governor Homœd, assured him, that, according to the best of his judgment, the place might be taken by assault ; but the Vice-Admiral, before he should adopt this plan, was resolved to try the effects of a second summons. Major Geils was accordingly once more appointed to be the bearer of his letter, in order, no doubt, that he might have another opportunity of making his observations on the strength of the place. In this letter, the Vice-Admiral, in kinder and more familiar terms than he had used in the former, expostulated with the Dutch Governor, on the danger to which he would certainly expose himself by refusing to capitulate ; and attributed his solicitude for the preservation of him and his family, as well as of some other gentlemen of his acquaintance in the place, to the intimacy that had formerly subsisted between them, and to the kindness and attention which he had received from them, when he had entered the harbour, as the friend and ally of the Dutch Republic. This soothing language seems to have recalled to the Governor's recollection, the happier days which he had passed in the Vice-Admiral's company ; for his answer is addressed to him in the following words : " His Excellency the generous, brave, and " illustrious Sir Edward Hughes," &c. In this answer, he attributes his resolution not to capitulate, to the strict orders which he had received from his superiors to defend the place to the last ; and affirms, that if he did not obey these orders, his conduct would certainly be liable to censure.\*

The second view of Fort Ostenburgh, rather confirmed than weakened the opinion of Major Geils, that the lower part of the fort might be taken by assault, although he was not so

certain respecting a very high cavalier, on which six pieces of cannon were mounted. Of the former he spake with much confidence; and he said, that the latter would fall of course. This assurance, from an officer of such experience and ability, afforded very great satisfaction to Sir Edward Hughes, who, well aware of the difficulties which he would have to surmount, if the place should be besieged in a regular manner, was exceedingly averse to that plan, on account of the delay with which it must be necessarily attended. He therefore determined to adopt Major Geils's plan, and made the proper dispositions for the attack, which was to commence at day-light in the morning of the 11th. Accordingly the storming party, which consisted of four hundred and fifty seamen and marines, under their proper officers, having each flank covered by a party of pioneers, and twenty seamen carrying the scaling ladders, and armed with cutlasses; with a reserve of three companies of seamen and three companies of marines, supported with two field-pieces, and followed by the Company's troops, advanced at day-light towards the fort. A small advanced party, under a serjeant, which may be considered as the forlorn-hope, getting in at the embrasures of the fort, unperceived by the enemy, was instantly followed by the whole storming party, which soon drove the enemy from their works, and took possession of the fort. This produced the immediate surrender of all the ships and vessels in the harbour.

Nothing could exceed the bravery and activity of the British troops in this assault, except their humanity after victory. Both were indeed highly characteristic. Nor was the fort acquired without loss. Mr. George Long, Second Lieutenant of the *Superb*, was killed, as he was advancing at the head of his company against the place, with the most undaunted resolution; and twenty seamen and marines shared the same fate. Lieutenant William Wolseley, who commanded a company of seamen, and Lieutenant Samuel Orr of the marines, who commanded their grenadier company, and did duty as Major of Brigade, and forty non-commissioned and private seamen  
and



and marines, were wounded. The enemy's loss was very small: for, although their lives were forfeited by the rules of war, and although a relaxation of military discipline is supposed to increase the horrors ever attendant on an assault, yet, not a British sword was stained with blood, from the moment in which the garrison threw down their arms and asked mercy.

There were found in the fort, a great number of cannon of different calibres, with ample magazines of all sorts of military stores:† the garrison amounted to about four hundred men. There were taken in the harbour two ships, one belonging to the Dutch East India Company, the other private property, both very richly laden: and about thirty smaller vessels.

Sir Edward Hughes, after leaving a garrison in the fort, and sending away the prisoners, sailed with the squadron, on the 31st of January, for Madras road, in order to get a supply of provisions and stores, of both which the ships were then in want. He arrived there on the 8th of February. It will be proper, however, before entering on a narrative of the active scenes which occurred in the Indian seas, during this year and the beginning of the next, to present to the reader a concise view of the state of affairs in that part of the world. This will serve to show the origin of the many and severe engagements, which it will be our business to record.

From the time in which the East India Company became involved in a war with two of the most formidable powers in India, France was forming vast designs to dispossess them of all their settlements. Regarding all the enemies of Britain as friends and allies volunteering in her service, she hoped to accomplish this important plan, by supporting these powers. Accordingly, while General Sir Eyre Coote was gallantly and successfully opposing the vast superiority of force, and the immense resources of that active invader of the Carnatic, Hyder Ally; and while Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Hector Monro,

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† Particular returns of all these articles, together with copies of the letters which passed between the Vice-Admiral and the Dutch Governor, will be found in the Appendix, Note 303.

were directing the British arms with vigour and effect against the Dutch settlements, she was making the greatest exertions, to establish such a military and naval force at the isles of Mauritius and Bourbon, as might be the means, not only of recovering all the settlements in India of which she had been deprived by the British, and along with these, her former power and influence with the Princes of the country; but also, of acquiring such a decided superiority, as, with the aid and concurrence of the native potentates, might be able to give so decisive a blow to her old rivals, as to compel them to relinquish all their possessions.

Nothing could be more favourable to the success of this vast plan, than the state of affairs on that continent at this time: for the treasures of the British East India Company were almost exhausted; the strength of their military force was greatly diminished; and besides being involved in a dangerous, bloody, and expensive war with Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, it most unfortunately happened, that most of the other states in India were, through various and unprovoked causes, either avowedly or secretly hostile to the British interests. Circumstances, so auspicious to her cause, could not escape the observation of France. She accordingly spared no expence, and encountered every danger, to avail herself of so fair an opportunity to accomplish her purpose. Nor, in this view, did she lose sight of the great advantage which she reaped from the extended, and hitherto unsuccessful war, which Britain carried on in Europe, America, and the West Indies. This immense range of deeply interesting operations, she hoped, would so completely occupy the attention, and exhaust the resources of her rival, as to prevent her from being able to send abroad forces, sufficient to defend her possessions in Asia. While, therefore, she steadily followed up her ambitious progress in America and the West Indies, she persevered with unremitting assiduity in sending out abundance of men, ships, stores, and artillery to the East.

In these attempts, as we have already seen, and will again have occasion to observe, she was not always successful: but,  
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though the loss of her convoys proved frequently detrimental to her designs, such interruptions did not deter her from persisting in them, or prevent her from sometimes overcoming misfortunes, by means of perseverance.

The rupture between the Dutch and Great Britain gave France a new ally, from whom she hoped to reap great benefit. In this, however, she found herself mistaken; for such was the weakness of her new friends, that she was obliged to redouble her exertions in order to acquire a naval superiority in India, as the only means of preventing the British from rendering themselves masters of all the rich possessions of the republic in that country, which were the true and great sources of its power and wealth. The French, therefore, very early in 1781, embarked for Asia, a large body of regular infantry, under the command of officers of reputation. These were to be escorted to the place of their destination, by a squadron under the command of M. de Suffren. His first efforts, in the unsuccessful attack which he made upon the British squadron in Port Praya road in the island of St. Jago, have already been related. The check which he received there, had nearly disconcerted the whole of the French Minister's plan. Confident of success, he made a rash effort to crush this armament, which he knew was the only one able to oppose the French arms by sea or land in India. M. de Suffren, however, atoned for his temerity at Port Praya, by the expeditious manner in which he executed the second part of his commission. Although his squadron was in a great measure disabled, by the rough handling which it had received from Commodore Johnston's ships, he reached the Cape of Good Hope with his convoy, in time to prevent that valuable settlement from falling an easy prey to the British arms under General Medows. Agreeably to his orders, he disembarked at this place near two thousand soldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Conway, and proceeded immediately, with the remainder of his forces, to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. There he formed a junction with the naval force under M. d'Orves, who, being his superior in rank, assumed the command of the fleet,



fleet, which was very formidable. It consisted of ten sail of the line, a fifty gun ship, and several large frigates. The inveterate enemy of the British in India, Hyder Ally, had entered into a close alliance with the French. They had supplied him with many excellent officers: and a plan had been concerted with him, for driving the British from the coast of Coromandel. Such was the great naval superiority which the French had acquired, that they made sure of taking or destroying the little squadron under the command of Sir Edward Hughes. Having accomplished this, they were next to assist Hyder Ally with a large body of land-forces, and immediately to lay siege to Madras, by sea and land, with their joint armies. Hyder Ally was highly pleased with the plan, and took his measures accordingly; while the French Commodore and General, used their utmost endeavours to get to the coast of Coromandel, before the arrival of the reinforcements expected by Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Eyre Coote. With this view they sailed from the Mauritius, accompanied by a number of transports and storeships, together with a considerable body of land-forces, under M. de Chemin. M. d'Orves, the French Commodore, dying on the passage, the sole command of the fleet devolved on M. de Suffren.

The reader will recollect, that immediately after the success at Saldanha Bay, Commodore Johnstone detached to India, the Monmouth, Captain Alms, together with the Hero of seventy-four, and Isis of fifty guns, and some armed transports and storeships, having on board Brigadier-General Meadows, and a body of land-forces. Unfortunately, these vessels met with so extraordinary delays, from contrary winds and bad weather, first in their voyage to Bombay, and next from that to Madras, that they were exposed to very great dangers, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the French. When Commodore Johnstone left the island of St. Helena on his return to England, he detached to India, the Hannibal of fifty guns, Captain Alexander Christie, in order to reinforce the British squadron. On the 18th of January, when off the west  
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end of the island of Sumatra, she had the misfortune to fall in with the French fleet, which immediately gave chase to her, and soon brought her to action. Captain Christie made a most gallant defence; but the great superiority of the enemy forced him to submit. The Hannibal, being quite a new ship, was a great acquisition to the enemy; while, on the contrary, her loss was very severely felt by Sir Edward Hughes. By this view of the state of affairs in India, we shall be prepared to enter on a narrative of the operations of the campaign. Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, having sailed from Trincomalé Bay, with his squadron, anchored in Madras road on the 8th of February: and was, on that day, informed by Lord Macartney, the Governor of the place, that a French fleet, amounting to thirty sail of all sorts, had arrived upon the coast, taken several vessels, and was then supposed to be not above twenty leagues to the northward.\* In this alarming and critical situation, exposed in an open road to the attack of so superior an enemy, and that even before he could get the necessary supplies on board, he was most fortunately reinforced, on the following day, by the arrival of Captain Alms in the Monmouth of sixty-four, accompanied by the Hero of seventy-four, and Isis of fifty guns, and the Manilla armed transport. This reinforcement greatly raised the spirits of all on board the British squadron, who were using the utmost dispatch, in getting on board the necessary stores and provisions; while Sir Eyre Coote, with his usual zeal and attention to all parts of the service, strengthened the squadron, by the much wanted supply of a detachment of three hundred officers and men of the newly arrived 98th regiment. These were distributed by the Admiral, among the ships which were the weakest in point of men. The necessity of these exertions soon appeared: for on the 15th of February, before the whole of the ships had completed their equipment, the enemy's squadron, consisting of twelve sail of line of battle ships, six frigates, eight transports, and six captured vessels, came

\* While there, the Bellone French frigate fell in with and took his Majesty's sloop Chaser, Captain Parr.

came in sight from the northward, and were standing directly for Madras road. As they drew nearer, they evidently appeared to receive some unexpected check to their original design; for, about noon, they suddenly came to an anchor, about four miles without the road. In the mean time, Sir Edward Hughes was extremely active, in placing the King's ships in the most advantageous position for defending themselves and the other ships in the road, with springs on their cables, that they might assist each other, by bringing all their broadsides to bear with the greatest effect on the enemy, if they should presume to attack them.

The cause of the French fleet coming so suddenly and unexpectedly to anchor was afterwards discovered. It was, because M. de Suffren did not till then know of the reinforcement which the British fleet had received. Having no previous notice of this, his disappointment on seeing it was great. He had proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, under the most flattering illusion, that he should signalize his entering on the command of the French fleet in India, by the glory of terminating a war of great magnitude and importance, by a single blow. He had depended on finding Sir Edward Hughes, with only five sail of the line and a fifty gun ship, poorly equipped, wholly unprepared for action, and lying without shelter in the open road of Madras. These, he doubted not, would, after a few broadsides, become a cheap and easy prey to his powerful fleet: the loss of the squadron would be immediately followed by that of a considerable number of storeships and trading vessels then in the road; and this calamity could not fail to complete the distraction of the settlement. The land-forces under M. de Chemin being then disembarked, and joined with Hyder Ally's numerous army, were to lay siege to Madras by land, while the French squadron blocked it up by sea. Under such a train of unfortunate circumstances, he had concluded, that the fate of the place must soon have been determined. No resistance in the power of its inhabitants to make, could have availed them long; for no aid could have arrived of sufficient strength to have



have afforded them relief, and to have compelled him to raise the siege.

The fortunate arrival of Captain Alms, with the long expected reinforcements, and the three ships from Bombay, blasted all the towering hopes of M. de Suffren. When he saw nine sail of British ships of two-decks, each drawn up in a most judicious manner to receive him, he relinquished all views of attacking them, and came instantly to an anchor with his squadron, as we have already mentioned, where he remained until four o'clock in the afternoon, when he suddenly weighed, and stood off to the southward.\* On this, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for his squadron to weigh and stand after them, and persevered in the pursuit all night. At day-break on the 16th, it was perceived that the enemy's ships had separated in the night, and were in different directions: their twelve sail of line of battle ships and a frigate were in a body, bearing east of the British fleet, and at about four leagues distance; and ten sail of their frigates and transports were bearing south-west, distant about three leagues, and steering directly for Pondicherry. Sir Edward directly made the signal for a general chase to the south-west; for besides the prospect which this opened to him of taking most of the convoy, he knew that M. de Suffren would return with his line of battle ships to protect them, and that this would afford him the only certain means of bringing him to an action. The great superiority of the enemy's fleet in point of numbers and force, did not in the least deter the Vice-Admiral from appealing to this issue. In the course of the chase, the copper-bottomed ships came up with, and took, six of the convoy, of which five were British vessels, that the enemy had taken when they were to the northward of Madras. The Vice-Admiral ordered the Frenchmen to be taken out, and the vessels, with their own crews, to proceed to Negapatam. The sixth prize was the Lauriston, a French transport, of thirteen hundred tons burthen. She was taken by the

\* See Note 304.

the *Isis*, Captain Lumley, and deeply laden with a cargo of the utmost possible value to both of the contending parties. It was intended as a present from the King of France to Hyder Ally, and consisted of a considerable train of artillery, of a large quantity of gunpowder, and a complete assortment of military stores. This valuable prize had likewise on board a number of French land officers, together with three hundred soldiers of the regiment of Laufanne.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on this bold and masterly manœuvre. The cutting off a convoy, under the immediate protection, and in the presence of a superior fleet, is a stroke, which displays such a thorough knowledge of seamanship, as few nations have yet attained : and the glory of such a meritorious piece of service, can be claimed only by the British. It is to be lamented, that, on this occasion, the effect fell considerably short of the greatness of the design. This was entirely owing to Sir Edward Hughes being so ill provided with frigates ; a few of which, would have secured the whole of the enemy's convoy and troops, and would thereby have rendered abortive, at one stroke, all the schemes formed by the French, for supporting and assisting Hyder Ally by land. The *Seahorse* of twenty guns, was the only frigate in company with the squadron : and she was so totally insufficient in point of strength, that instead of taking others, she was with no small difficulty saved from being taken herself, when she got entangled with the heavy, powerful, and well armed French transports, filled as they were, with regular troops. The line of battle ships were too few in number, and not all of them coppered : and the enemy were too near, to admit of their being much separated ; and there were no others for chasing.

As soon as M. de Suffren perceived the danger in which his convoy was placed, he put his squadron before the wind, and made all the sail he possibly could after the British fleet, in hopes of coming up in time to save his transports and prizes. The various courses, which the flying ships of the enemy's convoy had taken, with the view of effecting their escape, had  
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of consequence, occasioned the British ships sent in pursuit of them to be considerably scattered; and had likewise drawn them by degrees, to a great distance from their Admiral, and from the body of the fleet: so that, by three o'clock in the afternoon, four of the best sailing of the French ships had got to within two or three miles of the sternmost of the British ships. Sir Edward Hughes was therefore under a necessity of recalling the chacing ships, which were just then getting into the most essential part of their service: the *Isis*, in particular, having come up with two more of their transports, which she was obliged to abandon.

The chacing ships rejoined the Vice-Admiral about seven in the evening: and he continued standing to the S. E., under an easy sail, all that night, the enemy's squadron continuing in fight, and making many signals.

At day-light in the morning of the 17th, the body of the French squadron bore N. by E., distant about three leagues. The weather was then very hazy, with light winds and frequent squalls of short duration from the N. N. E., and the enemy were making towards the British squadron, with a crowd of sail. At six in the morning, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for his squadron to form the line of battle ahead; but the weather was so unfavourable for all naval evolutions, that it was half an hour after eight before this could be accomplished. He then threw out the signal, for the leading ship to make the same sail as the Admiral, and advanced, formed in the line ahead, intending to weather the enemy, and to engage them closely, if possible. His object in this manœuvre was, to prevent their mutual and collected efforts, from making so powerful an impression as they might otherwise have done; and by these means, to lessen the effect of that superiority in number and force, which he had to encounter. At ten, the enemy having the advantage of the squalls from the N. N. E., which always reached them first, and of consequence continued longest with them, neared the British squadron very fast. Sir Edward Hughes then made the signal for his line to alter its course two  
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to leeward, while the French were steering down on the rear of his line, in an irregular double line abreast. At half past twelve, he made the signal for his squadron to form the line of battle abreast, in order to draw the rear of his line closer to the centre, and to prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking it, when separated.

At three in the afternoon, while the French still continued to push on, towards the rear of the British squadron, in a double line abreast, Sir Edward Hughes again altered the course of his line, in order to draw his ships still closer to the centre: and, at forty minutes after three, finding it impossible to avoid their attack, under all the disadvantages of little or no wind for working the ships, and of being to leeward of them, he made the signal for his squadron, to form at once into the line of battle ahead. At four, the *Exeter*, which was the sternmost in the rear, when formed in a line of battle ahead on the larboard tack, not being quite closed to her second ahead, three of the enemy's ships, in their first line, bore right down upon her, whilst four more of their second line, headed by *L'Heros*, in which ship *M. de Suffren* had his flag, hauled along the outside of their first line, towards the British centre. At five minutes past four, the enemy's three ships began their fire on the *Exeter*, which was instantly returned by her and her second ahead. At ten minutes past four, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for battle: and in a few minutes the action became general from the rear to the centre of the British line; the French Admiral, with three other ships of the enemy's second line, leading down on the British centre, yet never, at any time, advancing farther than opposite to the *Superb*, the centre ship. There was little or no wind, and some heavy rain during the action.

By this mode of attack, which the wind and weather would not permit the British Admiral to counteract as he wished, the enemy brought into action, eight of their best ships against five: for the British van, composed of the *Monmouth*, *Eagle*, *Burford*, and *Worcester*, could not be brought into action, without tacking on the enemy; and although the signal was at  
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the mast-head of the *Superb* ready for hoisting, there was neither wind sufficient for them to tack, nor for the five ships of the British centre and rear, then engaged with the enemy, hard pressed, and much disabled in their masts, sails, and rigging, to follow them, without almost a certainty of separating the van from the rear. The enemy directed their principal attack in this action against the *Superb* and *Exeter*. These two ships could not therefore avoid suffering very much, under such a weight of fire, as was for a considerable time poured into them from the best of the enemy's ships. The steady bravery with which this attack was returned, will ever redound greatly to the honour of the Captains, whose ships were engaged. The rear of the British fleet maintained this unequal combat for two hours, with the greatest fortitude; when at six o'clock a squall of wind from the S. E. took the squadron, and paid their heads round on the French to the north-eastward. The engagement was then renewed by the five British ships, which had already borne the whole brunt of the action, with the greatest spirit and alacrity. They could bring only their starboard guns to bear; but they worked these with such vigour and effect, that the enemy, notwithstanding their immense superiority, in twenty-five minutes, visibly suffered so much, that a little before it was dark, the whole of their fleet hauled their wind, and stood to the N. E.

At this time, the *Superb* had her main-yard shot to pieces in the flings: neither a brace nor a bowline was left entire: she was so severely wounded in the hull, that when the enemy bore away, she had no less than five feet water in her hold; and it was not until a number of the largest shot-holes were plugged up, that it could be prevented from gaining on the pumps. The state of the *Exeter*, during the whole time of the battle, was calamitous and dangerous in the extreme. She had sustained the most furious cannonade, in all directions, of almost the whole of the French squadron; and had sometimes from three to five of their ships assailing her at once, during the greatest part of the action, until she was at length reduced nearly to a wreck: and had it not been for the  
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bravery and good conduct of Captain Wood of the *Hero*, who, with great gallantry came most opportunely to her assistance, she must have gone to the bottom. The unflinching fortitude displayed by Commodore King, under the long pressure of so vast a superiority of force, and the fierce attacks of so many fresh ships coming up in succession, cannot be either sufficiently praised or admired. When the battle raged with the greatest fury, the blood and mangled brains of Captain Reynolds were dashed all over him by a cannon ball, in such a manner, that he was for some little time absolutely blinded. Still, however, he preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper: and when, at the close of the action, the *Exeter* was little better than a floating wreck, the Master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon her, he, with great firmness, answered—"There is nothing to be done but fight her till she sink!" Besides Captain Reynolds, who was immediately killed, Captain Steevens, the Vice-Admiral's Captain, died of the wounds he received in this action. Thirty-two men were killed, and ninety-five wounded. This loss fell chiefly to the share of the *Superb*, *Exeter*, and *Hero*.\* The behaviour of the officers and men of the five ships, which were engaged with so superior a force of the enemy, gave the Vice-Admiral most particular pleasure.

The British squadron, after the action, stood to the southward, under a little sail, during the night. At day-light on the 18th, the enemy's squadron were not to be seen: and the state of Sir Edward Hughes's fleet, did not authorise him to go in quest of them; for the *Superb*'s main-mast, foremast, and bowsprit, were so much wounded, as to render it exceedingly dangerous to carry sail on them. The *Exeter*'s masts were also much damaged: and the shot-holes, in all the ships that had been engaged, were so far under water, as to render it impossible to stop them, but by giving the ships deep heels in smooth water. All these circumstances, combined with the state of the

\* See Note 305.



the wind, which continued to blow from the northward, made the Vice-Admiral determine upon proceeding directly to Trincomalé, as the only proper place for refitting the disabled ships: and the squadron arrived on the 24th of February. The repairs of the fleet were set about, with the utmost dispatch: and what was absolutely necessary to put the ships in a condition for service being accomplished, Sir Edward Hughes sailed from that with the squadron, on the 4th of March, and on the 12th arrived in Madras road. Here he learnt, that the *Chaser* sloop of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Parr, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy's frigate *La Bellone*, on her way to Madras road, from a cruize to the northward. Sir Edward Hughes, having neither seen nor heard any thing of the French fleet, did not make a long stay at Madras: and being anxious to preserve the conquest of Trincomalé, he took on board a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of military stores for that garrison, and sailed in the end of March with the squadron, for that place. On the 30th of that month, he was joined by the *Sultan* of seventy-four, and *Magnanime* of sixty-four guns, from England. These ships, having had a very tedious passage, were extremely sickly, their crews being much weakened and reduced by the scurvy, and its concomitant disorders. Notwithstanding of this unfortunate circumstance, the Admiral, considering the service in which he was employed as of very great consequence, could not think of returning to Madras merely for the purpose of accommodating the sick and scorbutic. He therefore took both the newly arrived ships along with him: for besides the necessity of securing Trincomalé against the designs of the enemy, then become very powerful both at land and sea, he had in view another object, scarcely less important, and immediately interesting. It was to cover and receive the convoy, with troops and stores from England, only a small part of which had yet arrived, the rest having put into Morebat Bay some weeks before, and being then on their way to join him at an appointed rendezvous. He

accordingly kept on his course, with an intention of neither seeking or shunning the enemy.

The French Admiral, having received advice of the approach of this very valuable convoy, and well knowing of what importance it was, determined either to intercept it, or to prevent its junction with the British squadron; and stationed his fleet, now amounting to eighteen sail, accordingly. On the 6th of April, Sir Edward Hughes fell in with a French ship from the Mauritius, having on board dispatches for their Commanders in Chief by sea and land. This ship was chased on shore, and burnt near Tranquebar. The officers and men, with the dispatches, made their escape ashore.

On the 8th, about noon, the Vice-Admiral came in sight of the French fleet. They were in the N. E. quarter and to leeward. He held on his course; and the enemy continued in sight, and holding the same relative position, during that and the three succeeding days: but having made the coast of the island of Ceylon on the 11th, about fifteen leagues to windward of Trincomalé, Sir Edward Hughes, in pursuance of his original intention, bore away directly for that port. This change, of course took place in the evening, and, most unfortunately, afforded an opportunity to the enemy, of gaining the wind of the British squadron in the night. They failed not to avail themselves of the advantage which this gave them; for at day-light on the 12th, they were seen advancing with a crowd of sail, in pursuit of the fleet of Britain: and as their copper-bottomed ships were coming up so fast with their rear, that an action became unavoidable, Sir Edward Hughes prepared for the combat. Accordingly, at nine in the morning, he made the signal for the line of battle ahead, on the starboard tack, at two cables length asunder, the enemy being then north by east, nearly about six miles distant, and the wind in the same quarter. Nothing could have been more adverse to the British, with respect to time, place, or circumstance, than this engagement. They were hemmed in upon a rocky and dangerous coast, by an enemy much superior in every respect, in whose  
favour

favour the wind was as fair as they could wish it. The French Admiral had it therefore entirely in his power, to regulate to his mind, the manner in which he might make his attacks, to direct them to those points where he saw a prospect of advantage, and to avoid those which he might consider as dangerous. This opportunity he embraced : and he made so many various changes in his line and position, that he lost three hours, before he could ultimately fix on his manner of attack. This seemed to indicate, on his part, no small want of determination.

Having at last fixed his plan, five sail, which composed his van, stretched along to engage the van of the British, while he, with his other seven ships of the line, bore down directly in a body upon the *Superb*, which was in the centre of the British line, and upon her two seconds, viz. the *Monmouth*, Captain Alms, ahead, and the *Monarcha*, Captain Gell, astern. The engagement began about half past one in the van : and within a few minutes afterwards, the French Admiral in *L'Heros*, and his second astern, *L'Orient*, both of seventy-four guns, bore down within pistol shot of the *Superb*, and commenced a most dreadful cannonade. They continued to engage her so close, and with such extraordinary firmness, that it was the general opinion, that their intention was to board her, and to endeavour to carry her by a *coup de main*. To this, the *Superb* made so suitable a return, that, at the end of ten minutes, M. de Suffren finding himself very roughly handled, and greatly disabled in this conflict, quitted his position, and suddenly shot ahead, making room for the ships that were coming up to supply his place. He then stood on, to attack the *Monmouth*, which was at that time closely and equally engaged. The battle continued to rage with great violence, particularly in the centre, where the odds, as to number and force, were greatly against Sir Edward Hughes and his two brave seconds. At three o'clock, the *Monmouth*, after long sustaining, with unparalleled fortitude, the joint attack of two great ships, one equal, and the other of superior force, besides frequently receiving the passing fire of

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a third,



a third, had her mizen-mast shot away : and, in a few minutes afterwards, her main-mast meeting the same fate, she fell out of the line, to leeward. The enemy used every effort to avail themselves of her distressed condition ; and, from their numbers, regarded her as a certain prize. Her danger was indeed very great : but notwithstanding her loss of masts and men, she maintained a hot and well directed fire. Sir Edward Hughes bore down instantly to her relief ; and being followed by the *Monarcha* and *Sultan*, covered her with such a powerful fire, that the enemy's ships were glad to draw off, and to relinquish their expected capture.

The great disadvantage, which the British had experienced in the first part of this battle, by being obliged to fight close in with a rocky and dangerous lee shore, they had hopes would have been remedied in the latter part of it, by the customary change of the wind in the afternoon ; but, contrary to expectation, it continued far to the northward. Sir Edward Hughes, therefore, found himself under a necessity, at forty minutes past three, in order to prevent some of his ships from being too nearly entangled with the shore, to make a signal for his squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle ahead, on the larboard tack, still fighting the enemy through the whole evolution. At forty minutes past five, being in fifteen fathom water, and apprehensive lest the *Monmouth*, in her disabled state, might drift too near the shore, he made the signal to prepare to anchor. At forty minutes past six, the enemy's squadron drew off to the eastward in great disorder : and the firing ceased, M. de Suffren having been obliged to shift his flag from *L'Heros* to the French *Annibal*, on account of the disabled state of the former. Almost all the ships of the British squadron that were engaged, had suffered much in their masts, sails, and rigging ; but the *Superb* and *Monmouth*, which were placed close by each other, and had sustained the hottest of the battle, were not only more severely injured in these respects, than the other vessels of the fleet, but had also received great damages in their hulls. They found it therefore

therefore expedient to come to an anchor for the purpose of re-fitting: and, by the time when this was accomplished it was dark. About this time, the French frigate *La Fine* of forty guns, being either under orders to tow off and assist the disabled *Heros*, or else to discover the state and situation of the British fleet, fell on board the *Ifis*, and actually struck her colours to the King's ship; but taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and of the state of the *Ifis*, which at best was poorly manned and had just come out of action, in which a number of her men were killed and wounded, she got clear, and made her escape.

The condition of both squadrons were very nearly similar. Both had suffered so very much in the action, that each entertained apprehensions, through the night, of being attacked by the other in the morning. Sir Edward Hughes was led to form this expectation, by the disabled state of the *Monmouth*, which, he thought, might probably stimulate the enemy to a bold and hazardous attempt, in hope of carrying her off. But when the day-light of the 12th came, all dread of an attack vanished. The French had come to an anchor, about five miles from the British squadron; and were in such apparent disorder and distress, as sufficiently indicated, that they were neither in a condition, or in a temper to renew the engagement. They were so far fortunate, that none of their ships had lost any of their lower masts: and this circumstance was of great importance, because their damages, however great in other respects, were still capable of receiving such a repair at sea, as would render the vessels manageable, and capable of undergoing a certain degree of service: while, on the other side, a considerable time, new masts, and a good harbour, were necessary to refit the *Monmouth*.

In this situation, both squadrons remained for several days. In each, all hands were busily employed in repairing the damages, in placing their ships in the best positions for repelling a sudden attack, and in watching the motions of the other, with the greatest diligence. At length, on the morning of the 19th,

the enemy got under fail ; and, with the land wind, stood out to sea close hauled : but at noon they tacked, and with the sea-breeze, stood in directly for the British squadron, with all the appearance of designing to attack it at anchor. If they had any such intention, it was not lasting ; for when they had approached within two miles of the British line, their resolution failed them, they suddenly tacked again, and stood to the eastward by the wind, and were out of sight by the evening. This conduct, most probably proceeded from the determined countenance which they perceived among the British, and the preparation which they saw made for their reception, which were such, as, in all probability, would have led them on to a defeat instead of a victory.

The Monmouth being refitted with jury-masts, in the best manner of which the present situation of affairs would admit, was enabled to sail, on the 22d, with the rest of the squadron, which arrived on the evening of that day at Trincomalé ; where the utmost diligence was used, in getting it refitted and ready for service, as the formidable force, which the French had assembled in India, required greater exertions on the part of their opponents than at any former period.

Such was the result of this fierce and bloody naval engagement, in which the British fought with their wonted bravery ; but, under so great disadvantages of wind and situation, that, to repulse the enemy, was all that could possibly be expected. The strong motives which induced Sir Edward Hughes to wish rather to avoid than to seek an action, until he had landed the supplies and troops, and got quit of the sick at Trincomalé, proved extremely unfortunate in the event, having afforded the enemy the means of obtaining all the advantages which they possessed in the battle. If he could have foreseen that they were determined on fighting, he would undoubtedly have bore down upon them, and brought them to action while the wind was in his favour : but more especially, on the first day of their appearance, when they are said to have been so much scattered, that they could not easily have formed in order of battle. In  
either



either of these cases, but particularly in the last, it may well be presumed, that the action would not have terminated as it did, and that the consequences of it would have been very different from what they were. But it is to be observed, that the Vice-Admiral could form a judgment of the enemy's present intentions, only by their general conduct, which, at almost all times, had gone rather to evade, than to seek close and general naval actions with the British, at least, when they had not a very decided superiority; which, as they were ignorant of the weak state of the Sultan and Magnanime, was not at this time of such apparent magnitude, as might encourage any extraordinary deviation from the usual practice. It therefore appears evident, considering the important objects which the Vice-Admiral had in view, that he acted the part of a wise and able commander, in not abandoning these for a vain pursuit, or for the sake of fighting an enemy, whose superiority of numbers was such, as might have made him purchase victory at too dear a rate, and put it out of his power to succour Trincomalé. The French, indeed, seem to have been determined, at this time, to come to close action, merely by the fortuitous advantage which they derived from the British squadron being so hemmed in by the wind and land, that they had it in their power to direct their attacks against it, in whatever manner they saw most likely to give it the greatest annoyance.

The ships that suffered most in this action were the *Superb* and *Monmouth*, in each of which, a very great number of men were killed and wounded. An unfortunate accident of some gunpowder blowing up on board of the former, greatly increased the number of both, and occasioned the loss of Mr. George Alms, a very deserving brave young man, who had just been made a Lieutenant. He was so much burnt and bruised by the explosion, that he died, three hours after the action. In no engagement did the officers and men ever deserve greater praise for their bravery, good conduct, and perseverance. Among these, it fell to the lot of Captain Alms of the *Monmouth*, to be particularly distinguished: and, it is

remarkable, that his situation this day, bore a near resemblance to that of Commodore King in the *Exeter*, in the battle of the 16th of February. The great loss of men, kept pace with the dreadful damages sustained by the ship. Forty-five men killed, and one hundred and two wounded, in a ship of sixty-four guns, a number amounting nearly to one-third of her crew, was a thing unequalled in naval history. The extraordinary fortitude with which he sustained so long, and so desperate a conflict, against a superiority of force, that seemed to preclude every hope that courage and seamanship could bring to his aid, affords ample room for the highest praise, and even for national exultation, if it had been displayed in circumstances, wherein that virtue was less general. It was much and generally regretted, that his recollection of such an action should have been imbittered by the loss of his son, (as has already been mentioned), a Lieutenant in the Vice-Admiral's ship, who fell, nobly emulating the bravery of his father.\*

After the action, the French fleet proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the southward of Trincomalé, where the work of repairing their shattered ships, obliged them to remain until the month of June. In the account which they published of the action, they acknowledged, that L'Heros, M. de Suffren's ship, with her seconds, L'Orient and the Brilliant, had suffered severely; that the Admiral had been obliged to shift his flag from the first of these to the *Annibal*; that the bad condition of these three ships occasioned his putting an end to the action, and making the signal to cast anchor; and that L'Heros had cast anchor in the middle of the British squadron, while the rain and darkness prevented their perceiving her situation, until her Captain at length discovering his danger, seized a favourable moment to cut his cable and escape. This plainly points out the disorder and confusion which prevailed in the enemy's squadron. In the same account, they acknowledged, that the *La Fine* had been under orders to tow off the L'Heros, when she  
fell

\* See Note 306.

fell on board of the *Ifis*; but the fact of her striking is overlooked, and it is only coldly observed, that she separated from that ship without fighting. Their loss of men in this battle, as stated in their account of it, by no means accords with former experience, or with the nature and circumstances of the action, the acknowledged damage sustained by their ships, and the number of officers, whose names could not well be concealed, which appear in the lists of the killed and wounded. The killed they say amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine, and the wounded to two hundred and sixty-four.

Although neither of these actions were decisive in favour of the British, yet, both of them, particularly the one fought on the 16th of February, were of very great importance to them in their consequences. It was no secret, that France had, at an immense expence, been long collecting at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, a very great land and naval force: and all India was in expectation of the mighty blow which she was now to strike, and which, it was supposed, would be so heavy, that it would prove fatal to the British interests in that quarter of the globe. It was, in expectation of this powerful aid, that Hyder Ally first ventured to invade the Carnatic: and, it was upon the same principle, that notwithstanding his repeated defeats, he still rejected every overture that could be made tending to an accommodation. A naval force, sufficient to crush that of the British, was, excepting some artillery and engineers, probably all the aid which he wished for from France. He had too much sagacity and penetration, to place any great confidence in the services of a French, or indeed of any European army in India, as he was certain that their own interests would always preponderate. Their military knowledge and skill, as officers and engineers, was all that he valued: for he was too much of a politician, to desire that France, or any other European nation, should possess any territory whatever in the country. He was peculiarly solicitous that the  
British



British resources by sea should be cut off, and when that was accomplished, he knew that every thing would be at his own disposal.

The long delay of France, in fulfilling her engagements, had in a great measure exhausted the patience of Hyder Ally, while, in the mean time, he was alone exposed to all the rigours of a most dangerous war. But how great must have been his disappointment, and how vast must have been the astonishment of all India, when they beheld all the boastings of the French rendered nugatory, after they had come upon the coast of Coromandel, with a naval force so vastly superior to that of the British, that any resistance which they could make to it was regarded as fruitless. How must they have been appalled, when they saw, that this great armament of France, in which all their hopes were centered, after discovering the little fleet of Britain, at anchor in an open road, without any fort to afford them protection or assistance, durst not venture to attack them, but drew off and came to an anchor; and after pausing a few hours, weighed again and retreated. How deep must have been their dismay, when, to complete the disgrace of these allies, who had raised their expectations so high, they saw them pursued by the British fleet, most of their convoy taken, having on board the artillery destined for Hyder Ally; and their squadron brought to an action, in which they were so severely handled, that if the weather had not come much in their favour, the claim of victory would not have been left undetermined, but would in all probability have been decided against them. Nothing could have more strongly impressed the minds of the Indian princes and natives, with a conviction of the vast superiority of the British in all naval affairs, as well as of their invincible courage and fortitude, than these events. They must have recalled to their memory, the battles which the gallant Pocock fought, against a very superior French fleet under Comte d'Aché, whom he compelled to quit the Indian seas. The behaviour of his French allies on this occasion, must have been a grievous mortification

to Hyder Ally, who now saw, that all his splendid hopes of taking Madras, of deposing the Nabob of Arcot, and of putting his son Tippoo Saib in possession of the Carnatic, were as remote and uncertain as ever.

In the course of the summer, Hyder was fortunate enough to cut off some of the British detachments; but received several severe defeats from Sir Eyre Coote, which made him act with great caution. The French auxiliaries under M. de Chemin were landed at Pondicherry, and soon after that, made themselves masters of Cuddalore, where they took post and intrenched themselves. A peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, which gave great and just alarms to Hyder Ally, who dreaded, that from being enemies to the British, they would not only become their friends, but their allies; and take an active part in the war against him. He also feared, that an intended partition of his dominions might be the bond of union between these confederates. Such alarming apprehensions greatly impaired his health. As Sir Eyre Coote's bad state of health rendered him incapable of continuing any longer in the field, and as Sir Hector Munro was returning to Europe, the command of the army devolved on Major-General Stuart. Hyder Ally acted entirely on the defensive; and, as he had a very numerous army in the field, it was a very difficult matter to force him to action. The French were likewise too strongly posted at Cuddalore, to admit of General Stuart's making any attempt to dispossess them and recover it. The army under his command was far, however, from being inactive. It had so often to undergo long and laborious marches, either occasioned by the motions of the enemy, or intended to counteract their designs, and was so much employed in supplying and relieving garrisons, that though the campaign was toilsome, no event of any considerable importance occurred in the Carnatic, during the remainder of the year.

A very different scene presented itself on the Indian ocean, or rather in the Bay of Bengal, which was destined to exhibit a series of severe and bloody conflicts, between the hostile fleets

of Britain and France. M. de Suffren, having got his squadron refitted at Batacalo, returned early in the month of June to the coast of Coromandel: and, having touched at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, where his fleet was revictualled by several Dutch ships, sent on purpose from Batavia, he proceeded to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered a very strong place. Having had several conferences with Hyder Ally, he had it now in contemplation to fulfil the hopes of that Prince, by totally destroying the British squadron under Sir Edward Hughes, before he could form a junction with Sir Richard Bickerton, who, with a strong reinforcement of ships of war, had been long on his way from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He still preserved his former superiority of twelve ships of the line to eleven, besides his heavy frigates: and he used all possible means to put his squadron in the best condition for action. To effect this, he received on board four hundred French infantry, and as many sepoy, from Cuddalore: and, learning soon after this, that Sir Edward Hughes was arrived on the coast, under pretence of a design on Negapatam, he got his ships farther reinforced by three hundred artillerymen, from whom, he afterwards derived the greatest benefits.

Sir Edward Hughes having embarked all his recovered men, sailed from Trincomalé Bay on the 23d of June, in order to watch the motions of the French fleet on the coast of Coromandel, and arrived, on the following day, in Negapatam road, where his squadron came to an anchor. He was informed there, that the French squadron was then at anchor off Cuddalore, which had been previously obliged to surrender to their land-forces; that his Majesty's armed transports the *Resolution* and *Raikes*, on their passage to join him at Trincomalé with stores and ammunition, had very unfortunately fallen in with the French squadron, by which they were captured; and that the *San Carlos*, another of his Majesty's armed transports, with the *Rodney* brig, were chased, very narrowly



rowly escaped falling also into the enemy's hands, and had returned to Madras road.

On the 5th of July, at one in the afternoon, the French squadron came in sight. At three, the Vice-Admiral made the signal to weigh anchor, and stood to the southward with the squadron all that evening and night, in order to gain the wind of them.

On the 6th, at day-light, the enemy's squadron were discerned at anchor, bearing N. N. E., distant about seven or eight miles, wind at S. W. At fifty minutes past five, the Vice-Admiral made the signal for the line of battle abreast, and bore away towards the enemy. At six, the French squadron were observed to be getting under sail, and standing to the eastward; on which, Sir Edward Hughes hauled down the signal for a line of battle abreast, and made the signal for the line of battle ahead, at two cables length distance. In a few minutes after seven, perceiving the line to be extremely well formed, he made the signal to bear down on the enemy, each ship of his squadron, against the ship opposed to her in their line. At forty minutes past ten, the enemy's line began the action; and five minutes afterwards, the Vice-Admiral made the signal for battle, and to engage close.

From ten minutes after eleven, till thirty-five minutes past noon, the engagement was general from van to rear in both squadrons, and mostly very close. The enemy's line then appeared to be in great disorder, and several of their ships were perceived to have suffered severely both in their hulls and masts.

Their van ship had bore away out of the line; and the Brilliant, M. de Suffren's second ahead, had lost her main-mast. At this critical moment, when fortune seemed to have decided the action in favour of Britain, the sea-breeze set in at S. S. E., very fresh, and saved the French fleet from absolute ruin: for several of the British ships in the van and centre were taken aback, and paid round with their heads to the westward, while some other ships, those in the rear in particular, which had suffered much less in their rigging, paid off, and continued

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tinued on their former tack. The sea-breeze had the same effect on the enemy's squadron, several of which paid round with their heads to the westward. The *Severe* fell alongside of the *Sultan* of seventy-four guns, and unable to withstand her tremendous fire, struck her colours. But when the *Sultan* was wearing, in order to join the Vice-Admiral, the *Severe*, taking advantage of her situation, made as much sail as possible; and in defiance of the established laws of war, and of nations, poured her fire into the *Sultan* as she passed, and raked her. Without shewing any colours, she then made the utmost haste to get into a cluster of French ships, the vicinity of which favoured her design, and screened her from the vengeance, which the baseness of her conduct had deserved. At fifty minutes past noon, Sir Edward Hughes finding that the *Worcester*, *Eagle*, and *Burford*, still continued on their former tack, and were wearing the body of the enemy's squadron very fast, made the signal for his fleet to wear, and hauled down the signal for the line, intending to make the signal for a general chace, in order to renew the action, and to follow up the impression already made. At this time, Captain Gell of the *Monarcha* hailed, and informed him, that all the standing rigging of his ship was shot away, and that she was otherwise so much disabled, as to be ungovernable. The *Hero*, which was on the contrary tack, hauling in with the land, made the the signal of distress: and the enemy's ships, having wore and come to on the larboard tack, such of them as were least disabled were forming to the windward, in order to cover their disabled ships, and to endeavour to cut off the *Eagle*. The Vice-Admiral therefore, at twenty minutes past one, made the signal to wear, and stood to the westward; the engagement still continuing partially, wherever the British ships were near enough to fire with effect on those of the enemy, two of whose ships, at this time, made a vigorous attack on the *Eagle*. At half past one, he made the signal for the line of battle ahead on the larboard tack; and at the same time, the *Exeter's* signal to come within hail, which being  
instantly

instantly obeyed, he directed her Captain to take post immediately astern of the Sultan. At two in the afternoon, the enemy's squadron were standing in-shore; and the Admirals of both fleets were endeavouring to collect their ships. The British were much dispersed, and remained on different tacks, many of them being much disabled, and in general ungovernable.

At half past four, Sir Edward Hughes hauled down the signal for the line of battle ahead, and made the signal to prepare to anchor: and, at half past five, the *Superb* came to an anchor in six fathom water, between Negapatam and Nagore: the other ships of the squadron anchored as they came in with the land, and the *Worcester* followed their example next day.

M. de Suffren, having succeeded in collecting his ships in a close body, came to an anchor with them, at six in the evening, about three leagues to leeward of the British fleet. As soon as Sir Edward Hughes had brought his squadron to an anchor, the most strenuous exertions were made, during the remainder of the day and all the night, in securing the lower masts of the disabled ships, almost all their standing rigging having been shot away, in splicing the old and reeving new rigging, and in getting serviceable fails to the masts.

Next day, (the 7th), he perceived with infinite regret, that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the officers and men to put the squadron in a condition for service, the damages which several of his ships had sustained were so great, that he was obliged to give up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy. At nine in the morning, the French squadron got under sail, and returned to Cuddalore road: their most disabled ships ahead, and those less so, covering their retreat in the rear.

The same forenoon, Sir Edward Hughes, with a spirit becoming a British Admiral, sent Captain Watt, of his Majesty's ship the *Sultan*, in the *Rodney* brig disarmed, with a flag of truce, and a letter to M. de Suffren, containing a demand of the surrender of the French King's ship the *Ajax*. Captain Watt came up with the French squadron that evening; and the Vice-  
Admiral's



Admiral's letter was conveyed to M. de Suffren, who returned an evasive answer, in which he said, that it was the French ship the *Severe*, which had the halliards of her ensign shot away, as frequently happens in actions, and that by these means it came down, but was never intended to be struck. By his conduct in this affair, the character of M. de Suffren sinks into the most deserved contempt: and, it is to be regretted, that so brave an officer, was capable of inventing a falsehood, to screen himself from doing an act of justice, for the account of this very extraordinary transaction, published some time afterwards, entirely confutes his defence, and his allegations.\*

The setting in of the sea-breeze, at the time, and in the manner in which it came on, proved extremely fortunate to the French, but quite the reverse to the British. It totally deranged their order of battle, and rendered them incapable of following up with effect the advantage which they had gained, while it enabled the crippled, broken, and defeated enemy, to recollect and recover themselves; for it was the disorder, into which the British line was unexpectedly thrown by the breeze, that gave the French time to wear, and to get upon another tack, by which means they were enabled to form a disposition to windward, and to interpose their least disabled ships, to protect those which were most injured.

It was a great mortification to Sir Edward Hughes, to see  
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\* The following is the result of an inquiry into this transaction, which afterwards took place at Paris, and was published by authority. The Second Captain of the *Severe*, being terribly wounded and obliged to quit his post, M. de Villeneuve Cillar, First Captain of the ship, ordered the colours to be struck. The fire from the batteries continued, notwithstanding the orders given to the contrary. The *Sieur de Tien*, an auxiliary officer, who directed part of the fire, could not, without indignation, see the vessel strike to one more damaged than herself. He therefore addressed M. de Cillar, and said to him, "*Monseigneur, you are certainly wounded, and more dangerously than you think; you had better retire to be taken care of.*" (a very improbable tale.) M. Cillar followed this advice, and quitted his post: upon which M. de Tien, now became commander, harangued his crew, who, as well as himself, had observed the conduct of M. Cillar with pain. The colours were hoisted, and the ship defended herself in such a manner as to embarrass the enemy, and to effect a junction with the fleet, with which she entered Trincomalee.

the French Squadron retreating to Cuddalore, without being able to pursue them. Their numerous frigates, upon this occasion, as well as in all their late operations, were of the most signal service to them. Although they were completely beaten, and forced to retreat, yet little or no advantage was reaped from the victory. If the British ships had not been thrown out of action, in the manner already described, at the instant in which the enemy's line was broken, some of their ships running away, and others too much disabled to run, it is but reasonable to suppose, that several of them must have submitted before they could have reached Cuddalore. The first part of this battle; which was the only part that was general, serves to throw great light upon the two immediately preceding engagements: for, it is from thence, clearly evident, that if they had been general instead of partial, and if all the British Squadron could have been at once brought fairly into action, the result of both would have been very different from what it was; unless, indeed, that the first of them might probably have proved so very decisive as to have rendered the second unnecessary. One general observation is strikingly true, that in all the three naval actions, the elements were very partial to the French.

In this action, the British had seventy-seven men killed, and two hundred and twenty-three wounded. Among the former was the gallant Captain Maclellan of the *Superb*, who was shot through the heart soon after the action began. Some other officers of great merit were also killed and wounded.\* On the side of the French, their acknowledged loss was much more considerable than that of the British, their slain amounting to one hundred and seventy-eight, and their wounded to six hundred and one.†

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\* See Note 307.

† The loss of men sustained by the French, in the action of the 6th of July, was, at the time, suspected to be greater than M. de Suffren, or the French Ministers, chose to acknowledge, in the account which they published. This opinion

There is a chasm, in the details laid before the public, of the naval affairs in India at this time, which renders me unable to give a satisfactory account of the motives, which induced Sir Edward Hughes to remain at sea, near a fortnight after the last action, to the windward of Negapatam, with his squadron in the disabled state in which he describes it to have been on the 7th of July; during which time the French were at anchor off Cuddalore, extremely active in repairing their damages, and in getting their ships ready for service. No doubt, the Vice-Admiral had good reasons for acting as he did, and as little doubt can be entertained, but that he communicated these to Administration. Circumstances, however, might have intervened, which might have rendered it improper, or unnecessary at the time, to lay these reasons before the public. If we may hazard a conjecture, perhaps he intended to cover the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton's long expected squadron, lest M. de Suffren should have proceeded to sea, with his least disabled ships, in order to intercept it: or, perhaps, his continuing on this part of the coast, may have been owing to a preconcerted scheme with the General commanding the army, relative to some conjunct operation, or to some movement of the land-forces, which made it necessary for the fleet to occupy that station. Be this as it may, it was attended with some very fatal consequences, as will be seen in the sequel.

The squadron had not a sufficient quantity of stores, to repair

opinion was fully confirmed some months afterwards, by an accurate state of the French loss in that action, which was brought to England by the Fox packet from India.

By that statement, which gives the particular loss of each ship, their whole number of killed amounted to 412, and their wounded to 676. It is remarkable, that of these M. de Suffren's own ship, the *Heros*, the crew of which, at the beginning of the engagement, amounted to 1200 men, had no less than 140 killed, and 240 wounded. This loss of men, in one battle, and in one ship, was exceeded only at the taking of the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, on the 12th of April this year, in the West Indies; if we put the cases of burning or blowing up out of the question. In this action, M. de Suffren was so ill pleased with the behaviour of his officers, that he broke, and sent prisoners to the Mauritius, no less than six of his Captains.



pair the loss of topmasts and other damages, sustained in the action of the 6th of July: and it stood in need also of a supply of spars, fishes, and cordage; and its ammunition and provisions were nearly exhausted. To get these wants supplied, the Vice-Admiral was under a necessity of quitting his station, and proceeding to Madras road, where he arrived on the 20th of July; after which he immediately set to work, to get the ships ready for service. Here, he received information, that his Majesty's ship Sceptre, of sixty-four guns, Captain Samuel Graves, one of Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron, had arrived at this place on the 13th of July; but had sailed again, along with the armed transport San Carlos, on the 17th, with an intention of joining him to the southward. On the 28th, they returned to the road, and joined the Vice-Admiral, who learned from Captain Graves, that the Sceptre had parted company with Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron, soon after it left the Channel; that he had been at Rio Janiero, where he met his Majesty's frigate Medea, Captain Erasmus Gower; and that in the course of their passage to India, they captured a large French ship, laden with naval stores, in charge of which he had left the Medea, that he might proceed with the greater expedition, to the place of his destination.

While the squadron was refitting, and taking in its stores, Sir Edward Hughes, anxious for the security of Trincomalé, on the 31st of July, dispatched the Monmouth and Sceptre, with such a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of ammunition and stores for that garrison, as both he and the General expected, would have been fully competent, to enable the Commandant to repel any attempt which the enemy might make to carry the place by a *coup de main*. Captain Alms performed this service much to the Admiral's satisfaction: and both ships rejoined him in Madras road on the 10th of August. On the 13th, the Medea frigate joined the Vice-Admiral, and brought in with her, a French ship of about four hundred and fifty tons burthen, laden with provisions and stores, bound to

the Mauritius, and taken by her, in company with the Sceptre, off the Cape of Good Hope.

In the mean time, M. de Suffren was indefatigable in his exertions to get the squadron under his command ready for sea: and, while he was so employed, he received advice from M. d'Aymar, that he was arrived at the port of Point de Galles in the island of Ceylon, in his own ship the *St. Michael* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Illustre* of seventy-four; and that they had under their convoy, the second division of the Marquis de Buff'y's land-forces and artillery. To escort these latter safe to their destination, was a service of the utmost importance: and, for this purpose, M. de Suffren put to sea, with his squadron, from Cuddalore road, on the 1st of August.

This sudden departure of the French Admiral, was either a measure very unexpected, or else the means of information had at the time been artfully cut off. It is otherwise difficult to explain how it could happen, that with an army in the field, garrisons everywhere dispersed, in a country belonging to the Nabob of Arcot, and at such an insignificant distance as Cuddalore is from Madras, no intelligence of a transaction of such immense consequence and notoriety, should have reached the British Admiral, until the 16th of the month, and then only through mere accident, and from a directly opposite quarter. When Sir Edward Hughes left Bombay with the squadron, the *Coventry* frigate of twenty-eight guns was under repair; but, he left orders with Captain Mitchell, her commander, to follow him as soon as his ship was ready. The Captain accordingly sailed from Bombay for this purpose; but, on the 12th of August, when off Friar's Hood on the island of Ceylon, he fell in with and attacked the *Bellone*, a French frigate of forty guns, and, after a severe engagement of two hours and a half, compelled her to sheer off. Notwithstanding the great disparity of force, he endeavoured to overtake his flying antagonist; but the *Coventry* was so much wounded in her masts and rigging, that she could not come up with the *Bellone*, before she joined the French fleet, which consisted of twenty-three

three fail. Captain Mitchell saw these at anchor in Batacalo road, and was chased by two of their line of battle ships. This prevented his Majesty's frigate from reaping the fruits of a victory, which the gallant behaviour of her officers and crew had gained. In this action, the Coventry had fifteen men killed, and twenty-nine wounded. She joined Sir Edward Hughes in Madras road on the 16th, and gave him the first notice which he had, of M. de Suffren having put to sea.

So great an armament in the neighbourhood of Trincomalé, made the Vice-Admiral extremely anxious for the safety of that place, and induced him to quicken his departure from Madras road. His ships, having received the supplies which they so much needed, and being rendered as fit for service as time and circumstances would allow, he put to sea with his squadron, on the 20th of August, with the design, as he expresses it in his public letter, of covering the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, and of opposing the enemy's squadron. He used every endeavour to gain the island of Ceylon; but, the weather proved as adverse as it was possible to his intentions: and the delay which this necessarily occasioned, enabled the French to make themselves masters of the port of Trincomalé. This was by much the severest blow that the British had received in India: and they felt it in the most sensible manner, in all their future naval operations in these seas.

M. de Suffren, as soon as he was off Batacalo, informed M. d'Aymar, at Point de Galles, of his arrival. He joined him with his ships and convoy the 21st: and having seen nothing of the British fleet, they determined to avail themselves of the body of land-forces then along with them, and to attack the British posts at Trincomalé, especially, as there were no ships there to oppose their descent. The harbour having been reconnoitred, the French fleet anchored in Back Bay on the 25th: and all the forts and batteries, that could bring their guns to bear on them fired, but with little or no effect. Having fixed on a spot for debarking the troops, on the 26th at three in the morning, they effected a landing: and the forces, under the



command of Baron d'Agoult, immediately marched towards Fort Trincomalé, and invested it. Captain Hay Macdowal, of the 2d battalion of the 42d, or Royal Highland regiment, who commanded in the place, made a gallant defence, and used every means to retard the enemy's operations; but the force brought against him was so very superior to what he had, that the terms which the enemy granted him, are surprisngly favourable. On the 27th and 28th, the enemy were employed in erecting their batteries, which they opened on the left, at seven next morning. The fire from the fort killed and wounded twenty of them; but their batteries, in the course of the day, gained so great a superiority of fire over those of the garrison, that they were in a great measure silenced before night. During the night, the French repaired their batteries on the left, and advanced those on the right, so that on the 30th at day-break, the whole were opened with great effect against the fort. At nine o'clock, the French commanders sent a summons to the Commandant to surrender the place. Some difficulties at first arose about the terms of capitulation: but M. de Suffren was too eager to obtain possession of the fort, and too apprehensive of the arrival of the British squadron, to lose much time in debating about conditions. Captain Macdowal accordingly obtained every thing he demanded: the honours of war for his garrison; ample security to the Dutch merchants; personal responsibility from the Commander in Chief of the French land-forces, for any disorders committed by his troops, &c.\* The capitulation was signed the same evening, and the gates were delivered to the French, who, next morning, marched against Fort Ostenburgh, which surrendered on the first summons, on the same terms as Fort Trincomalé had done. The loss of this place was much felt both by Sir Eyre Coote and Sir Edward Hughes, who, considering the supplies and reinforcements which they had thrown into it, expected that it would have held out longer; but no blame was thrown upon the

\* The reader will find the articles of capitulation, eleven in number, at full length in the Appendix, Note 308.

the Commandant or his officers. It is therefore to be supposed, that the natural or artificial defences, were not so strong as had been imagined; or that there were some defects of which the the public have not been informed; or, perhaps, that the enemy's artillery was much more powerful than there was reason to expect.

On the 1st of September, after leaving a sufficient garrison in his new conquest, M. de Suffren re-embarked the land-forces and artillery. This was scarcely accomplished, when the wind suddenly changed; and, on the 2d in the night, the British squadron under Sir Edward Hughes arrived off Trincomalé Bay. Nothing could exceed the mortification felt by the Vice-Admiral, when, at day-break, on the 3d, he discovered French colours flying on all the forts; and their squadron, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, and, with their frigates and transports, amounting in all to thirty sail, at anchor in the several bays about the place.

As, on account of the southerly winds, Sir Edward Hughes had unfortunately failed of arriving in time to succour Trincomalé, there was little reason to induce him to force M. de Suffren to an action. The superiority of the French squadron, joined to this consideration, which no naval victory, however complete, could now immediately recover, would undoubtedly have justified him in declining to fight; but such was the indignation that pervaded the whole of the British squadron, that no superiority of force, was regarded as a sufficient motive for delaying their vengeance.

When the British fleet appeared off the port on the morning of the 3d, the enemy's squadron, consisting of fourteen line of battle ships, the Elizabeth of fifty guns, three frigates, and a fireship, got under sail about six o'clock, and stood out of Back Bay to the south eastward, the wind blowing strong at S. W., off the shore, which placed them to the windward of the British. At ten minutes after six, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for the line of battle ahead, at two cables length asunder, shortened sail, and edged away from the wind,

that the ships, which were to form the van of the British line, might the more speedily get into their stations. At twenty minutes past eight, the enemy's squadron began to edge down towards the British line, then well formed : and Sir Edward Hughes, in order to render the action decisive, by drawing them as far as was possible from Trincomalé before its commencement, stood off before the wind from the shore, until eleven o'clock. During this whole time, the enemy shewed the greatest indecision in some of their movements, sometimes edging down as if disposed to come to action, again bringing to, and keeping no regular order ; appearing totally undetermined how they should act.

At noon, they appeared to have come to a resolution to engage. At half past two they began to fire. Their fire was returned by the British ; and, in a few minutes, the battle was general from van to rear. The French, to derive all possible advantage from their superiority in numbers, directed the attack of their additional ships upon the extremities of the British line, which were already in close action with ships of equal force. By these means the Worcester, their rearmost ship, was most furiously attacked by two of the enemy. They appeared to be certain of completely disabling, if not of taking her, as her second ahead, the Monmouth, was at that time warmly engaged with a ship, which, for some time, found her full employment. The Worcester was fought with great judgment, and made a noble defence, which gave time to the Monmouth to come to her assistance. Having very severely handled her antagonist, Captain Alms ordered the Monmouth's sails to be thrown aback, and poured in such a close and well directed fire upon the enemy, that their design on that side, was entirely frustrated. While this was transacting, five sail, which composed the enemy's van, bore down in a crowded body to the Exeter and Isis, the headmost ships of the British line, and attacked them with much impetuosity. Having greatly disabled the Exeter, and at length obliged her to quit the line, these five ships tacked, keeping their wind, and poured

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ed in their fire on the *Ifis*, and on the other ships of the British van, as they passed.

In the mean time, the centres of both lines were closely engaged, ship to ship; and the *Superb* and *Heros* were keeping up a terrible cannonade against each other. At half past three, M. de Suffren's second astern had his mizen-mast shot away; and his second ahead lost his fore and mizen topmasts. The battle was, however, still desperately maintained on both sides, till half past five, when, the wind shifting suddenly from S. W. to E. S. E., Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for his squadron to wear, which was instantly obeyed. The evolution was performed by the whole of the ships, with such alertness, and in such admirable order, that it seemed to be rather a part of a naval review, than a movement in the height of action and danger. While this was performing, the ships of the French squadron were either wearing or staying, until the British ships should renew the engagement on the other tack, which they soon did, with the greatest vigour, and very close. The effects of their fire were quickly and sensibly felt by the enemy; for at twenty minutes past six, the French Admiral's main-mast was shot away by the board, and soon after that, his mizen-mast: and about the same time, the *Worcester* lost her main-topmast. About seven in the evening, the body of the French squadron hauled their wind to the southward; but continued exposed to a most severe fire from the British ships in the rear, until twenty minutes past seven, when the engagement ceased.

Thus ended, perhaps, one of the best fought actions recorded in naval history. It terminated for this year, the naval operations in India; where the campaign, in both sea and land services, had been distinguished by uncommon activity, and by a number of obstinate and bloody actions, hitherto unequalled in the annals of this quarter of the world.

It can easily be supposed, that after so long, and so severe a conflict, the British squadron was not in a condition to persevere in a pursuit, which the darkness of the night, and the vicinity of the port of Trincomalé, which afforded a secure asylum to  
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the enemy's fleet, would, in any event, have rendered of no effect.

Considering how long and closely the British ships were engaged, the loss of men, which they sustained in this action, was so small, as to be almost below credibility. It amounted only to fifty-one killed, and two hundred and eighty-three wounded. Their loss of officers, however, was great beyond example; and in the naval service, this must be deeply felt. Among those who gloriously devoted their lives, in this memorable action, to the service of their country, were the three brave and distinguished Captains, Wood of the Worcester, Watt of the Sultan, and Lumley of the Isis. The two first died in a few days after the action, of the wounds they received: and the last was killed, bravely fighting his ship, when attacked by the whole of the enemy's van. He was greatly regretted, on account of his youth and noble family, as well as on account of his being an officer of the greatest hope, and most distinguished courage. Such a slaughter of Captains, in so small a number of ships, and in a battle in which the general loss was so moderate, was singularly unfortunate. Indeed, the officers in general, seemed peculiarly destined to suffer in this day's action, several other brave men, as well of the 78th and 98th regiments, as of the naval department, having fallen, and a very considerable number having been wounded.\*

It was highly to the honour of the British Commanders, that in this, and in all the preceding naval battles, fought this year in the Indian seas, though they had uniformly to contend with a superiority of force, and the elements were for the most part unfriendly to their endeavours, yet, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, the contagious breath of slander, had not been able to leave the smallest soil on the character, or of censure on the behaviour, of any one of them. On the contrary, in all the severe conflicts to which they had been exposed, each was acknowledged to have done every thing that could possibly be expected, from a brave and experienced officer.

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\* See Note 309.

What a contrast to this was exhibited on the side of the French officers. M. de Suffren was frequently breaking or suspending some of them, and actually sent several of them to France for trial. Immediately on the close of the action of the 3d of September, M. de Suffren, with his squadron, made all possible haste to enter the harbour of Trincomalé, which they did that night: but it being dark, l'Orient of seventy-four guns got aground, and was wrecked.

Sir Edward Hughes, finding many of his squadron so much damaged, that there was no probability of his coming up with the enemy, about eight in the evening, made the night signal for the line of battle ahead, on the larboard tack: but the night being dark, and several of his ships not being in sight, he made the signal, at midnight, for the squadron to lay-to on the larboard tack. At day-light on the 4th, no part of the French squadron was to be seen: and the Eagle, Monmouth, Burford, Superb, and several other ships, were making much water from shot-holes, so very low down in their bottoms, that they could not be come at, so as to be effectually stopped; all of them having also suffered severely in their masts and rigging. It was then that the loss of the port of Trincomalé was experienced; for they had no other port on the west side of the island of Ceylon, in which it was safe to anchor at this late season of the year, when the N. E. winds often blow strong in that country. Thus circumstanced, the Vice-Admiral was under a necessity of sailing with his squadron towards the Coromandel coast, to get anchoring ground, in order to stop the shot-holes under water, and attend to other damages in several of his ships, the repairs of which admitted of no delay. On the 8th, he fell in with the land, only a few leagues to the windward of Madras; and coming to an anchor in that road the next day, he immediately set to work to refit the squadron. On his arrival, he was much disappointed, by neither finding Sir Richard Bickerton in Madras road, nor hearing of him. As the season drew very near, when the monsoon would oblige him to steer for Bombay with the line of battle ships, he ordered

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ed some frigates† to remain on the Coromandel coast, and occasionally to cruize between Point Palmiras and Madras road, for the protection of the merchant ships, and vessels coming with grain from Bengal. For some time before he sailed for Bombay, the weather had become very threatening and squally, so that several ships of the squadron parted their cables, and lost their anchors. On the 20th of October a violent gale came on. The boats from most of the ships were at this time on shore, on different services. The road, which was full of shipping, was cleared in the course of a few hours, the King's ships, and every vessel that could bear canvas, getting out to sea as fast as possible. Fortunately the wind was from the west, or the consequences might have proved very fatal to the large ships, as the surf is uncommonly heavy on the Coromandel coast. Some of the men of war's boats followed their respective ships: and the long boats all arrived safe, and were hoisted on board. Of the others, the greater part were either left behind or lost. The gale continued uncommonly long; and, for some weeks, no intercourse was practicable, between any of the ships of his Majesty's squadron. The *Superb* was dismasted, and the *Exeter* was almost rendered a wreck. Sir Edward Hughes was obliged to shift his flag to the *Sultan*. Both the *Superb* and *Exeter* got to Bombay with jury-masts. A few days after Sir Edward Hughes with the squadron had been obliged to quit Madras road, Sir Richard Bickerton arrived there from Bombay, with five sail of the line. He made a very short stay, and put to sea again; but did not join Sir Edward until both squadrons arrived at Bombay.

The damage done at Madras by the hurricane was very great: but the loss of ships was confined to the vessels in country trade, of which upwards of a hundred were wrecked. The *Neckar* lost her main-mast, and some vessels foundered at their anchors.

The ships of his Majesty's squadron, under Sir Edward Hughes, were separated before they reached their destination: and

† *Medea*, *Coventry*, and *San Carlos*. The *Active* joined them afterwards.

and the *Monarcha*, while alone, fell in with and took a Dutch storeship, which, together with the French storeship taken by the *Isis*, and the French storeship taken by the *Sceptre* and *Medea*, proved of very great service in refitting the fleet. Government had also been very provident, in sending a large quantity of naval stores, in the fleet under Sir Richard Bickerton; who, among other articles, brought out copper-sheathing for all the ships, the bottoms of which were not sheathed with that metal. Sir Richard Bickerton, with the five sail of the line under his command, returned to Bombay on the 28th of November: and on the 12th of December, detached the *Africa*, to escort the troops under General Matthews to Onore. The *Juno* frigate was employed in the like service, and also the *Isis*, after she was repaired. Most of Sir Edward Hughes's fleet arrived at Bombay about the middle of December. The utmost expedition was used in refitting them: the *Superb* and *Exeter* were taken into dock, the day after they reached Bombay; and the *Hero*, *Monmouth*, and *Sceptre*, were left at Goa to refit, with orders to join the squadron, as soon as that was accomplished.

On the 9th of September, the *Locko*, *Osterley*, and *Essex*, East India Company's ships, and *Berampore*, country ship, in the Straits of Malacca, near the Caimans, fell in with the *Pourveyouse*, a French frigate of forty guns, by which they were attacked. They engaged her upwards of two hours, when she made sail, and stood for Malacca. The *Osterley* had two men killed. Several of the people on board of the *Locko* and *Essex* were hurt, by the blowing up of some cartridges.

The French fleet did not escape so well from the monsoons as the British had done; for, on their voyage from Trincomalé to Achen, they were very roughly handled by a severe gale, and the *Bizarre* of sixty-four guns was lost on the coast of Sumatra.

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1783.

THE small squadron, left by Sir Edward Hughes on the coast of Coromandel, did very great service. Captain Erasmus Gower, in his Majesty's ship *Medea* of twenty-eight guns, on the 30th of January, being off Cuddalore, perceived a large Dutch ship at anchor off the fort of that place. He ran boldly between the ship and the fort, and attacked her. The enemy, not suspecting an attack on that side, were not prepared to receive the *Medea*, kept up but a slack fire, and appeared in great confusion. The French fired from the fort; but their shot passed over the *Medea*, which was screened by her own smoke, and struck the Dutch ship. After the action had continued for some time, the enemy were making preparations to run ashore; on which, Lieutenant James Rutherford, first of the *Medea*, asked permission of Captain Gower to board her. To this request the Captain consented; on which, the Lieutenant pushed off with the boats, and performed the service, with the greatest resolution and good conduct. The enemy struck her colours, as soon as he reached the quarter-deck. She proved to be the *Vryheid* of fifty guns, and had on board the guns that belonged to the *Bizarre*, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns, which had been wrecked. Lieutenant Rutherford ordered her cable to be cut: and the *Medea* put out to sea with her prize, and proceeded to Madras road. The Captain of the *Vryheid* was on shore. He had applied to the French Commandant, for some troops to assist in defending his ship; but his request was refused, as she was thought to be perfectly safe, when under the cannon of the fort: and the Lieutenant of the *Vryheid* was so well convinced of this, that he neglected to order the guns on that side to be loaded. Four French officers of rank were found on board: and if the *Medea* had arrived an hour later, she probably would have taken most of the officers of the garrison of Cuddalore, who were to have dined on board that day. The *Vryheid* was soon afterwards driven



driven from her anchors in Madras road, in a violent gale, and wrecked.

M. de Suffren put to sea from Achen, as soon as his shattered fleet was repaired. At Ganjam, he had taken the Blandford Indiaman in ballast, and on the following day, his Majesty's ship the Coventry, of twenty-eight guns, Captain William Wolfeley.

The Medea frigate, Captain Gower, luckily fell in with the Chafer sloop of war of fourteen guns, formerly belonging to his Majesty. She was conveying dispatches from the Marquis de Buffy to M. de Suffren, and by these information was obtained, that the Marquis was arrived at Trincomalé, with the last division of his troops, in order to join Hyder Ally; that they were escorted by four ships of the line; but, that both the troops and seamen were greatly distressed by a dysentery that had got amongst them, and daily carried off numbers; and that the Marquis was much chagrined, at not finding M. de Suffren, with his squadron, at that port.

Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, having under him Commodores King and Sir Richard Bickerton, put to sea from Bombay, with his Majesty's squadron under his command, on the 20th of March, 1783, and on the 8th of April, was joined, off the Bassas, by the Active frigate, Captain Troubridge, who had been cruising for a month off the Friar's Hood, but had not seen any enemy.

In the night of the 10th, a grab ship of the enemy fell into the squadron and was taken. By the officers taken in this ship, the Vice-Admiral learned, that the whole of the French squadron, under the command of M. de Suffren, was in Trincomalé harbour, except two of their best sailing line of battle ships and two frigates, which were cruising off Madras to block up that port, and to intercept all supplies bound to it. Upon receiving this information, he immediately steered with the squadron for that place, and anchored in the road on the 13th of April; but saw nothing of the French cruizers. As, however, they had been in sight of the place only the day before,  
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he directed the Sultan, Burford, Africa, Eagle, and Active, to proceed to sea under orders of the Captain of the Sultan, and to use all possible diligence to intercept them. On the following day, Captain Graves, of his Majesty's ship the Sceptre, whose signal had been made on the 11th, to chase a strange sail, joined Sir Edward Hughes with the Naiade, a French frigate of thirty guns and one hundred and sixty men, which he had come up with and captured in the night.

On the 16th, the Vice-Admiral had the pleasure to be joined by his Majesty's ship Bristol of fifty guns, Captain Burney, with all the ships under his escort from England. This fleet met Captain Mitchell in the Sultan, and the ships under his command, at sea: and he conducted them safe into Madras road. Captain Mitchell had seen none of the enemy's cruisers. On the 19th of April, the squadron sustained a considerable diminution of men, by an unfortunate accident. The Company's ship the Duke of Athol had then made the signal of distress; and the Vice-Admiral made the signal for the boats of the squadron to go to her assistance. The boats of six ships had but just reached her, when she unfortunately blew up. By this unhappy accident, the squadron had six commissioned and four warrant officers, and one hundred and twenty-seven excellent seamen, killed.\*

Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief of the land-forces, being now much recovered in his health, and the season for action approaching, determined to return to Madras. He accordingly embarked at Calcutta, on board of the Resolution armed ship, belonging to the East India Company,

\* The following are the names of the six commissioned officers, who were blown up on board of the Duke of Athol East India ship, and also of the ships to which they respectively belonged:

Lieutenant Charles Egan, of the Superb.

Neal Morrison, of the Eagle.

Thomas Wilson, of the Sceptre.

James Thompson, of the Juno.

Edward Pringle, of the Active.

Alexander Allen, of the Seahorse.

pany, taking with him ten lacks of rupees, and failed from thence, in a full confidence of bringing the war in the Carnatic to a speedy conclusion. When his Excellency's voyage was drawing towards a close, it most unfortunately happened, that the Resolution fell in with two French ships of the line, which immediately gave chase to her: and they both failed so well, that for two days and two nights, her escape was deemed impossible. The ruinous consequences of Sir Eyre Coote becoming a prisoner, and the loss of the public treasure, which must have been followed by a total overthrow of all his designs and hopes, could not fail, in so critical a season of public affairs, to prey deeply upon his mind. His anxiety was indeed so great, that it kept him almost constantly on deck, during the whole time that the chase continued. It was scarcely then to be expected, that the heat, the fatigue, the night air, and above all, the agitation of mind, inseparable from such a situation, should not have severely affected a constitution, already much shattered by long and hard service, and brought on a return of disorders, which were rather palliated than cured. Such in reality was the event. By good management, the Resolution eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and got safe, with the treasure, to Madras; but to the irreparable loss of the East India Company, of his country, and in particular of the service to which he belonged, the General died on the 26th of April, 1783, only two days after his arrival. To draw a character of this great and good man is much beyond my abilities. I have had repeated opportunities of mentioning his name in the course of these Memoirs. A recital of his actions might serve to convey a high idea of his merit; but more is certainly due to him: and those who knew him best, place both his military talents, and the goodness of his heart, in the most exalted point of view. It is, indeed, beyond a doubt, that he well deserves to be ranked among those Generals, whose inherent abilities have most eminently supplied the deficiency of force in war. He was succeeded in the command of the army, by Major-General Stuart.



M. de Suffren, with his squadron, after taking his Majesty's ship *Coventry*, proceeded to Trincomalé, and there joined the reinforcements from Europe. Soon after that, he sailed for the Coromandel coast, and landed at Porto Novo, the troops under the Marquis de Buffy, who, finding that Tippoo Saib, the son and successor of Hyder Ally, was gone beyond the mountains, to defend his dominions on the Malabar coast, took a strong post at Cuddalore, where he could easily hold communication with the French Admiral and squadron. The Governor and Council of Madras, conceiving that the absence of Tippoo Saib, with the greatest part of his forces, afforded a favourable opportunity of driving the French out of the Carnatic, resolved that the army should take the field, as soon as possible, for that purpose. The greatest part of the month of May was spent in providing shipping, provisions, and stores, necessary for this expedition. In order to hasten it, Sir Edward Hughes assisted them with his Majesty's armed storeships *Pondicherry*, *Harriot*, and *Minerva*: and to cover and protect the transports and these storeships, whilst the army was attacking Cuddalore, he ordered a small squadron to attend them, under the command of Captain Halliday of his Majesty's ship *Isis*.\*

Although the naval force which Britain had assembled in the Indian seas was now considerably superior to that of the French, yet various unforeseen accidents occurred, which prevented the commanders from acting with that vigour against the enemy, to which their inclinations prompted them: and by these means their fleet, which, in other circumstances, must have been totally crushed, effected its escape. In order to explain this, it is necessary to inform the reader, that, from the day on which the squadron arrived in Madras road, the Vice-Admiral used all possible diligence to have the water of the fleet complete; that, in this work, he frequently experienced very great disappointments, owing to the want of a sufficient number  
of

\* *Isis* of 50, *Active* of 32, *San Carlos* of 40, *Naiade* of 30, and *Chaser* sloop of 16 guns; together with the *Pondicherry*, *Harriot*, and *Minerva*, of 26 guns each.

of shore-boats, and to the high surf on the beach; and that when he put to sea, on the second of May, to seek the enemy's squadron, and, if possible, to intercept their expected reinforcements, the water of many of his ships was by no means complete. The Vice-Admiral continued cruising to the southward of Cuddalore until the 9th of June, when he anchored in Porto Novo road, about seven leagues to the southward of that place; partly to cover the little squadron under Captain Halliday and the ships in Cuddalore road, and to engage the enemy's squadron before they could anchor there; and partly to get a supply of water, of which many ships in the squadron began to be in want. But although every possible exertion was made, no water could be obtained, either at Porto Novo, or at Tranquebar. At the first place, the enemy's troops were in possession of both banks of the river; and at the other, the wells were dried up. Another great misfortune befel his Majesty's squadron, for which it is difficult to account. Though the ships had left Bombay in good condition, and their crews in excellent health, yet, by the beginning of June, the men were much reduced and weakened by sickness, particularly by the scurvy, which had seized them in a most inveterate degree. By the 8th of that month, the sick, on board of the line of battle ships, amounted to no less than one thousand one hundred and twenty-five men, of whom six hundred and five were in the last stage of the disorder. Captain Halliday's little squadron having joined the fleet, Sir Edward Hughes put the sick on board of the *San Carlos*, and dispatched her to Madras with them. Although the fleet was cleared of all that number, yet, in the short space of a fortnight, the healthiest ships had from seventy to ninety men a-piece, and others double that number, incapable of doing duty. To all these must be added, the long list of men who died, during the whole time of this service, which must necessarily have reduced the crews so very much, as to render them little more than capable of working the vessels. When these accumulated misfortunes are properly considered, it will cease to be an object of wonder, that a

fleet superior in number of ships to the enemy, performed so little.

It has been already observed, that Sir Edward Hughes with his Majesty's squadron, sailed from Madras road on the 2d of May, leaving there the little squadron, appointed to act under the orders of Captain Halliday of the *Isis*. On the 15th of May, the squadron being off Cuddalore, the Vice-Admiral spoke two Portuguese ships from Trincomalé, from which he received information, that M. de Suffren, with his force, was there, fitting for sea with all possible expedition, that he might sail to the relief of Cuddalore. From that time, he continued working to windward, with the squadron along shore, lest the enemy's squadron should steal in-shore unperceived, and fall on the storeships and their covering party, then at anchor near to that place.

Not having seen any of the enemy's ships, the Vice-Admiral sailed with his squadron for Trincomalé, and arrived off that port on the 25th. He found the enemy's squadron at anchor there, and reconnoitred their position with a view to attack them; but observing, that they would derive great assistance from their gun and mortar batteries on shore, he relinquished the design, and stood to the southward, in hopes of intercepting any reinforcement or supplies, that might be coming to them. He left, however, some frigates, properly stationed off Trincomalé, to watch their motions, lest they should put to sea in the night, and fall down on the covering ships off Cuddalore.

On the 1st of June, two English seamen escaped from the French squadron in a boat, and brought the Vice-Admiral certain intelligence, that the *Fendant* of seventy-four guns, with two frigates, and two storeships, had slipped out of Trincomalé Bay. He concluded, that the storeships were intended to carry stores to the French garrison of Cuddalore, and that the *Fendant* and frigates were destined to cover and protect them. Being apprehensive that they might attack the British storeships, and the little squadron under Captain Halliday,  
then



then off Cuddalore, he bore away with the squadron, on the 2d of June, for the coast of Coromandel; and on the 3d, got sight of the *Fendant* and two frigates, which he chased until night, when they disappeared, and made their escape.

The British squadron continued cruising to the southward of Cuddalore until the 9th of June, when they came to an anchor in Porto Novo road, partly with a design to cover and protect the British ships attendant on the army, then before Cuddalore, and to engage the French squadron before they could anchor there; and partly to obtain a supply of water, of which, as we have already stated, many of the ships began to be in want.

Sir Edward Hughes, with the squadron under his command, continued at anchor in Porto Novo road till the 13th of June, when the enemy's squadron, under the command of M. de Suffren, made its appearance to the southward. It consisted of fifteen ships of the line, three frigates, and a fireship.\* The same day, the British Vice-Admiral weighed with his squadron, dropped down to about five miles distance from Cuddalore, anchored there, and was joined by the detachment of war ships, under the command of Captain Halliday. The enemy's fleet came to an anchor off the mouth of the Coleroon river, about seven or eight leagues to the southward of the British squadron.

On the 17th, the French squadron being under sail, and bearing down, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal, weighed with the squadron under his command, and formed the line of battle ahead to receive them. In the evening, they hauled their wind, stood to the southward, and were immediately followed by the British squadron. From this time till the 20th, Sir Edward Hughes was continually employed in using every method to gain the wind of the enemy, which, however, he was not able to effect, on account of the extraordinary variableness of the winds, which often brought a part of the two squadrons within random shot of each other.

\* See Note 310.

On the 20th, the enemy still having the wind, flew a disposition to engage : and Sir Edward Hughes immediately formed his squadron in a line of battle ahead, and brought-to to receive them. At four minutes past four in the afternoon, the van ship of the enemy, having first tried her distance by a single shot, when scarce within point-blank shot distance, began, along with the rest of their squadron, to fire on his Majesty's ships. About twenty minutes after that, their fire was returned ; and a heavy cannonade was kept up on both sides, the enemy still preserving their distance. The engagement continued till seven, when the French hauled off. At day-light on the 21st, the Vice-Admiral made the signal, wore with his squadron, and brought-to to repair the damages, with the ships' heads to the land. Notwithstanding the distance at which they had fought, several of them, particularly the Gibraltar and Isis, were much disabled in their hulls, masts, and rigging. The enemy's squadron were, at that time, not in fight.

On the morning of the 22d, the French squadron were discerned in Pondicherry road, bearing S. S. W., directly to the windward of the British squadron, and some of them getting under way ; on which, Sir Edward Hughes, with his squadron, made all the sail he could towards them, and anchored that night off the ruins of Alemparvo, that he might stop shot-holes, and repair the damages sustained. In this action, there were three Lieutenants, one Master, and ninety-four men, killed ; and two Lieutenants and four hundred and thirty-one wounded.\*

The rapid progress which the scurvy had made in all the ships of the squadron, but particularly on board of those last arrived from England, under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, began to be most severely felt. Although the Vice-Admiral had, on the 8th of June, sent upwards of six hundred men to the naval hospital at Madras, in the San Carlos, near a third of the crew of each ship were unable to  
come

\* See Note 311.

come to quarters, and numbers were dying daily. To increase this calamity, the water in most of the ships was mostly expended, except a few casks in their ground tiers, and none could be obtained to the southward. Thus disagreeably circumstanced, he found himself constrained to return with the squadron to Madras road, to land the sick and wounded, and to complete the water of the squadron, that it might be enabled to go on further service. He accordingly weighed on the 23d, and arrived in Madras road on the 25th in the afternoon; when he received authentic, although not official intelligence, that the Preliminary Articles of Peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, had been signed and ratified; and that a cessation of hostilities had been agreed on, between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces. Of this information, the Select Committee of the Presidency of Madras were also in possession. The Vice-Admiral was, on the same day, summoned to a consultation with the Select Committee, to take into consideration these circumstances, and concurred with the other Members of it, that it would be proper, and was necessary, to communicate to the Commanders in Chief of the sea and land-forces of the French King at Cuddalore, the information which they had received, together with the grounds on which they believed it to be true and authentic. In consequence of this determination, he dispatched, on the 27th of June, his Majesty's ship the *Medea*, as a flag of truce, with letters to M. de Suffren, and to the Marquis de Buffly.

The *Medea* returned to Madras road on the 4th of July, with answers from these officers, to the Vice-Admiral's letters of the 27th of June; in which, they agreed to a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, as well as to an immediate release of prisoners on both sides. In consequence of this agreement, the Vice-Admiral received all the prisoners belonging to the squadron, in M. de Suffren's power,‡ amounting to about three

224

hundred

‡ He had long before this, most shamefully delivered up several hundreds of British prisoners to Tippoo Saib, who treated them with the most shocking barbarity. See Note 312.



hundred and fifty; and was informed by letter, that he had also sent to the Mauritius, for such British prisoners as had been sent thither, and that he would return them.

The naval annals of Great Britain record no instance, similar to what occurred in this war in India, viz. of five pitched sea-battles being successively fought, by the same Commanders in Chief, and nearly with the same squadrons. In the course of this severe course of naval conflicts, great valour was displayed on both sides: and it will be remarked with concern, that, in the progress of the war, there appeared in the conduct of M. de Suffren, but too many instances of national rancour and animosity, which will by no means serve to exalt his character as a philosopher, or as a man, however high his reputation may be deservedly held, as a bold and a brave naval commander.

As the land war carried on in India, does not fall within the plan of this work, I have avoided giving any detail of it; and shall only mention, that on the 13th of June, the British army under the command of Major-General Stuart, before Cuddalore, made a most furious attack on the French outposts there. The works, though strong and well defended, were carried, after a long and bloody contest, by the consummate bravery of the British troops, assisted by two battalions of Hanoverians. It was, however, a dear bought victory. Many brave officers fell: and the loss sustained by the army in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to very near a thousand men. No field of battle in India, had ever been stained with so much European blood. In this action, the Commander in Chief, the Hon. Major-General Bruce, Colonel Stuart, Colonel Gordon, the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, and a Major Cotgrove, with many others, greatly distinguished themselves. The enemy made a desperate sally, under the Chevalier de Damas, in the night of the 25th, in order to recover their outposts; but, after a smart assault, they were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to retire into the fort, leaving their leader a prisoner. Two days after this, the Medea frigate brought the French

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Commanders intelligence of a peace, and all hostilities ceased.

As the enemy had detached several ships of the line from Europe, to reinforce the squadron under M. de Suffren, early in this year; to preserve the superiority which Sir Edward Hughes had obtained in India, two ships of seventy-four guns each, one of sixty-four, and a frigate, were sent from England to reinforce him. These, however, were overtaken by a terrible storm in the Bay of Biscay, and all of them dismasted, except the Europe of sixty-four guns, Captain Philip, who joined Sir Edward, soon after hostilities had ceased. The other ships were obliged to return to Portsmouth. A still more disastrous fate awaited his Majesty's ship Cato of fifty guns, Captain James Clark, on board of which Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Bart. had hoisted his flag, having been appointed Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies. This unfortunate ship, just off the stocks, sailed from England, and was never more heard of. To increase this misfortune, a number of young gentlemen of rank accompanied the Vice-Admiral, in hopes of preferment, and all of them perished with him.

To avoid the monsoon on the Malabar coast, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded with part of the squadron to Bombay, in order to put them in a state to return to England: but, on the 7th of November, the Superb of seventy-four guns was lost in Tillicherry road. Only one of her men was drowned. The Vice-Admiral then hoisted his flag on board of the Monmouth, and proceeded to Bombay. The ships were refitted with the utmost dispatch: but before he sailed from Madras road, he detached Commodore King in the Hero, and eight other ships and two frigates, for Europe.\* They proved very sickly on their voyage

\* An account of the number of men that died on board of the squadron, under Commodore King, on their passage from Madras to the Cape of Good Hope:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Hero,	31
Cumberland,	64

voyage from India to the Cape of Good Hope : off which place the Sceptre lost all her masts in a gale of wind ; and the Cumberland was blown out of Table Bay, and nearly wrecked. The Exeter was found to be in such a bad condition, as to be unable to proceed on her voyage home : her guns and stores were all taken out, and distributed on board of the ships of the squadron, as was her crew : her masts served to replace the Sceptre's : and what remained of her was set on fire. Commodore King remained at the Cape until his ships were refitted, and their crews recovered, and then sailed for England. Sir Edward Hughes sent home from Bombay, two ships of the line and a sloop, under Sir Richard Bickerton ; and followed soon after, with the Monmouth and Isis ; having left a squadron in India, under the command of Captain Andrew Mitchell, in the Sultan of seventy-four guns.† Immediately on his return home, Commodore King waited on his Majesty, who, in token of his approbation of his bravery and good conduct, was pleased to confer on him the honour of Knighthood.

## MEDITERRANEAN.

### ISLAND OF MINORCA.

THE Spaniards, assisted by the French, persevered with great assiduity in the siege of Fort St. Philip. By their large train of battering cannon and mortars, they had greatly injured the works

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Monarcha,	180
Sceptre,	36
Europe,	15
Africa,	43
Magnanime,	20
Exeter,	13
Inflexible,	12
San Carlos,	13
Seahorse,	8
Total,	435

† See Note 313.



works of the place, dismounted, or rendered unserviceable, a great number of guns, and burnt one of the principal magazines, containing six months provisions. These misfortunes made no impression on the brave garrison : and if a most inveterate scurvy had not come to the aid of the enemy, they might have found the conquest of Minorca a very tedious operation.

The Duc de Crillon bestowed great pains in preventing all sorts of supplies from being thrown into the fortrefs. By these means the garrison was totally deprived of vegetables : and that want alone produced very great distress, and in the end effected the reduction of the place. In all other respects, Fort St. Philip was admirably well provided. The magazines were well stored with every kind of excellent salted provisions, with good bread, pease, rice, wine, and other necessaries, both for the sick, and for those who were in health ; and all these were in such abundance, as would have supported the garrison for many months. But the single want of vegetables, was sufficient to destroy all the benefits that were reasonably to be expected in other respects from the general plenty ; and to produce a distemper which was little apprehended, because it very seldom occurs in that climate and soil. The scurvy raged among the troops to such an astonishing degree, that its violence has not been exceeded in the most foggy and moist northern latitudes, even under the aggravated misfortunes of bad water and provisions. Nor was it a small addition to the distress of the garrison, that this disease was frequently attended by a putrid pestilential fever, and a dysentery, which swept off numbers. Perhaps other causes concurred in producing this sickness. The two British regiments then in garrison, had been eleven years on the island ; and the soldiers had lived constantly upon salted meats, during the whole of that time. The baneful effects of so long a course of living on salted provisions were no doubt considerably lessened, by the liberal use of most excellent vegetables, of which the island produces the greatest abundance ; but this could not entirely remove some of the  
scurbutic

scorbutic taints, which must necessarily have been imbibed by such a perseverance in the use of salted food, which must have predisposed even the best constitutions for the reception of that fatal disorder, especially, when deprived of the only means of correcting the bad qualities of that unwholesome diet. The progress made by the scurvy, was quickened by the want of proper air and exercise: for the men, except when on duty, were confined within the walls of the fortrefs, casemates, and fouterains. The incessant cannonade and bombardment from the enemy rendered this necessary to their safety; and these places being their only habitations, became daily more and more unhealthy and infectious

The enemy kept a most cautious distance in constructing their works. In the progress of their approaches to the place, they were far from being rapid: and their troops were so extremely careful not to expose themselves, that they were laughed at by the unfortunate emaciated British soldiers, who said, that they should be sent to school to learn to stand fire. By their perseverance, however, by the powerful and heavy fire which they kept up from their vast and numerous artillery, and by the showers of shells which they continually poured into the works, they ruined the upper defences of the place, and dismounted, or rendered useless, a greater number of cannon, than had ever been done, in the same space of time, in any siege.

The zeal, bravery, and constancy, displayed by all the corps composing the garrison of Fort St. Philip, under an accumulated load of misfortunes, may have been equalled, but never were exceeded. The spirit of the private men, through the course, and particularly towards the close of this siege, was great beyond example. Numbers of the soldiers died on guard, and many of them fell dead, while on duty as centries: nor was their fate known, until they were to be relieved from their posts. Such was their generous eagerness to defend the place, that it induced them to conceal their illness to the last; fearing, that if it should be known, they might be sent to the hospitals, and thereby prevented from lending their aid to the public service,

service, a consideration, which had got a firm hold of their hearts. Such nobleness of mind and conduct, well deserved a better fate than that which awaited them.

In the beginning of February, the garrison was so much reduced by the scurvy and its concomitant disorders, that only six hundred and sixty men were left, who were in any degree fit for duty; and of these, all except one hundred, were so far tainted by the reigning distemper, that the physicians and surgeons declared, that in a very few days, it would be necessary to send them also to the hospital. This opinion was strongly confirmed by the fact, that no less than one hundred and six had been sent thither in the three preceding days. They likewise affirmed, that if the Governor should persist in defending the place only a few days longer, it must prove the inevitable destruction of the remains of the garrison; as there was no possible remedy for the sick, or even means of keeping the greater part of them much longer alive, but a speedy relief of wholesome air, aided by an abundant supply of vegetables. The guards on the last night of the defence, required four hundred and fifteen men upon duty, so that there were only two hundred and forty-five left, which was one hundred and seventy less than the number necessary for the next relief: and no piquet could at all be formed. In these circumstances, it was much to be apprehended, that the enemy, sensible of the weakness of the garrison, would endeavour to carry the place by a *coup de main*, which had been done when it was besieged in 1756, though its garrison was then much stronger than at present.

Thus disagreeably situated, General Murray found himself reduced to the necessity of capitulating: and on the morning of the 4th of February, he sent to the Duc de Crillon an officer, with a flag of truce and a letter, in which he proposed terms for surrendering the place, and stipulated that the garrison should march out of the fort, with all the honours of war. He obtained all his demands, except that of freeing the garrison from becoming prisoners of war. This, the Duc de Crillon assured General Murray, that his Master, the King of Spain, had parti-



particularly bound him in his instructions not to grant. The troops were, however, to be allowed to proceed to England, but subject to the customary conditions, not to serve until they should be either exchanged, or discharged by a peace. The Corsicans, and other foreigners, were secured in their persons and effects, and had the liberty of going where they pleased : and four natives of the island, who were all that had followed the fortune of the garrison, were allowed to possess their property, and maintained in their rights as citizens.\*

A spectacle so very tragical, and at the same time so glorious to the sufferers, was perhaps never before seen, as when the miserable remains of the brave garrison of Fort St. Philip marched out with the honours of war. The Spanish and French armies were drawn up, opposite to each other, and formed a lane, for the passage of six hundred emaciated, worn down, and decrepid soldiers, who were followed by a hundred and twenty of the artillery, and two hundred seamen. About twenty Corsicans, and a few more Greeks, Moors, and Turks, closed this melancholy procession. The scene became truly interesting, when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms. He must have been devoid of every noble feeling, who, on this occasion, would not have felt a pang for these heroic veterans, who exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, "*that they surrendered their arms to God alone ;*" and, at the same time, appeared to derive great consolation from the opinion, that the victors could not boast of their conquest, in taking an hospital. The indignation and grief, expressed by the British troops on laying down their arms, were mentioned in terms of admiration, highly honourable to the garrison, in the Spanish accounts which were published of this transaction.

The generous sympathy shewn by the enemy upon this occasion, and their noble humanity afterwards, were no less highly  
to

\* The reader will find in the Appendix, Note 314, the articles of capitulation, letters, various returns, and certificates of the physicians relating to the Island of Minorca, and in particular to Fort St. Philip.

to their honour. It has been asserted, by an authority not to be questioned, that several of the common soldiers of the combined armies, were so moved by the wretched condition of the garrison, that involuntary tears dropped from them, as they passed. The subsequent humanity, kindness, and tenderness, shewn by the Duc de Crillon, his son the Count of the same name, and the Baron de Falkenhayn, who commanded the French troops, in their continued supply of all necessaries to the sick, and in their unremitted attention to their recovery, were beyond all praise.

Thus fell Minorca, once more under the Spanish government, after a siege of five months and seventeen days.

### G I B R A L T A R.

GIBRALTAR now began to attract the attention of all Europe. Its siege and defence were regarded as equal in fame, to the most remarkable recorded either in ancient or modern history. The joy of the Spanish Monarch, upon the taking of Fort St. Philip, was reported to be very great; and was perhaps heightened in no small degree by the circumstance, if it be true, that the plan of that expedition and siege originated in himself. It is therefore not a matter of wonder, that the conqueror of Minorca should have become a favourite of that King, whose orders he was presumed to have obeyed, with such alacrity and success. In the hope that the same good fortune would still follow the Duc de Crillon, General Alvarez was removed from the command of the Spanish army besieging Gibraltar, and he was appointed his successor in that office, and had the title of Captain-General conferred on him. Don Joseph Moreno, who commanded the Spanish fleet sent against Minorca, was also advanced to a high naval rank.

For several of the first months of this year, the siege of Gibraltar presented no event of extraordinary brilliancy. The Spaniards continued with great perseverance to batter and bombard the fortress both by land and water; and the garrison  
never

never failed to give them a suitable return. Don Barcelo was indefatigable in his endeavours to prevent any succours from being thrown into the place, but happily, was not always successful; for sometimes the weather proved so favourable, that vessels with supplies from Minorca, from Leghorn, from Lisbon, and from England, reached it, in spite of his utmost efforts to prevent them. On the 22d of March, the Vernon ordnance storeship arrived, having on board Lieutenant-Colonel Gladstones, with upwards of one hundred recruits, stores, and materials for constructing twelve more gun-boats. She was escorted to lat. 36° by the Success frigate, Captain Pole, who fell in with the Santa Catalina, a Spanish frigate, engaged her, and, with the assistance of the Vernon, took her. The Apollo and Cerberus frigates, with four transports, having on board the 97th regiment, as a reinforcement for the garrison, came in sight on the following morning: and Captain Pole, mistaking them for some Spanish frigates, which, from the information of some of his prisoners, he had reason to expect, and not being equal to combat their force, put all the prisoners on board of the Vernon, ordering her to make the best of her way to Gibraltar, and set fire to the Santa Catalina. The Success then made sail for England. The officers and crew of the Santa Catalina were sent in a cartel to the Orange Grove.

This reinforcement of gun-boats was a great acquisition to the garrison, for by means of these, they were more on a footing with the enemy than formerly, and abler to check the near approach of their gun and mortar-boats, which had, from the commencement of the siege, proved very troublesome. Captain Curtis, who commanded his Majesty's ships and vessels at Gibraltar, had the gun-boats, which had been brought from England, equipped with the greatest expedition.

Spain now began to perceive, that all attempts, in the usual forms, upon this fortress, whether by sea or land, were likely to prove ineffectual: and that the cruel measure of destroying the town, odious as it was, had served only to ruin the miserable and inoffending inhabitants, without tending in the smallest degree,



degree, to accelerate the reduction of the place. Her pride was deeply wounded, by the reflection, that the utmost exertions of her power, had for so long a period of time, been foiled in the face of the world, by a handful of men, shut up on a barren rock: nor, after the prodigious sums expended in erecting them, could the disgrace, which attended the destruction of her works and batteries, at the close of last year, by a successful sally of the garrison, be easily borne. These powerfully stimulated the ambition, honour, pride, and revenge of the Spaniards, and urged them to exert all their power and skill, to invent some new means of effecting the conquest of Gibraltar. Convinced by experience, that no perseverance could ensure success to their former modes of attack, they were necessarily reduced to the alternative, either of adopting this measure, or of raising the siege. Accordingly, at a time, when Europe abounded with scientific and ingenious men, it will not be wondered, that the prospect of wealth and fame, should have induced many of them, to offer their projects for accomplishing what the King of Spain and his Ministers so ardently desired.

Among these, the successful competitor was the Chevalier d'Arçon; a French engineer of great reputation. His plan for the reduction of Gibraltar, was so highly approved by his Catholic Majesty, that it was reported, that he himself had taken an active part in its adjustment: nor will it be doubted, that he was anxious to have a share in the honour of an invention, which was to astonish all Europe, and to bring such reputation to his arms. This plan had been proposed in the latter end of the year 1781; but the preparations for it were so vast, and so exceedingly expensive, that a very great number of men were employed for the space of ten months, in completing these wonderful machines called the *Battering Ships*. When this was done, they afforded such general satisfaction, that the reduction of the place was deemed certain: and the powers to be brought against it were so prodigious and terrible, that little less than the annihilation of the fortress, was expected to be the

consequence of an obstinate and protracted defence on the part of the garrison.

One of the various plans, which had been offered to the Court of Madrid for the reduction of Gibraltar, proposed to bring a whole fleet directly to batter the place, on all sides, by sea ; while the army was to assault it by land : and the sacrifice of from ten to twenty ships of the line, as occasion might require, was agreed to be submitted to, in order to ensure success.

This scheme, the Chevalier d'Arçon ridiculed, as wild and incompetent. He shewed that it would be attended with certain destruction to the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortrefs. His plan went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle, that they could neither be sunk nor set on fire. The first of these properties was to be acquired, by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified, and which was to render them proof against all danger in that respect, whether from external or internal violence. The second danger was to be obviated, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between the sides of it a large body of wet sand. The whole was to be of such a thickness and density, that cannon ball could not penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water, was to keep the parts exposed to the action of fire, always wet ; and the cork was to act as a sponge, in retaining the moisture.

For this purpose, ten great ships were employed, of from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, some of which were said to have been pierced for fifty or sixty guns. These ships were cut down to the state required by the plan ; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their construction. To protect the vessels from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up  
and

and down with ease, and at pleasure, by springs. The roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; and its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea, before they could take effect. These ships were furnished with new brass cannon, carrying a great weight of metal;\* and each vessel had in her hold, about half the number of spare guns, of the same kind with those which were employed, to be ready to supply the place of such as might be overheated, or otherwise disabled in action. To render the fire from these ships the more rapid and instantaneous, and consequently the more dreadfully effective, the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature, as to resemble lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and in the velocity of its action. By means of this match, all the guns on the side engaged were to go off together, like a single shot.

But as the red-hot balls from the fortrefs were most dreaded by the enemy, the nicest part of this wonderful plan seems to have been, the contrivance for communicating water in every direction, to restrain their effect. This was done by means of pipes and canals, which perforated all the solid workmanship of the vessels in such a manner, as to convey a constant succession of water to every part of them: and a number of pumps were curiously adapted to the purpose of supplying these pipes with water. By these means, it was expected, that the red-hot shot would operate so as to prevent their intended mischief; for, in the very act of piercing those ducts, they would bring upon themselves a torrent of water, sufficient for their immediate extinction. Hence these terrible machines, fraught with every source of outward destruction, were supposed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from danger.

The preparations for the grand attack which was to be made on the fortrefs of Gibraltar, were all conducted on the same immense scale, on which the battering ships were constructed.

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Twenty-six pounders.



Every thing was great beyond example, and no expence was spared, to render all as complete as possible. It was said, that near a thousand pieces of heavy ordnance, of various kinds, were collected before Gibraltar, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack, by sea and land. The quantities of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military stores and provisions, were so immense, as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only, was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun-boats with heavy artillery, as many bomb-vessels with twelve inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches, on the usual construction, were destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. To these must be added, a fleet of ten ships of the line, a great number of frigates, xebecs, galleys, settees, and small vessels, which were intended to contribute all the aid which they were capable of affording. Besides all these, three hundred large boats from various ports of Spain, and a very great number from the neighbouring ports, were collected, for the purposes of assisting the battering ships while engaging, and of landing a body of troops in the place, as soon as sufficient breaches should be made in the walls. Before the the grand attack was made, this amazing force received a new and unexpected accession of strength, by the arrival, in the Bay of Gibraltar, of the combined fleets of Spain and France, consisting of upwards of forty sail of the line, besides frigates. The Court of Madrid, having received certain advice that the British fleet, under the command of Lord Howe, was on its voyage to relieve the fortress; and being apprehensive, that it might not only accomplish the end for which it was sent, but also destroy all the grand and expensive preparations for assaulting the place, resolved, if possible, to prevent both. With this view, Don Louis de Cordova was sent thither with the fleet under his command, with orders to support the grand attack on Gibraltar, to prevent its relief, and to fight the British fleet under Lord Howe.

Twelve thousand of the best troops of France had by this  
time

time joined the Spanish army before Gibraltar: and, on the 17th of July, the Duc de Crillon had assumed the command of the combined armies of France and Spain in its neighbourhood. The siege of this fortress now interested all Europe; and had drawn many volunteers, from various states, to the camp of the besiegers. Not only the nobility of Spain, but those of many other countries, assembled, either to display their valour, or to gratify curiosity, by beholding such a naval and military scene, as was perhaps never before exhibited. What contributed very much to increase the splendor of the spectacle, was the arrival of the Comte d'Artois, the French King's brother, and of his cousin the Duc de Bourbon, who seemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprise, as the recovery of Gibraltar, to the crown of their kinsman and ally.

The arrival of the French Princes, afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and for the exercise of those humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe, have tended to divest war of many parts of its ancient and savage barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters, directed to officers in garrison at Gibraltar, having, on their way, fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were, of course, transmitted to the Court of Madrid; where they lay, at the time when the Count d'Artois arrived in that capital, in his route to the Spanish camp. This circumstance having come to the knowledge of his Royal Highness, he, with that spirit of generosity which distinguishes his family, and the gentlemen of his country, viewed it as affording him a pleasing opportunity of introducing himself, and of announcing his arrival, to a brave and generous enemy. With this view, he obtained the packets from the King, and condescended to convey them, under his own care, to the camp at St. Roque.

On the day after he arrived in the Spanish camp, the Duc de Crillon sent the packets to Gibraltar, accompanied with a letter to General Elliot, in which, besides informing him of

the arrival of the French Princes in the camp, and of this particular mark of attention shewn by the King of France's brother, he farther acquainted him, that he was charged by them, respectively, to convey to him the strongest expression of their regard and esteem for his person and character. The Duke expressed his own regard for the General in the most flattering terms; eagerly wishing to merit his esteem, and declaring the pleasure with which he looked forward to the hope of becoming his friend, after he had learned to render himself worthy of that honour, by facing him as an enemy. He likewise requested, in the most obliging terms, that he would accept a present of fruit and vegetables for his own use, and of ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household, both of which accompanied the letter: and farther entreated, as he knew that the General lived entirely upon vegetables, that he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. The whole letter may justly be considered as a model of military politeness.

The answer which General Elliot wrote to the Duc de Crillon was equally polite and obliging, both with respect to the Duke himself and to the Princes. He informed the Duke, that, in accepting his present, he had broken through a resolution, to which he had invariably adhered from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any provisions, or other commodity, for his own private use. He farther declared, that every thing was sold publicly in the garrison, so that the private soldier, if he had money, might become a purchaser with the same facility as the Governor: and that he made it a point of honour to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow-soldiers. He therefore entreated the Duke, not to heap upon him any more favours of the same kind, as he could not, in future, apply them to his own use.

In the night between the 15th and 16th of July, the enemy executed a most extensive work, which was not perceived by the garrison, until next morning. It was a covered way, or line,



line, about ten feet high, and extending east and west, for about two thousand yards. It must have required the labour of no less than ten thousand men to accomplish it. In doing this, they had made uncommonly great exertions, for they had not above six hours darkness that could be allotted to the work; that is, from the setting of the moon at ten o'clock at night, until day-light.

The French Princes, after they had been shewn all the preparations by land, by the Duc de Crillon, on the 18th of July, went and viewed the new and extraordinary machines, contrived by the Chevalier d'Arçon. They were accompanied, on this occasion, by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval service. About eleven in the forenoon, seven barges with crimson awnings, proceeded from Algeiras to the pier near the Orange Grove, attended by twelve gun-boats. About half an hour after their arrival, they put off in the same order; upon which, the line of battle ships there, commanded by Lieutenant-General Don Antonio Rodriguez de Valcarcel, immediately dressed out, with a variety of flags, and saluted the boats with twenty-one guns. The gun-boats also fired, as did all the ships at Algeiras, several of which were likewise dressed. A frigate then got under way, and went to visit the barge halfway over, when she gave a salute of twenty-one guns, the boats firing alternately. When the barge got to Algeiras road, another salute was given. They then went on board the Paula battering ship, commanded by Don Cajetan de Langara, which got under way, and fired several guns, while her visitors were on board. They afterwards went on board a frigate, on which Don Bonaventura Moreno had his broad pendant or flag; and in this frigate they dined. The Princes, and General Officers of both services, who were present, were much pleased, and expressed great satisfaction, at seeing the battering ship go through various evolutions, with all the ease and dexterity of a frigate. The enemy failed not to publish a full account of this review and experiment: their confidence in these machines

increased; and the reports which they spread, of the dreadful and immediate effect to be produced by their action, went beyond all bounds. Twenty-four hours from the commencement of their attack, was a longer time, than the public opinion would admit to be necessary, for the utter destruction of Gibraltar. Even the commanders held similar sentiments: and the Duc de Crillon was thought to be extremely cautious; of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed that so long a period as fourteen days might elapse, before he could certainly obtain possession of the place.

Those who are well acquainted with the temper and dispositions, which at that time actuated the French armies, and even the French nation in general, will not be surprised, that the arrival of two Princes of the blood should have excited an extraordinary enthusiasm in the troops of that nation, although the noble principle of loyalty is now, among them, strangely obliterated. The contagion of this spirit was soon communicated to the Spanish army. The combined forces both by sea and land became excessively impatient for action; and every hour appeared an age, until they should have an opportunity of signalizing themselves, upon so conspicuous a theatre, and under the eyes of so great a number of illustrious spectators. The infection even reached to the commanders, and produced its effect upon them; for the Chevalier d'Arçon has since complained, that much time was lost, before the preparations, in consequence of his scheme, were commenced: and that the precipitancy afterwards, in hurrying on measures, before his plan was entirely completed, militated no less against its success, than the original delay. But the dread of Lord Howe's arrival to the relief of the place, was the true motive which induced the Court of Spain to send orders to accelerate the operations, both of their fleet and army; for, from the accounts which the Spanish Ministers had received, they had reason to expect his Lordship on the coast every day.

Although the intrepid defender of Gibraltar had long observed the immense preparations that the enemy were making,  
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and judged from their progress, that the intended blow would soon be struck with unparalleled violence; yet, he was able to obtain only a general knowledge of their having invented some terrible machines, which had inspired them with a confidence of success, and to which they had formerly been strangers; but was utterly ignorant of their nature, construction, and mode of operation. The exaggerated reports of the extraordinary powers of these machines were sufficient, almost to shake the firmness of the most tried and undaunted resolution; and could not fail to augment the already numberless anxieties of so arduous and perilous a situation. But he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty: and therefore took every precaution, that could possibly occur to a great commander, for defending to the utmost, the important trust committed to him; and provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined, as well as for opposing every hostile engine, whatever the mode of its operation might be. Thus guarded, he confided in the abilities of his officers, and in the valour of the faithful little band of troops whom they commanded, and was not afraid to trust the event to the decision of that fortune, which has ever been held favourable to superior exertions of virtue and bravery.

In the mean time, unawed by the vast force with which he was surrounded by sea and land, General Elliot did not hesitate, by new and unexpected insult and damage, to provoke the combined armies to attack him; for observing, that their stupendous works on the land side were nearly completed, and that some of them were pretty far advanced towards the fortrefs, he determined to try the effect of a heavy fire from his batteries with carcasses, hot-shot, and shells, on their most advanced works and batteries. He accordingly directed the commanding officer of artillery, to take Lieutenant-General Boyd's orders for that purpose. The arrangement was of course judiciously made and completely executed by the artillery officers. This attack commenced on the 8th of September, at seven in the morning: and so well directed was the

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the fire from the garrison, that the enemy's Mahon battery, consisting of six pieces of ordnance, and one adjoining of two guns, were set on fire by ten o'clock; and by five in the afternoon, were entirely consumed, with the gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, which were bomb-proof. Part of the communication to the eastern parallel, and the trenches, and parapet for musquetry in front of the battery, were also destroyed. The thirteen gun battery next the Bay, being set on fire in several places, was so much damaged, that the enemy were driven to the necessity of taking down one half of it, in order to save the remainder. The enemy acknowledged, that their works were on fire in fifty places, at the same instant. Their loss of men upon this occasion must have been very considerable, as they were all the while exposed to a well directed fire from the garrison: and the emulation between the Spanish and French troops was so great, that they exposed themselves exceedingly, in their efforts to prevent the progress of the flames. The success of the British artillery greatly exceeded General Elliot's expectations, and was attended by very happy effects. It provoked the enemy to open their new mortar battery, and to recommence a fire from their forts and lines, for which they seemed to be by no means prepared. Notwithstanding the cannonade kept up by the enemy, and the number of shells they threw, the garrison suffered no material loss.

This check given to the enemy appears to have been very galling to them. It provoked them to precipitate their measures, before they were properly prepared; for, next morning at day-break, they opened all their mortars, and their new sixty-four gun battery, from which, as well as from their lines, they continued to fire without intermission during the whole course of the day. Their artillery used at this time, amounted to about one hundred pieces of cannon, and sixty mortars. This powerful attack made not the least impression on the works of the fortrefs. The same day the enemy's squadron, consisting of seven sail of the line Spanish, and two French, with some frigates and smaller vessels, taking the advantage of  
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a Levant wind, got under sail, from the Orange Grove at the head of the Bay: and one of them, passing very slowly within random shot, fired many guns upon the South Bastion and Ragged Staff, and kept up the cannonade, until she got beyond Europa Point. This squadron then went to the eastward of the rock, where they formed the line, the Admiral's ship taking the lead, came under an easy sail, attacked the batteries on Europa Point, and continued a very heavy fire until the last ship had passed. This manœuvre, the Spanish Admiral repeated at two o'clock the following morning; and again, at a later hour, in the morning of the same day. These successive cannonades, did not the least damage to the works. Some of the leading ships of the enemy came pretty near the Point, in the first attack; but, having been frequently struck by the shot from the batteries there, they afterwards kept at a great distance. The marine brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Curtis, was encamped near Europa Point, and manned the batteries there, assisted by a small party of artillerymen; they gained great honour in repelling this attack, the guns being well pointed, and the firing very quick. About five in the afternoon of the 10th, sixteen of the enemy's gun-boats came over from Algeiras, formed in a line, and fired upon the garrison; but the batteries opposite to them, obliged them to retire in less than half an hour, and not without loss. It is truly wonderful, that the numerous and various forms in which Gibraltar was attacked, and the prodigious weight of fire employed against it, in all its most destructive modes of action, should have produced very little effect, either in killing men in the garrison, or in damaging the works. By the 11th of September, all the King's ships, vessels, and transport ships, were scuttled in the New Mole. The enemy's fire from the isthmus had destroyed the traverses in the lines, and filled those places with rubbish, which the workmen cleared away in the night.

On the 12th, about one o'clock in the morning, it being dark, the enemy's gun and mortar-boats came over, ranged themselves along the line wall, fired upwards of two hundred rounds

rounds of shells and shot, and then retired. The combined fleets of France and Spain appeared in the Gut this morning, standing for the Bay: and, by noon, came to an anchor, opposite to the rivers and Carteia. They amounted to forty sail of the line, among which were five or six three-deckers, attended by a number of frigates. There appeared to be one Spanish, one French Vice-Admiral, and four Rear-Admirals. This is by far the most formidable fleet that ever appeared in the Bay of Gibraltar. It is supposed, with good reason, that the number of men employed against this fortress by sea and land, exceeded one hundred thousand. Some days prior to this, the battering ships had been towed from Algeiras to the Orange Grove: and, from the various movements made by the enemy, it was concluded by the garrison, that they had made all their arrangements for the grand assault on the fortress. From what has since transpired of it, the design appears to have been one of the grandest and best plans of attack that was ever laid. It was calculated to bring their astonishing and various powers, at once into action, in such a manner, that each should co-operate with and support every other. On viewing the detail and arrangement of this force, agreeable to the pre-concerted plan, the reduction of the place would seem to be infallible. The new invented machines, or battering ships, were to make the grand attack on the King's bastion, and the works near it. They had mounted one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon, and had near half as many more in their holds, to replace such as might, in the course of action, be rendered unserviceable. Thirty-six artillerymen, and volunteers from the combined armies, were allotted to the service of each gun: and these, being exclusive of the officers and seamen who navigated the vessels, the whole number on board was estimated at between six and seven thousand. This attack was to be supported by the bomb-ketches, mortar-boats, and a large floating battery. The forty gun-boats were intended to flank the British batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the battering machines; and to throw their fire in  
such



such directions, as it was thought, besides increasing the general confusion and disorder, would render it impossible for the men to stand at their guns. Several detached squadrons, composed of line of battle ships, were to make attacks on all practicable parts of the fortress at the same time; and thereby to make, at least, a diversion in favour of the battering ships. A large body of infantry was in readiness to embark in the boats; and, under cover of the frigates, they were to endeavour to force a landing, and to ascend the works, through the breaches made by the machines. To all these formidable attacks there was to added, the fire of near three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the isthmus. Every part of the works being assailed at the same instant, and every quarter presenting a similar prospect of danger and destruction, it was hoped, that the garrison would be thrown into irretrievable consternation and dismay; or at least, that their attention being called at once to so many pressing services, the resistance must, in several parts, become defective, and very unequal to the accumulated force, that was ready to seize the first opportunity of carrying their point.

On the 13th of September, at eight in the morning, the enemy's ten battering ships,\* commanded by Rear-Admiral Don Bonaventura Moreno, weighed anchor from the Point de Mayorca, and stood over towards Gibraltar: and, a little before ten, the vessels anchored at the several stations, which it had been previously determined they should occupy, about nine hundred yards from the works. The Spanish Admiral's ship was placed upon the capital of the King's bastion, the other ships extended, three to the southward of the flag, as far as the church battery; five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole; and one, a very little to the westward of the Admiral. The enemy performed this evolution with great skill, and came forward with the most undaunted resolution. The Duc de Crillon, the French Princes, many foreigners of the greatest distinction, the first nobility of Spain, and the great

\* See Note 315.

great military officers of the besieging armies, together with an amazing crowd of spectators, which filled the camp and covered the adjacent hills, were assembled to behold this grand scene; never doubting, but that the battering ships, deemed perfect in design, and completed by dint of prodigious labour, and unlimited profusion of expence, would subdue the place. Viewing them, as aided by such a powerful fleet and army, their expectations were indeed most sanguine; for the people had been made to believe, that the new invented machines were invincible.

As soon as the enemy's vessels came to an anchor, they commenced a very heavy cannonade, in which they were supported by the cannon and mortars in the lines and approaches on the isthmus: and at the same instant, the batteries from the garrison opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and with shells from the howitzers and mortars. This astonishing firing continued without interruption, on both sides, until noon, and was not only tremendous, but much beyond what the oldest veteran present had ever seen. Such were the amazing showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and which were thrown from the fortrefs with great precision, to every point of the various attacks both by sea and land, that the Commanders of the combined forces were filled with wonder: nor could they conceive it possible, that General Elliot, confined as he was, within the narrow limits of a barren rock, should have been by any means able to construct, or to manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the infinite quantity of shot, which were fired on this occasion. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships only received in the course of the day, was estimated by the Spanish accounts, at not less than four thousand. Nor were the mortar batteries in the fortrefs worse supported. So admirably well served were both these, and the gun-batteries, that, while the chief direction of the fire seemed to be poured on the battering ships, because from them the garrison apprehended the greatest danger; yet the cannonade,

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made by the batteries opposed to the enemies works on the land side, was so well kept up from the fortrefs, that the whole extent of the peninsula had the appearance of being overwhelmed, by the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it.

The violence with which Gibraltar was attacked, could be exceeded only by the manly resolution with which it was defended : and on both sides, the means and powers of annoyance and destruction were prodigious. No imagination could conceive a scene more terrible and grand, than this day and the succeeding night exhibited. All description would fall infinitely short of conveying an adequate idea of such a scene. Even the spectators of it were at a loss for words, sufficiently strong, to express what they had seen : far less were the actors able to perform such a task ; for surrounded as they were, with perpetual tumult and uproar, it was impossible for them to be distinct in their conceptions of what was passing. The battering machines were found, upon trial, to be scarcely less formidable in reality, than in the opinion entertained of them by the Spaniards. Besides maintaining through the greater part of the day, a cannonade so tremendous, as to admit of little if any appearance of superiority on the side of the fortrefs ; their construction, for the purpose of withstanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, was such, that for several hours the unceasing multitudes of shells and hot-shot, with which they were assailed, were incapable of making any visible impression upon them.

Towards noon, the briskness of the cannonade from the ships, seemed to slacken a little : and about two o'clock, some smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the Admiral's ship. Soon after that, men were observed using fire engines, and pouring water into the shot-holes ; a work, in which they were frequently interrupted by the fire from the garrison. By their perseverance, however, they kept this fire from bursting out during the remainder of the day, but were never able to extinguish it. In the afternoon, the fire from the British batteries



teries increased, while that from the enemy's ships gradually became less and less: and, about seven in the evening, they fired but from a few guns, and that only at intervals. Soon after midnight, the flames broke forth from the Spanish Admiral's ship; and in a very little time, her second, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, was also perceived to be in the same condition. The disorder in these two capital ships in the centre, soon affected the whole line of attack: and the fire from the garrison, being continued with equal vigour through the night, seven more of the enemy's battering ships successively took fire. The confusion was then very great and apparent: and the number of rockets continually thrown up from each of the ships, as signals to the combined fleet, were strong indications of their extreme distress and danger. Don Louis de Cordova lost not an instant, in sending launches, feluccas, and the boats of the whole fleet to their assistance; but, as they found it impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavours were directed solely to the bringing off the men. In this service, the Spaniards displayed great intrepidity; for, in their attempts to save the men's lives, their danger from the burning vessels was immense. It appeared to be no less dreadful than the hazard to which they were exposed by the fire from the garrison, which was terrible, and did great execution; as the light occasioned by the general conflagration of the battering ships, afforded the means of taking aim, with the utmost precision.

Notwithstanding the dreadful situation of the enemy on board the burning ships, they continued to fire from all of them, in which the flames had not made a great progress: and the fire from the Spanish batteries on the isthmus, did not in the least diminish. Brigadier Curtis, who, with his squadron of twelve gun-boats, each of which carried an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, lay, ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, left the New Mole at two o'clock; and, about three, began his attack upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing, with great order and expedition. He drew up his gun-boats in such a manner as to rake the whole

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of the line of battering ships, now almost overwhelmed, by the incessant fire from the garrison, as well as by the flames, which raged with the greatest fury, on board of most of themselves. By this fierce and unexpected attack, the scene was wrought up, to the highest pitch of calamity that imagination can conceive; for it so astonished and disconcerted the enemy, that they fled with precipitation, in their launches, boats, and feluccas, and returned no more; abandoning to the flames their ships, in which were great numbers of officers and men. From this dreadful situation, these unhappy men had no hopes of escaping, but from the mercy of an enraged enemy, in attempting whose destruction they were reduced to this dilemma. Unquestionably they must have perished, if Brigadier Curtis, and his brave seamen, had not, with the greatest intrepidity, dragged them from the midst of the flames. Before the Spaniards submitted to the hard necessity of retreating, several of their boats and launches had been sunk; and one in particular, with eighty men on board, all of whom were drowned, except an officer and twelve men, who, having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls of the fortrefs, were taken up by the garrison. At day-break on the 14th, two Spanish feluccas, which had not withdrawn with the others, attempted to make their escape; but, a shot from a gun-boat, having killed five men on board of one of them, both were glad to surrender.

The day and night of the 13th, exhibited the grandest scene of military prowess that was ever displayed; but on the morning of the 14th, a spectacle of a very different sort presented itself to view. By the vigorous efforts of the garrison the enemy had been defeated; and by the judicious attack, made on them by Brigadier Curtis, that defeat had been heightened into a complete overthrow. The day-light, now disclosed one of the most dreadful scenes ever recorded. Numbers of the enemy were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for assistance; and others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal, though less dreadful danger, from the oppo-

site element. Even those in the ships, in which the fire had yet made comparatively little progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair, and were no less urgent in imploring aid from their opponents.

The first appearance of the melancholy condition, to which the enemy in the battering ships were reduced, caused the firing both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly to cease, and brought to their aid the very enemy, against whom they had combated, for so many hours. The national character of the British, for generous humanity, was never displayed with greater lustre, than upon this occasion. Nothing could be more glorious than it was; but, the honour, as well as the danger of the enterprise, could be shared only by the marine brigade, led on by Brigadier Curtis. The noble and manly exertions made by this corps, to rescue their enemies from immediate destruction, were attended with very great danger, and with other circumstances, not less terrible in appearance, than those of active hostility: for, in these efforts, the gun-boats were equally exposed, to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines; and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became heated to a certain degree by the progress of the flames. Their spirit, however, braved every danger: and a more striking instance of their ardour and boldness cannot be given, than simply by stating, that they succeeded in dragging out, from among the slain in the holds of the burning ships, an officer and twenty-nine private men, all severely wounded or scorched, most of whom were afterwards recovered, in the hospital of Gibraltar.

In saving the deserted Spaniards from perishing, the most astonishing intrepidity was shewn by all the officers and men, while dragging the terrified victims from the midst of the flames. This repeatedly brought all of them into the most imminent danger; but particularly the pinnace in which Commodore Curtis himself was, which unfortunately happened to be very close to one of the largest of the battering ships, when  
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she blew up. The wreck spread all around to a vast extent; and every object was, for a considerable time, buried in the devastation, and in the thick cloud of smoke, which the explosion occasioned. Until this was dispelled, General Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant distress, from an apprehension, that the Brigadier and his brave crew must inevitably have perished. That any of them escaped, is little less than miraculous; yet, they had the good fortune to get off, far better than could have been imagined. The cockswain was killed, and some of the men were wounded, by splinters from the falling timbers, a large piece of which struck the boat, and made a hole in her bottom. She was prevented from instantly sinking, only by the seamen stuffing their jackets into the hole, which kept her above water, until other boats came to her assistance. Much about the same time, another of the British gun-boats was sunk, and a third so much damaged, as to be with difficulty saved.

It was a most fortunate circumstance for the enemy, that by much the greater part of the soldiers and seamen, on board of their battering ships, had been removed, before the admirably well directed attack with the gun-boats was made by Brigadier Curtis; as it would have occasioned among them a much greater effusion of blood. Numbers, however, perished; and upon a very moderate computation, they could not have lost under one thousand five hundred men, including the prisoners\*

682      taken

\* An account of the prisoners made by the gun-boats and garrison, Sept. 14th.

Sea Officers, - - - - -	3
Land ditto, - - - - -	3
Cadets, - - - - -	2
Chaplains, - - - - -	3
French soldiers, - - - - -	11
Surgeon, - - - - -	1
Serjeants, corporals, and privates, - - -	216
Artillerists, - - - - -	7
Marines, - - - - -	30
Seamen, - - - - -	81
Total,	357

taken from them in the attack which they made with the battering ships. Rear-Admiral Don Bonaventura Moreno left his flag flying, when he abandoned his ship; and in this state it continued, until it was consumed, or blown up with the vessel. Eight more of the battering ships blew up successively, with dreadful explosions, in the course of the day. The tenth ship was burnt by the British marine brigade, when they saw that she could not be brought off.

That this grand attack was made sooner than M. d'Arçon thought proper, is most certain. This, perhaps, might be occasioned by positive orders from the Spanish Monarch, who might probably be disposed to hasten it, lest the British fleet under Lord Howe, then daily expected, should arrive, and find means to throw into the fortrefs such reinforcements of troops, stores, and provisions, as might render all the efforts of France and Spain to reduce it ineffectual. Operations were accordingly commenced, before all the great powers of destruction could be so combined as to act in concert: and hence, it has been alledged, the Spanish gun and mortar boats, had no share in the grand attack. It is more than probable, however, that the true reasons for their not coming into action were, that their spirit of adventure was greatly damped, by seeing the tremendous fire kept up by the garrison; and that such vessels could not approach it, so as to fire with any effect, without certain destruction to themselves. Only two of the bomb-ketches came forward; but these continued to throw shells, without intermission, into the fortrefs, during the whole time of the attack. Nor did the fleet perform the services which were expected and threatened, by making attacks in all practicable parts of the fortrefs. This failure, said the Spanish accounts, was owing to an unfavourable wind, and a great swell in the sea.

What loss the enemy suffered, under the astonishing and uninterrupted fire, which the fortrefs kept up, upon their works on the isthmus, during the whole time of the assault, could not well be ascertained. They published various and contradictory  
accounts

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accounts of it, all of them so calculated to diminish its amount, both by sea and land, that if it had not been for the lists of killed and wounded officers, and of prisoners, which could not be kept from the knowledge of the public, it would scarcely have appeared from them that they had sustained any loss. A letter from an officer in the French regiment of Bouillon, dated on the evening of the 8th of September, and giving an account of the attack upon the Spanish works that day by the garrison, which was published in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic passage, which may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar, or greater fire on the 13th: "The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent with the sight  
"and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are  
"this moment carrying away. The number makes a man  
"shudder. I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which  
"are not in view of my post, the numbers are still greater.  
"Fortunately for my feelings, I have not at this instant leisure,  
"to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

The loss on the side of the garrison, was less than could have been conceived: and, by far the greatest part of it, fell on the corps of artillery, and marine brigade. A few brave officers and men lost their lives; and a much greater number were wounded. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to sixty-five only; but the wounded were no less than three hundred and eighty-eight. Of commissioned officers, twelve were in that time wounded, and of that number, two died. Nor was the damage done to the works, so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension; or at all, to bear any proportion to the violence of the assaults, and the excessive weight of fire, to which they had been exposed in the various attacks of so potent an enemy.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory, obtained by a handful of brave men, over the united efforts by sea and land, of two of the greatest powers in Europe: though one of these, fighting for the attainment of a favourite object, had,



in expence, labour, and exertion of art, exceeded all former example, both in the magnitude, and in the formidable nature of its preparations. This victory was gained in the face of all Europe, and has justly spread a blaze of glory over the whole garrison, which cannot fail to immortalize the name of General Elliot; and to hand down to posterity with distinguished honour, those of Lieutenant-General Boyd, and the other officers, who so gallantly fought under them, and executed their orders. We state with peculiar pleasure, that soon after this brilliant affair,\* his Majesty was pleased to confer on General Elliot, the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; and that, on the 6th of July, 1787, he raised him to the dignity of a Peer of Great Britain, by the title of Lord Heathfield, Baron of Gibraltar. Lieutenant-General Boyd was, on the 28th of January, 1785, made a Knight of the Bath.

The British fleet had many great services to perform this campaign. The protection of the homeward-bound fleets from the West Indies and the Baltic; the preventing the Dutch from detaching a strong squadron of war ships to the southward, to join the combined fleets of France and Spain; and the relief of Gibraltar, were the great naval objects which the British Ministry had in view. Each of these was, singly, of the very greatest importance; but the last of them was become an object of the utmost urgency: and a general cry was even rising through the nation, against its being so long deferred, without attending to the pressing necessities of the state, by which the delay was occasioned.

The Dutch having sent a strong fleet, under Admiral Hartsink, to escort their East and West India fleets north about, Vice-Admiral Milbank, accompanied by Commodore Hotham and a detachment from the grand fleet, was sent to look after them. He had got as far as the Downs; but the enemy having heard of his approach, recalled their fleet, which got safe back to the Texel. The fleet expected from the Baltic arriving in England at this time, the Vice-Admiral and Commodore were

\* January 8th, 1783.

were ordered back to Spithead, with the ships under their command, in order to join Lord Howe, who was to command the fleet destined for the relief of Gibraltar. Every thing for this purpose being ready, his Lordship sailed from Spithead, on the 11th of September, with thirty-four ships of the line, several frigates, and fireships,\* and a fleet of victuallers, storeships, and transports, having on board the 25th and 59th regiments, to reinforce the garrison. Lord Howe had the following flag-officers serving under him, viz. Vice-Admirals Barrington and Milbank; Rear-Admirals Alexander Hood and Sir Richard Hughes, Bart.; and Commodore Hotham: and no fleet was ever better appointed, both as to officers and men.

The King of Spain had been often greatly disappointed, by the combined fleet having never been able, agreeably to his express orders, to bring the British fleet to a general engagement. The immense superiority of ships, which France and Spain had been able to equip, for the express purpose of crushing it, made him flatter himself, that a decisive victory on their part, must be the certain consequence of a battle. As the excuses, hitherto offered by his officers, for not accomplishing this in the open seas, did not prove satisfactory, he determined to place the combined fleet in such a position, as, in his opinion, would at once prevent Gibraltar from being relieved, and render it impossible for the fleet under Lord Howe to avoid an action. He also gave the most positive orders to Don Louis de Cordova, to fight the British fleet, at all events.

In the mean time, Lord Howe was long detained on his voyage to Gibraltar, by contrary winds, and by very unfavourable weather. This unavoidable delay was, no doubt, exceedingly painful to that excellent officer, and must have increased his anxiety for the safety of the place, which he was sent to relieve; for, when he sailed, he was not ignorant of the mighty preparations which the Spaniards were making to reduce it. On the 9th, the fleet arrived off Faro on the coast of Portugal: and he then dispatched a cutter to that place, which returned, with the agreeable intelligence of the total defeat,

which the combined forces of France and Spain had received, when they made the formidable assault on Gibraltar, which they had long threatened. He was also informed at this time, that their grand united fleets, consisting of more than forty sail of the line, had borne witness to this mortifying discomfiture, as they were then at anchor in Gibraltar Bay. Not in the least intimidated, by the great superiority of force which waited to oppose his measures, he continued to push forward to the place of his destination, under a press of sail. During this critical period, a violent gale of wind in the Straits, threw the combined fleets of France and Spain, at anchor near Gibraltar, into the greatest disorder; and exposed them to the utmost danger. Their besieging army beheld the situation of their squadron with terror and dismay: nor was it in their power to afford them the least assistance. This tempest happened on the night of the 10th of October; and whilst it lasted, it did much damage to the combined fleets. One ship of the line was forced ashore near Algeiras: two more were driven to the eastward into the Mediterranean, and on board of one of them, was a Spanish Rear-Admiral: others lost masts or bowsprits: and many were more or less injured. The *St. Miguel*, a fine Spanish ship of seventy-two guns and six hundred and fifty men, commanded by Rear-Admiral Don Juan Moreno, having lost her mizen-mast, was driven from her anchors by the violence of the wind, across the Bay, and forced ashore near the ragged staff, close to the works of Gibraltar. The fire from two batteries, very soon compelled her to strike her colours and surrender, and the boats from the garrison took possession of her. When the enemy discovered the fate of the *St. Miguel*, they began, and continued for several days, a most furious cannonade and bombardment on the fortress. They aimed their shot almost wholly at the works; and threw shells at the newly acquired prize, in hopes of destroying her as she lay aground, or of obliging the marine brigade to desist from their attempts to get her afloat. Their fire, however, was productive of very little mischief, and had no other effect, than that of giving a  
good



good deal of trouble to the naval officers and seamen, who were employed in getting the *St. Miguel* off the rocks. By starting her water, and throwing most of her stores overboard, they got this accomplished, with less loss of men than could have been imagined, and without any material injury being done to the ship.

The British fleet, which was, at the time of this gale, in the mouth of the Straits, felt it, but in a small degree; and received no damage from it. At eight in the morning of the 11th, Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet and convoy to close, the wind being then from W. by N. to W. by S. At half past ten, he made the signal to form the line of battle ahead in close order, and sent the convoy ahead, with the *Latona* frigate, to conduct them safe into the Bay of Gibraltar. They arrived off the entrance of the Bay about six in the evening, and had a most favourable opportunity for the store-ships, victuallers, and transports, reaching their destined anchorage, without any molestation from the enemy; but through some inattention of the masters of those vessels, to the peculiar circumstances of the navigation laid down in their instructions, only four of the thirty-one sail which had accompanied the fleet from England, got to the port. The rest, having missed the Bay in the night, were driven to the eastward of the rock, into the Mediterranean. The bringing them back to Gibraltar, proved a very great encumbrance to the fleet in its subsequent operations: and, as their safety was much endangered by the blunder which they committed, the anxiety of the Commander in Chief of the fleet, on their account, must have been very great.

The *Latona* frigate returned to the fleet, and brought Lord Howe the disagreeable account of the convoy having missed the port. This obliged his Lordship to steer to the eastward, in order to collect and protect them from falling into the enemy's hands. This measure greatly alarmed Don Louis de Cordova, who became extremely apprehensive for the safety of the two Spanish line of battle ships, which had been forced up the Mediter-

Mediterranean, on the night of the 10th. In hopes of protecting them, and of intercepting the British convoy on its return to Gibraltar, he put to sea from Algeiras on the 13th, with the combined fleet; the force of which was now lessened, by three disabled ships which he was obliged to leave behind, by the *St. Miguel* which was taken, and by the absence of two others. Lord Howe, before he steered to the eastward, had detached the *Panther* to Gibraltar, to protect the convoy in going into the Bay. In the forenoon of the 13th, the British fleet was off the town of Fungerala in Spain, which is situated about fifteen leagues east of Gibraltar, exactly between *Marvella* and *Malaga*: and the convoy had rejoined the squadron, which was standing to the southward, when the *Latona* frigate made the signal for the enemy's fleet being in motion. At one o'clock, Lord Howe made a signal, for his fleet to draw close round him: and at sun-set, the enemy's fleet was visible from the quarter-deck of the *Victory*. The wind was then W. N. W., and it was about six leagues to windward of him, on the larboard tack. It consisted of forty-nine sail of square rigged vessels, forty-two of which appeared to be of the line, and amounted in all to sixty-four sail. They bore down upon the British fleet, but about nine at night hauled their wind. Lord Howe had then formed his fleet in three lines, and detached the *Buffalo* with the convoy to the *Zaforine* islands on the Barbary shore, about sixty leagues above Gibraltar, where they would have good anchorage. His fleet was now reduced to thirty-two sail of the line. The *Latona* and *Minerva* frigates were ordered to observe the enemy's motions during the night; and at two in the morning, the former of these ships made the signal that they had tacked. By day-light, they were perceived to be close in with the land, and at such a distance, as not to be visible from the deck. During the night, they were rejoined by the two line of battle ships, which had been driven up the Mediterranean on the night of the 10th.

On the 15th, the wind came to E. by N., a fine breeze, and the fleet once more got sight of Gibraltar. The *Panther* joined  
ed

ed it, but was sent again to Gibraltar, to assist the transports. On the 16th, the weather was so very hazy, that the ships were obliged to fire fog guns. At ten in the forenoon, it began to rain astonishingly hard; and the rain continued without intermission until past two in the afternoon, accompanied with so heavy a swell on the shore, that it was with the utmost difficulty, that the ships kept clear of each other, and avoided driving under the Spanish batteries. At five in the evening, the weather became more favourable: and the *Latona* joined, and informed Lord Howe, that eighteen of the convoy were safe at the Mole. On the 17th, such of the convoy as had not already got in, were ordered to proceed to Gibraltar, with five sail of the line and some frigates, having on board the 25th and 59th regiments. On the 18th, they all got into Rosia Bay, where the troops were landed: and the war ships rejoined the squadron. Lord Howe ordered fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder to be put on board the *Tisiphone* fire-ship, and sent her into Gibraltar with it, as a supply of that article to the garrison: and early the next morning, she rejoined the fleet, along with the *Latona* frigate. On board the latter Captain Curtis came, to deliver General Elliot's final communications to Lord Howe; but, the enemy's fleet appearing, soon after the *Latona* got out of the Bay, his return to the fortress was cut off, and he was put on board of the *Victory* in the evening of the 19th, when the fleet brought to, after it had gained the Atlantic. Along with Captain Curtis, came Captain Vallatton, General Elliot's aid-de-camp, who was charged with his Excellency's dispatches for England.

On the 19th, at six in the morning, the wind was at E.; and the *Crown*, being the ship ahead, made the signal for seeing the enemy's fleet a little to the north-east. The British fleet was, at that time, about midway between Europa and Ceuta Points, where the bounds are so narrow, as not to afford space sufficient to form in order of battle, on either tack. Lord Howe therefore repassed the Straits, and was followed by the enemy. It would have been the height of imprudence  
and



and rashness, to have hazarded an action in the Gut, where there was not room for forming so large a fleet in a line, much less for performing the evolutions, which might be necessary, in the course of a general engagement. The danger arising, in such circumstances, from the vicinity of the enemy's coasts, was not an object of less consideration, than their superiority in number and force: besides, their thorough knowledge of the neighbouring coasts, and of the currents in the Straits, gave them an advantage, which they would not fail to improve as exigencies might afford them opportunity. They had also excellent ports on either hand, to which they might, in case of need, repair for relief or protection: while, on the contrary, the British fleet, in the event of sustaining any considerable damage, which was to be considered as an unavoidable consequence of a general action, had no friendly port at hand, to which it could retire for shelter.\*

Though the fortress of Gibraltar was now relieved, and notwithstanding the great superiority of the combined fleet to that which he commanded, Lord Howe determined to give it an opportunity, if so disposed, of trying its strength with the fleet of Britain; and with this intention, on the evening of the 19th, he made the signal to bring to. The wind changing to the northward, in the morning of the 20th, the enemy still retained the advantage of the weather-gage, and were discerned, about five leagues distance; the British being, at that time, formed in order of battle to leeward, and ready to receive them. They had it in their power, during the greater part of the day, to have chosen, both the time of commencing an action, and the distance at which they might incline to engage. Their strength appeared to be forty-four sail of the line, whereas Lord Howe had only thirty-four, two of which were old sixty gun ships. About sun-set, the combined fleet approached, and began a cannonade on the van and rear of the British fleet. M. de la Mothe Piquet's division advanced against the former; while Don Louis de Cordova, in the Santissima

\* See Note 317.

Santissima Trinidad of one hundred and twenty guns, and a French Admiral, supported by three three-deckers, and seven or eight two-decked ships, bore down with great resolution on the latter, seemingly with the intention of cutting off the three sternmost ships, viz. the Union, Buffalo, and Vengeance. As soon as the enemy came within musquet shot, those three ships, assisted by some others that were nearest to them, opened such an incessant and well directed fire upon them, that they were quickly thrown into confusion. Their leading ships were considerably damaged: the Spanish Admiral's ship, in particular, was thrown all aback: and they soon hauled their wind, and withdrew from action. About ten o'clock at night, they renewed their attack, which was occasionally returned by the different ships of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded a favourable opportunity, for making any impression upon them; but after a distant cannonade, which lasted about an hour, they sheered off. In these two rencounters, the centre of the British fleet had little or no share: and the Victory, Lord Howe's ship, never fired a shot.

On the morning of the 21st, the combined fleet appeared at a considerable distance, standing off to the N. N. W. by the wind, on the starboard tack, and showed no inclination to come to a general engagement; on which, Lord Howe dispatched the Buffalo to England, her masts having been very much wounded in the action of the preceding evening. Several others of the Squadron sustained more damage in their masts and yards, from the enemy's fire, than was at first observed. It took up all of the 21st, and most of the 22d, to give them the necessary repairs. Fortunately the weather proved calm, and this greatly aided the work. As soon as it was accomplished, Lord Howe went in quest of the enemy: but as he was not able to discover them, it was presumed that they had gone to Cadiz, to repair their damages. In the actions on the 20th, the fleet had sixty-eight men killed, and two hundred and eight wounded. Among the former was Lieutenant

tenant John Lampen of the Berwick : and among the latter, Captain Fielding of the Ganges ; Mr. Willis, second Lieutenant of the Royal William, who lost his right thigh ; the third Lieutenant of the same ship, who was wounded in leg and arm ; and Lieutenant Eastly, second of the Vengeance. On the 28th of October, Lord Howe detached Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, with eight sail of the line, to the West Indies : and, with the remainder of the fleet, steered for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of November. On his way thither, he directed Vice-Admiral Milbank to proceed, with six sail of the line, to Corke in Ireland, which they did, and soon after rejoined his Lordship at Portsmouth.\*

Thus was the grand national object, the relief of Gibraltar, most happily and gloriously achieved, under such circumstances of inferiority of force, as astonished all Europe ; and tended, not only fully to support, but highly to exalt the naval renown of Britain, and the honour of her flag.

The arrival of the 25th and 59th regiments, was a great accession to the garrison of Gibraltar ; the strength of which, when relieved by Lord Howe, was as follows, viz.

5	Colonels,
10	Lieutenant-Colonels,
12	Majors,
82	Captains,
132	Lieutenants,
73	Ensigns,
428	Serjeants,
239	Drummers,
6135	Effective rank and file.

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Total, 7116

Nothing worthy of notice occurred, until the 4th of January, 1783, when the Spaniards, from their land batteries, and thirty-three gun and mortar boats, fired at the fortress near

211

\* See Note 318.



an hour. One of their gun-boats was sunk by a shell from the garrison.†

On the 22d of February, the Duc de Crillon sent a flag of truce, to inform General Elliot that a general peace had taken place: and soon after that, the Thetis frigate arrived from England, with orders to cease hostilities, the preliminaries having been signed.

Before the Duc de Crillon quitted his command of the besieging army, he, accompanied by his suite, paid a visit to General Elliot, who received him with all the military honours due to his rank, and conducted him to all the works, which he viewed with great satisfaction. He embraced this opportunity, to pay his Excellency and his brave garrison many handsome compliments. Having viewed the fortrefs, they proceeded to the Convent, where an elegant entertainment was prepared for them: and in the evening returned to camp, highly pleased with the manner in which they had been received.

### TRANSACTIONS AT AND NEAR HOME.

ADMINISTRATION had made great exertions in sending out powerful reinforcements to both the Indies, to counteract those sent thither by the French. In the beginning of the year, Sir George Rodney had sailed from Plymouth, with twelve sail of the line, for the West Indies: and on the 6th of February, Commodore Sir Richard Bickerton sailed from Portsmouth, for the East Indies, with six sail of the line, two frigates, two armed transports, and seventeen sail of the Company's ships, having on board four thousand three hundred land-forces.† The enemy having obtained early intelligence of Sir Richard Bickerton's destination and force, the Comte de Guichen, who had

† The returns of the killed and wounded, together with the quantities of shot, gunpowder, &c. expended during the siege, and various other returns, the reader will find in the Appendix, Note 319.

† See Note 320.

had been detached in the beginning of this year from Brest, with a strong squadron, to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, was instructed to use his endeavours to intercept him. He accordingly sailed from Cadiz, for this purpose, with five sail of the line and two frigates, belonging to the French, accompanied with twelve sail of the line of Spanish ships of war, commanded by Don Antonio Osorno; but fortunately, Sir Richard Bickerton received intelligence of their intention and station, and shaped his course so far to the westward, that he entirely escaped the snare that was laid for him.\*

In the narrative of the transactions of the first part of this year, it was observed, that a total change of Administration had occurred in April. This gave rise to very great alterations in many respects, especially among the commanders of squadrons on several stations. Admiral Pigot was sent to take the command of the fleet at the Leeward Islands; a measure which was the source of much noise, and of many severe animadversions. Lord Howe, Admirals Barrington, Sir John Lockhart Ross, and Kempenfelt, together with Commodore Hotham, commanded the grand fleet: and in the autumn of this year, Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Bart., was sent out in the *Cato* of fifty guns, to assume the command of the King's ships and vessels in the East Indies.

Intelligence having been received, that the French were detaching a fleet from Brest, supposed to be for the East Indies, Vice-Admiral Barrington was sent out with a fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line and three frigates, in hopes of falling in with them.† He sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of April; and on the 20th, being to the N. E. of Ushant twenty-three leagues, at one in the afternoon, he perceived the *Artois* frigate, Captain Macbride, with a signal out, for discovering an enemy's fleet: but the frigate was at so great a distance, that it was with the utmost difficulty, that he could distinguish the colour of the flag. It was then calm, but a breeze springing up, he made the signal for a general chase. The enemy were then

\* See Note 321.

† See Note 322.

then at such a distance, that they could be only barely discerned from the Britannia's mast-head. By the close of the evening, seven of the British ships had neared them considerably, and were a good distance ahead of Admiral Barrington's ship. The Foudroyant was the headmost of these ; and, about sun-set, got so near, as to discover that the enemy consisted of three or four ships of war, two of them at least of the line, with seventeen or eighteen sail under their convoy ; and that the latter dispersed by signal. At half past nine, the smallest of the enemy's war ships was observed to speak with the headmost, and then bear away. At a quarter past ten, the enemy's sternmost line of battle ship, perceiving that the Foudroyant was coming very fast up with her, bore away also, and Captain Jervis pursued her. Soon after this, it blew strong with hazy weather, which occasioned the Foudroyant to separate from the rest of the ships ; but, at forty-seven minutes after twelve, she brought the ship, of which she was in chase, to close action, which continued three quarters of an hour ; when, having laid her aboard on the larboard quarter, she surrendered. She proved to be *Le Pegase*, a French ship of war, of seventy-four guns and seven hundred men, commanded by the Chevalier de Sillans. The superior discipline and good conduct of the officers and men of the King's ship, to that of the *Pegase*, cannot appear in a stronger point of view, than by comparing the numbers of men killed and wounded, and the damages sustained in each ship. On board the Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, and only two or three seamen, were slightly wounded ; whereas on board the *Pegase*, by the report of the Chevalier de Sillans, there had been a very great carnage, and the ship was materially damaged in her masts and yards. Her mizen-mast and fore-topmast fell overboard, soon after the action.\*

In the morning of the 21st, some of the squadron again joined company ; but it blew so strong, that Captain Jervis could put no more than eighty men on board the prize, and

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received

\* By the Chevalier de Sillans official letter, in the Paris Gazette, it appears, that the *Pegase* had 80 men killed, and 40 wounded.



received only forty prisoners in return. He had reason also to fear, that two of his boats were lost in performing this duty. The disabled state of the *Pegase*, and the continuation of a strong gale with a heavy sea, induced Captain Jervis to make the signal for immediate assistance. This Commodore Elliot supplied, by making the *Queen's* signal to assist the disabled ship. As soon as the weather permitted, Captain Maitland took the most expeditious method to shift the prisoners: and, by nine o'clock in the evening of the 22d, he had taken three hundred on board of the *Queen*, and put an officer and forty men into the prize, in addition to those formerly sent by Captain Jervis. At that time, a large sail was seen standing to the S. W., upon a wind; and it was soon discovered, that she was not a British ship of war. Captain Maitland therefore ordered the *Pegasus*, and a cutter that was in company, to make the best of their way to England; and immediately made sail towards the strange ship, which he came up with in the night, after a chase of fourteen hours. He fired at her one broadside, which she returned only with one gun, and immediately struck her colours. He immediately took possession of her, and found her to be the *Actionnaire*, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns, *armée en flute*, and commanded by M. de Querengal, a Knight of the Order of St. Louis. She had on board two hundred and fifty seamen and five hundred and fifty soldiers, of whom nine were killed, and twenty-five wounded. She was bound from Brest to the *Isle de France*; and was richly laden, having on board lower masts for four seventy-four gun ships, with sails and rigging complete, besides her own masts, which were intended for *l'Annibal*, a great quantity of naval and ordnance stores, provisions, wine, and rum, together with eleven chests of money.

While the *Queen* was in chase of the *Actionnaire*, the *Latona* frigate appeared in sight to windward, and made the private signal; but, being disabled in her masts, it was the next morning before she joined company. At this time, there were one thousand one hundred prisoners on board the *Queen*,  
which

which induced Captain Maitland to use the freedom to detain the frigate twenty-four hours, to assist in shifting the prisoners, and to take one hundred and fifty of them on board. Captain Conway then parted company. Captain Maitland was much pleased with the behaviour of his officers and men on this occasion, who, during the whole time of the chase, supposed the enemy's ship to be the *Protecteur* of seventy-four guns.

Twelve of the convoy were taken:\* four of them by *La Prudente* frigate, commanded by Lord Charles Fitzgerald; who, being on his return to Spithead with his prizes, got sight of a cutter off Cape Clear, to which he gave chase. After a pursuit of thirty-six hours, most of the time within gun shot, he came up with and took her. She was called *Le Marquis de Castries*, and was a French privateer, pierced for twenty-two guns, but mounting only eighteen six pounders. She had a complement of one hundred and five men, and had been out but two days from Morlaix.

Vice-Admiral Barrington, with the ships under his command, returned to Spithead on the 26th of April: and soon after that, his Majesty was pleased to confer the Most Honourable Order of the Bath on Captain John Jervis of the *Foudroyant*, and to promote Mr. Greville, first Lieutenant of that ship, to the rank of Master and Commander.

Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt was detached from Spithead, on the 3d of May, with a fleet of seven sail of the line and some frigates,† to the westward, and returned to Spithead on the 5th of June. For a considerable time, the Dutch had been making great preparations, in all their dock-yards, to get a formidable fleet ready to act with vigour this campaign, in concert with their allies; and had agreed to send ten sail of the line to Brest, to join the combined fleets of France and Spain, as soon as they should appear off that port, from Cadiz. By means of this reinforcement, the confederated powers were confident, that they should obtain such a decided superiority of naval strength, that Britain could oppose to them, no fleet

\* See Note 323.

† See Note 324.

nearly equal to theirs : and had no doubt, that they should be completely masters of the ocean, and carry all before them. Early in May, the Dutch fleet assembled at the Texel :\* and to prevent them from fulfilling their engagement to their allies, Lord Howe, accompanied by Vice-Admiral Barrington and Commodore Hotham, with ten sail of the line, five of which were three-decked ships, two frigates, and three fireships,† sailed from Spithead on the 10th of that month, to the eastward, in order to reinforce Sir John Lockhart Ross, who commanded the squadron in the North Seas. On the 12th, they formed a junction with Sir John in the Downs, and proceeded to the Texel. The Dutch fleet had been at sea ; but on receiving intelligence of Lord Howe's motions, had returned hastily to their former station. They were supposed to have gone to sea, with a design of intercepting three frigates and some transports, with German troops on board, then daily expected to sail from Bremer-Lehe, in the river Wefer.

Lord Howe continued for some time to cruize upon the Dutch coasts : but most of his crews becoming sickly, having been seized by an epidemic disorder called the influenza, which the extraordinary bad and cloudy weather of that summer, had rendered generally prevalent both by sea and land ; and the Dutch shewing no disposition to quit the Texel, he returned with the greatest part of his fleet to Portsmouth, leaving Sir John Lockhart Ross, with a squadron, to watch the motions of the enemy. Sir John was very active on this station, making his appearance almost daily off the Texel, and approaching so near, as to be able to count the number of ships there, and to see their colours distinctly. The formidable league of the armed neutrality, proved of great service to the subjects of the States General. That association had laid the British Admiralty under a necessity of giving orders, to pay the greatest respect to all ships and vessels carrying a neutral flag : and although almost all the ships and vessels at anchor in the Texel were seen, by the British fleet, to hoist Dutch colours while there ;

\* See Note 325.

† See Note 326.



there; yet when they came out, they shewed neutral colours, many of them such as had very seldom been seen afloat before; and being furnished with corresponding papers, they were suffered to proceed on their respective voyages, agreeable to the instructions received. It is said, that Sir John Lockhart Rofs made strong representations to the Ministry concerning this traffic, and that they studiously avoided giving him any direct answer, which induced him to resign his command about the end of summer.

Lord Howe, on his arrival with his fleet at Portsmouth, found Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, with the squadron under his command, returned from his cruize in the Bay of Biscay: and all possible dispatch was used, in preparing the ships to oppose the designs of the combined fleets of France and Spain, which were expected soon to make their appearance in the mouth of the Channel.

The Comte de Guichen had been detached from Brest, early in the spring, with a strong squadron of French ships of war, to join the Spanish squadron under Don Louis de Cordova at Cadiz. They had made one or two cruizes to the southward, which had been attended with little success, farther than meeting, and conducting into port, some ships from the Havannah. The combined fleets, amounting to about twenty-five sail of the line, left Cadiz in the beginning of June; and in their progress northward, they expected to be joined by the French squadrons from Brest and Rochfort, and by the ten sail of the line promised by the Dutch. If these junctions had been effected, they would have amounted to fifty-four sail of the line, and a proportional number of frigates. On the 24th of June, as has been already observed, they fell in with Vice-Admiral Campbell, in the Portland of fifty guns, which, with a few frigates, were escorting the outward-bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, and captured about eighteen of the convoy, chiefly laden with provisions. The Admiral, with the ships of war and the remainder, had the good fortune to escape.

The combined fleet, having effected a junction with the expected reinforcement from Brest, under M. de la Mothe Piquet, appeared at the mouth of the Channel at a very critical time. Their numbers, in a manner blocked up the entrance of it; for they stretched across from Ushant to the islands of Scilly. About this time, a very rich fleet was expected from Jamaica, under the care of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, who had only three ships of the line for its protection. The enemy availed themselves of their superior naval strength; and unmolested, not only dispatched their great outward-bound convoys, but received their homeward-bound ones, with great facility and safety. It now became necessary to take some steps for the protection of the Jamaica fleet. Lord Howe, having under him Admirals Barrington and Kempenfelt, and Commodore Hotham, was accordingly ordered to proceed to the westward, and sailed from Spithead on the 2d of July; but, he had only a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line,\* to accomplish the service on which he was sent, while the combined fleets of France and Spain were cruising in the very tract in which he was obliged to sail, with double his force. On the evening of the 7th, when near the Scilly islands, they descried, as might have been expected, the enemy's fleet, and were likewise seen by them. Don Louis de Cordova and the Comte de Guichen, prepared their squadrons for attacking the British fleet, early on the next morning. They entertained most sanguine expectations of a complete victory; but the great professional skill which eminently distinguishes the nobleman who commanded the British fleet, aided by the able officers who served under him, extricated it from the dangers with which it was threatened. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the neighbouring coasts, he conducted the fleet under his command, in the night, through the Channel, between the Scilly islands and the land's end of England. This navigation is so exceedingly intricate, that none but a most expert seaman, could

\* See Note 327. In going down the Channel the fleet was joined by several ships, so that Lord Howe proceeded to sea with twenty-five sail of the line.

could have dared to attempt it. The measure was bold, and well conducted; and completely deceived the enemy, who never suspected that such a course was practicable, even in the light of day. His Lordship prosecuted his voyage to the westward, and before day-break, had lost sight of the combined squadrons; which, like a pack of hounds at fault, were left, in the utmost astonishment, to cruize about, in search of him. After beating about the chops of the Channel, during most of the month of July, a strong gale forced them from their station, considerably to the southward; and, before they could resume it, both the Jamaica fleet, and the fleet under Lord Howe, then considerably reinforced, were safely arrived at Spithead. Soon after this, Don Louis de Cordova received the most positive orders from the King his Master, to repair with the combined fleet to the Bay of Gibraltar, in order to prevent the relief of that place, and to put it out of the power of his naval commanders to find an excuse, for not meeting and fighting the British fleet.

Lord Howe returned with his fleet to Spithead on the 7th of August, when Lord Keppel went down to Portsmouth, to inspect the equipments that were making for the relief of Gibraltar. It was hoped, that the squadron destined for that service, would be ready to sail by the 20th; but it was unexpectedly retarded, on account of intelligence which the Ministry received about this time, that soon after the British fleet had been withdrawn from the North Sea, the Dutch had sent a strong squadron to sea under Admiral Hartfink.\* The number of ships in this squadron, corresponded pretty nearly, with the accounts already obtained, of the force which the States General had engaged to send to Brest, to join the combined fleet of France and Spain. Commodore Hotham was therefore detached from Spithead to the Downs, on the 22d of August, with eight sail of the line, in hopes of intercepting them. He anchored in that road on the following day, and found there two ships of the line. On the 24th, two more line of battle ships from

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Portsmouth,

\* See Note 348.



Portsmouth, and one from Chatham, joined him; but this force not being thought sufficient, Vice-Admiral Milbank, with five sail of the line, was detached on the 26th, from Spithead,† to reinforce the fleet in the Downs, and to take the command of the squadron. The Vice-Admiral reached that place on the 27th, but did not continue long on that station. In a few days after his arrival, advice was received, that the Dutch fleet, having escorted their East and West India merchant ships north about, had returned to the Texel. There is no doubt that this fleet, under Admiral Hartfink, was the one originally intended by the States General to have joined their allies; but its equipment, and its sailing, were so long retarded, on various pretexts, that the combined fleets had returned to the southward, before the Dutch squadron was in a condition to leave the Texel. The Dutch patriots, or French faction in Holland, imputed this to the artful management of the Prince Stadtholder, who, they thought, was secretly inclined to the interest of Great Britain. On that account, they raised a great popular clamour against his Highness, which was like to have been attended with very serious consequences, which will afterwards fall to be considered.

Vice-Admiral Milbank and Commodore Hotham, with seventeen sail of the line, were ordered to repair to Spithead. They sailed on the 5th of September, and arrived there next day, leaving Rear-Admiral Francis William Drake to command in the Downs. While the fleet at Spithead was equipping with the utmost dispatch, in order to proceed under the command of Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar, which was then regarded as an object of the utmost urgency, the following melancholy accident happened. Upon inspecting the different ships that were to go upon this service, it was found necessary, that the Royal George of one hundred and eight guns, on board of which the gallant Kempenfelt had his flag, and which had been long esteemed the first ship in the British navy, should receive a sort of slight careen, which, in the language of the seamen,

† See Note 329.

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seamen, is called a parliament-heel. The ship was to be laid in a certain degree upon her side, that the defects under water might be repaired. This is an operation frequently performed, in cases where the defects are not so great, as to require a thorough careen; or when the time, necessary for going into dock, cannot be spared. This piece of work is commonly performed, when the weather is calm, and the water smooth. The ship is made to heel, by running all, or such a number of her guns to one side, as may be deemed necessary, for letting the carpenters get at the defects: and this was supposed to be attended with so little difficulty or danger, that the Admiral, Captain, officers and crew, all continued on board, while the work was performing.

This business was begun early in the morning of the 29th of August: and in order to expedite the work, and get it completely done, a gang of carpenters attended, to assist those belonging to the ship. It is said, that finding it necessary to strip off more of her sheathing than was at first expected, their eagerness to get at the leak, induced them to heel her a streak more upon her side, than had been intended; and probably more than the Admiral and principal officers knew. The ship, as is generally the case, upon coming into port, was crowded with people from the shore; particularly with women, who were estimated at no less than three hundred. Among these were many of the wives and children of the petty officers and seamen, resident at Portsmouth and its environs, who, knowing that the fleet was soon to put to sea again on a dangerous service, had embraced the opportunity of visiting their husbands and fathers. Upwards of eight hundred of the crew of the Royal George, including marines, were then on board.

In this situation, about ten in the morning, while the Admiral was writing in his cabin, and much the greater number of the people happened to be between decks, a sudden and unexpected squall of wind, threw the ship upon her broadside. The gun-ports being open, and the sudden motion of the cannon, probably increasing the violence of the shock, she, almost instantly,

instantly, filled with water and sunk. A small vessel, a victualler, which lay alongside of her, was swallowed up in the vortex, which the sudden plunge of so vast a body in the water occasioned: and several small craft, though at some little distance, were in the most imminent danger.

Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, Mr. Saunders the first Lieutenant, Mr. Waghorne the fifth Lieutenant, Major Graham, and the two Lieutenants of marines, the master, the carpenter, the surgeon, three master's mates, all the midshipmen except three or four, and in general, most of those who were between decks, unhappily perished. The watch, including those who happened to be along with them on the upper deck, were more fortunate; the greater part of them being saved by the boats of the fleet. The exact number of people on board could not be ascertained; but it was generally supposed, that between nine hundred and a thousand persons lost their lives. Upwards of three hundred, mostly, if not entirely of the ship's company, were saved. Her commander, Captain Waghorne, whose gallantry in the sea-fight off the Dogger Bank, when he was first Lieutenant of the Vice-Admiral's ship, had obtained his promotion, had the fortune to be saved by a boat belonging to the *Victory*, after having been a considerable time in the water: but his son, the fifth Lieutenant of the *Royal George*, happening to be one of those who were below, was drowned.

Such was the disastrous catastrophe of the *Royal George*, which was deservedly esteemed the finest ship in the world. She was built at Woolwich. Her keel was laid in 1751, and she was launched in 1755. She was the favourite ship of almost all our great commanders. When she first went to sea, she carried the flag of the immortal Admiral Boscawen, whose report of her perfections, laid the foundation of her fame: and while he was abroad in a smaller ship, the gallant Lord Hawke made choice of her; and she was peculiarly distinguished in the famous sea-fight on the 20th of November, 1759, in which the French fleet, under Marshal Conflans, was entirely defeated.

Rear-



Rear-Admiral Richard Kempenfelt was near seventy years of age ; and his death was peculiarly and universally lamented. He was the son of a Lieutenant-Colonel Kempenfelt, a native of Sweden, whose excellent character, under the name of Captain Sentry, is recorded by Mr. Addison, as one of the Spectator's club.

The late Admiral entered very early into the naval service, and was appointed a Lieutenant in 1740 ; but did not obtain the rank of Post-Captain, till January, 1757. He was then appointed Captain of the Elizabeth of sixty-four guns, on board of which ship Commodore Stevens hoisted his broad pendant, and soon after that sailed with her to the East Indies. His name ought not to be mentioned, without the utmost respect and veneration. His conspicuous bravery and good conduct on that station, was frequently marked with high approbation in the first part of this work, which treated of the naval victories obtained by the gallant and persevering Pocock, and of the conquests of Pondicherry and Manilla. At the last of these places, he acquitted himself so well, as to draw both from Admiral Cornish, whose Captain he then was, and from Sir William Draper, the highest encomiums. He was intrusted with the Admiral's dispatches to the Admiralty, on that occasion. The great and important services, performed by the late Admiral Kempenfelt, in the course of the present war, are too recent in every person's memory, to require a repetition. When the unfortunate American war broke out, it would appear that he was forgotten, and that he was not thought of, until the late Sir Charles Hardy was appointed to command the grand fleet. Lord Sandwich then made an offer of the office of First Captain to the Admiral, to that excellent officer, Captain, now Admiral Elliot ; who nobly replied, that he thought Captain Kempenfelt the fittest officer for that important station, as he conceived him to be the most experienced in the service, with respect to fighting in line of battle, and the manœuvres of a fleet : adding, that he was not sure, but the Captain had reason to be disgusted, at having been so long neglected. This  
advice

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advice was not given in vain, for the offer of being First Captain to Sir Charles Hardy was directly made to him, and accepted. Time has shewn, how well founded was the high opinion, that Captain Elliot entertained of his abilities. Last year, he was included in the promotion of Captains to flags : and although he was the youngest Admiral in the navy, he possessed knowledge and experience for the first command in that important department. When the dreadful accident happened, which deprived the nation of this valuable officer, he was on the point of accompanying Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar. He was writing in his cabin when the ship overset. Many of the dead bodies have come up ; but the Admiral's has not yet appeared. Too much honour cannot be paid to his memory. Independent of his naval abilities, his private life was of that kind, which never fails to ensure the friendship of mankind : but above all, he disdained to be actuated by private pique, political manœuvres, or parliamentary intrigue ; and permitted his professional conduct to be regulated only by his valour, his duty, and the love and regard which he had for his King and country. His abilities were known and admired by all the maritime powers : and he was justly esteemed to be as brave and able a sea-officer, as this, or any other nation ever produced. His character in private life, rendered him an acquisition to every man who had the happiness of his acquaintance : and as an officer, his merit will be remembered as long as the British navy exists.

A large sum of money, which did honour to the feelings of the public, and was suited to the benevolence and bounty which so highly distinguish the nation, was immediately raised in London, by subscription, for the relief of the widows, children, and other dependant relations, of those who perished by this fatal accident. To this sum, the late Admiral's brother, Gustavus Adolphus Kempensfelt, Esq; contributed 200l.

Various attempts have been made to weigh the Royal George, but hitherto without success. Sixteen of her upper deck guns, and sundry other articles, have been at different times

times fished up. The beer sloop which was alongside of her, and which was carried down by the vortex when that ship went to the bottom, was, in July 1783, weighed up, although sunk in six fathom water.

Commodore Elliot was appointed commander of a small squadron ordered for Channel service,† and sailed for his station the beginning of September : and on the 11th, Lord Viscount Howe, with thirty-four sail of the line, the transports and victuallers, sailed for the relief of Gibraltar.

Soon after the change of the Ministry had taken place, in March this year, Government attempted to persuade the Dutch to make a separate peace with Great Britain : and terms were proffered, which, it was thought, would not have been rejected. But, although the Courts of Peterburgh and Stockholm came forward to second the business, and offered to be mediators in the negotiation, yet the French faction, which continued to direct measures at the Hague, prevailed upon the States General to refuse to listen to any accommodation, which did not include the allies of the republic.

We shall now proceed to give an account of the success of the British cruizers, at or near home. The Stag frigate, commanded by Captain Cooper, being stationed in the Irish Channel, received intelligence, on the first of January, of a French cutter privateer having captured some vessels on the Irish coast. The frigate was then in Dublin bay ; and as soon as the weather would permit, Captain Cooper sailed in pursuit of her. He got sight of her on the 4th, and after a chase of three hours, on his coming up with her, she struck. She proved to be the *Anti-Briton*, of twenty-two six pounders, with a crew of one hundred and four men, commanded by John Kelly. This privateer had done much mischief to the trade in this Channel.

On the 16th of February, the *La Prudente* frigate, Lord Charles Fitzgerald, took the *Aigle*, a French storeship, bound to the East Indies, and laden with naval and military stores.

The

† See Note 330.



The *Arethusa* frigate, Sir Richard Pearson, took the *Hardie*, a French privateer of twelve guns; and also the *Olimpe*, another French privateer, of sixteen guns and sixty men.

At day-light on the 16th of March, the *Succes* frigate, Captain Charles Maurice Pole, in lat.  $55^{\circ} 40'$  N., Cape Spartel bearing E. N. E., distant eighteen leagues, and the wind at S. W., was standing for the Gut, and had the *Vernon* storeship,\* bound for Gibraltar, under his convoy, when he discovered a sail right ahead, close hauled on the larboard tack. The weather being hazy, she appeared to be a ship of the line. The two ships made sail from her, on which she gave chase, which continued until half past two in the afternoon. Captain Pole then perceiving, that the strange sail gained ground on the *Vernon*, shortened sail, dropped astern, came nearer the ship in chase, and then brought to, in hopes of drawing her attention from the storeship. The weather clearing up, she was discovered to be a large frigate with a poop: and a little after five, she hoisted a Spanish ensign with a broad pendant, and fired a gun. At six, being within random shot, the *Succes* wore, and stemmed for the enemy's lee bow, until she had just distance sufficient to weather her, then hauled close athwart her forefoot, and poured her whole fire into her within half pistol shot. The *Succes* passed close to windward, engaging, while the Spaniards, having expected the attack to be made to leeward, were firing their lee guns into the water. The enemy were thrown into great disorder, by the first broadside from the *Succes*; and their confusion increased, by a smart fire from the *Vernon*, which, having wore, came up, and engaged very closely. Both the British ships got into most advantageous positions, and poured into their opponent, an incessant and well directed fire, until twenty minutes past eight, when she struck. They then took possession of the *Santa Catalina*,

\* The *Vernon* carried 22 guns, six pounders, and had on board, Lieutenant-Colonel Gladstones, 4 Captains, 7 subalterns, and 100 privates, belonging to the regiments in Gibraltar; besides her Captain, Mr. John Falconer, 2 mates, and 30 seamen.

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Catalina, a frigate belonging to the King of Spain, mounting thirty-four guns, viz. twenty-six twelve pounders on the main-deck, and eight six pounders on the quarter-deck, and having upwards of three hundred men. She was commanded by Don Miguel Tacon, who was a Captain in the line, had a distinguishing pendant as such, and was senior officer of the Spanish frigates cruising off the Straits mouth. He had been furnished with a very particular description of the *Succes*, for which he was particularly instructed to look out, and had been cruising for her three weeks. He had seen the *Succes* and *Vernon* four times, and chased them twice with his squadron, which then consisted of four frigates and six sail of xebèques, from which he had parted, two days before he was taken. He spake with much displeasure of the behaviour of his officers and men. The enemy had twenty-five men killed, and only eight wounded, in the action. The prisoners amounted to two hundred and eighty-six. The *Succes* had only one man killed, and four wounded. The *Vernon* had but one man wounded. Captain Pole was extremely well pleased with the behaviour of his officers and crew, both before and after the engagement. The smallness of their numbers, had encouraged the prisoners to form a plan for rising on them, which was fortunately discovered, and, by their alertness, prevented from being put in execution. Lieutenant-Colonel Gladstones of the 72d regiment, who, with several other officers, and about one hundred recruits, was on board of the *Vernon* storeship, had very great merit, as well as Mr. Falconer the master of that vessel, and his crew, for the conspicuous bravery and good conduct which they displayed in the action, and for the assistance which they afforded in securing the prisoners. Captain Pole sent his first Lieutenant, Mr. Oakley, to take possession of the *Santa Catalina*, which had suffered severely in hull, masts, and rigging. He was indefatigable in clearing away the wreck. Her mizen-mast had fallen a short time before she struck: her main-mast fell immediately after that; and her foremast must have shared the same fate, if the sea had not been remarkably smooth.

Her

Her hull was like a sieve, the shot having gone through both sides. From the disabled state of the prize, small hopes were entertained of being able to conduct her to port. On the 18th, at day-light, when the *Succes* had scarcely had time to repair her own damages, which were considerable, in her yards, masts, and sails; and while some of her men were endeavouring to secure the foremast of her prize, six sail appeared in sight. From these, two frigates had been detached ahead, which seemed to be reconnoitring. Captain Pole, unable to combat such a force, ordered the *Vernon* to make all the sail she could, hoisted out all his boats, sent on board the *Santa Catalina* for Lieutenant Oakley and the seamen, and gave orders, that before leaving her, they should set her on fire. She blew up in a quarter of an hour: she was coppered, and was the largest frigate in the Spanish navy.\* The wind being at S. E., the Captain made sail from the strange ships: and, as the *Vernon* was in want of water and provisions, he determined to proceed with her to Madeira. From the reports made to Captain Pole of the state of the *Santa Catalina*, it appeared, that if he had not been obliged to set her on fire, she must have sunk; for, a gale of wind soon came on, which obliged the *Succes* to lay-to, under a storm stay-sail.

Lieutenant Don, then commanding the *Nemesis* frigate, being on a cruize, on the 17th of May, at half past five in the afternoon, about six leagues to the westward of Holyhead, perceived a lugger in chace of one of the Dublin packets, and immediately pursued her. At half past eight, he came up with her, and took her. She was found to be the *Renard* privateer of Dunkirk, mounted twelve six pounders, had fifty-one men, and was commanded by one Luke Corwell, an Irishman,

\* DIMENSIONS OF THE SANTA CATALINA.

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of the keel, - - - - -	138	11
Length of the deck, - - - - -	151	10
Extreme breadth, - - - - -	39	4
Height of the middle port, when victualled for 4 months,	8	0



man, who said he was an American. She had on board six ransomers.

Captain Inglis, of his Majesty's ship Squirrel, on the 21st of June, fell in with a cutter, off the Land's End, which he took, after a chase of sixteen hours. She was called l'Aimable Manon, a privateer belonging to Brest, mounted eight guns, and had forty-one men.

The Lark sloop, Captain Guyot, in company with the Viper cutter, being off the Land's End on the 22d of June, perceived a cutter to which they gave chase: in a few hours they came up with her and took her. She proved to be the Sea-Lion, a Dutch privateer from Flushing, but last from Cherburg, was pierced for twelve guns, but had only eight three pounders mounted, and had fifty men.

On the 30th of June, the Winchelsea frigate, Sir John Borlase Warren, commander, being on a cruize in the North Sea, when forty-seven leagues N. W. of the Texel, gave chase to a brig, which, after nine hours pursuit, he came up with and took. She proved to be a Dutch privateer, of eighteen guns and seventy-eight men, and was called l'Amazone.

The Ambuscade frigate, Scourge and Shark sloops, with some cutters, being part of the Squadron acting under the orders of Vice-Admiral Drake in the Downs, took Le Petit Gens d'Armes, a lugger privateer, also Le Commandant de Dunkerque, a cutter privateer of fourteen guns and forty-five men, both belonging to Dunkirk. The Ambuscade, on the 22d of June, took the Middleburgh, a Dutch cutter privateer, of thirteen guns and thirty-eight men.

The Artois frigate, commanded by Captain Edward Pellew, took, after a short chase, off the Old Head of Kinfale, the Prince de Robecq, mounting twenty-two twelve and nine pounders, fitted by the Admiral of Dunkirk, and commanded by M. Pierre Van Stalle, a Lieutenant de fregate. She had a crew of one hundred and seventy-three men, was quite a new vessel, and most completely equipped.

Lieutenant George Cadman, commanding the Defiance, an

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armed ship in his Majesty's service, when off Portland, at five in the afternoon of the 20th of June, observed an armed brig standing out of West Bay. He immediately cleared for action, and stood towards her. On coming within hail, she hoisted Dutch colours, and began to engage. The conflict lasted two hours, when she struck. She was found to be the *Zeuse*, a privateer belonging to Flushing, and had sixteen long six pounders, one eighteen pounder, and a crew of one hundred and thirteen men. She had been out only four days, was but three weeks off the stocks, and had on board one ransom for a hundred guineas. In this action, the *Defiance* had only one man killed and one wounded, though she was much shattered in her sails and rigging, had her boat stove, her jib-boom and cap damaged, and several shot through her sides. The loss sustained by the enemy was twenty-one men killed and seventeen wounded: among the latter were her two Captains. In reward of this gallant action, Mr. Cadman was made a Master and Commander. He was much pleased with the good conduct, spirit, and zeal of his officers and crew, particularly of Mr. Williams the master. When the action commenced, the *Defiance* had only a crew of sixty-eight men on board, and her guns were only four pounders.

The *Kite* cutter, one of Vice-Admiral Drake's squadron, took *Le Fantasque*, a French cutter privateer of Dunkirk, of twelve guns and thirty men.

The *Racehorse* sloop, Captain Jacob Waller, on the 26th of July, took, off the coast of Sussex, after a chase of eight hours, a French privateer called *Le Vipore*, of ten four pounders and thirty-seven men.

The *Winchelsea* frigate, Sir John Borlase Warren, one of Vice-Admiral Drake's squadron, took *Le Capria*, a lug-sail privateer of Dunkirk, of two six pounders, fourteen four pounders, and forty-three men.

The *Proserpine* frigate, Captain Thomas Taylor junr. took the *Voltigeur*, a French privateer of sixteen guns and sixty-three men.

The

The Cormorant sloop, Captain Melcombe, on the 30th of July, took, off Cape Clear, Le Temeraire, a French sloop of war, of ten six pounders and fifty men. She was commanded by M. de Fer, Lieutenant de fregate; was out of Brest nine days, and had dispatches for the combined fleets, which were thrown overboard, with her papers, log-book, and eight guns.

His Majesty's ship Vengeance, Captain Moutray, being on a cruize to the westward of the islands of Scilly, on the 9th of August, gave chase to a cutter; and in six hours came up with her, when she struck. She was found to be a Dutch privateer, called the Dogger Bank of Flushing, mounted twenty guns, eighteen six and two twelve pounders, which she threw overboard in the pursuit, and had ninety men. She had been six weeks from Flushing, and had taken three prizes, all of which were retaken.

Captain Cooper of the Stag frigate, having received intelligence, on the 14th of June, when at anchor in Dublin bay, that two French cutter privateers were cruising off Waterford, immediately sailed in pursuit of them. When he got off that harbour on the 17th, he spoke to a fishing boat, that had been taken by one of them five days before; but they had not been heard of since. He therefore stood to the westward: and at day-light on the 18th, when off Dungarvon, he discovered one of them, and, after a chase of eleven hours, took her. She proved to be La Victoire, of two eight and fourteen six pounders, six of which she threw overboard in the chase, and had ninety-one men. She was quite new, copper-bottomed, and sailed remarkably fast.

His Majesty's ship Rainbow of forty-four guns, (mostly carronades) commanded by Captain Trollope, being on her way from Plymouth to join Commodore Elliot, on the 4th of September, at four in the morning, the isle of Bas bearing S. six or seven miles, discovered a sail to the westward, and immediately gave chase. At six, she was perceived to be a frigate. At seven, the Rainbow having got within gun shot, began to fire her bow chaces; and at half past seven, the chase



hoisted French colours, and fired her stern chaces. At half past eight, the Rainbow got within hail of the enemy's ship, which luffed up, fired one broadside, and then struck her colours. Possession was then taken of the Hebe, a French ship of war, having three hundred and sixty men, and forty guns, twenty-eight of which were eighteen pounders. She was commanded by the Chevalier de Vigny, Capitaine de vaisseau, and Knight of St. Louis, who was slightly wounded. She had her second Captain and four men killed, her wheel shot away, and her foremast badly wounded by a sixty-eight pound shot, from one of the carronades. These were the only damages which the ship received. The Rainbow sustained no injury, and had only one man killed. The Hebe was completely rigged, and well provided with stores of all kinds. This was the first time she ever was at sea : being but lately launched, and built upon a new construction. She was purchased by Government, and added, by the same name, to the Royal Navy, in which she has done excellent service. Captain Trollope was much pleased with Mr. Leslie, his first Lieutenant, for his attention and activity ; and also, with the other officers and ship's company, for their exertions during the chase.\*

The Eurydice frigate, Captain Courtenay, one of Commodore Elliot's squadron, in the morning of the 11th of September, when off Cherbourg, fell in with a French cutter privateer, and another sloop her prize, which she had taken the preceding evening, off the Isle of Wight, both of which he captured, after a few hours chase. The privateer had only eight men on board. The Master, whose name was Moor, had lately been a strolling player in the west of England. On the 14th of October, when off the isle of Bas, at two in the afternoon, he got sight of several sail to leeward, to which he gave chase ; and at five, came up with and took the Samea brig, a French sloop of war, pierced for eighteen guns, with fourteen six pounders on board, and one hundred and six men. She was commanded by M. le Duminey, was bound from  
l'Orient

\* For the French account of this action, see the Appendix, Note 331.

l'Orient to Brest, and was part of a convoy to the above-mentioned vessels which dispersed, and, favoured by the darkness of the night, made their escape. Before she struck, the sloop exchanged a few shot with the Eurydice, by which the latter had one man killed and one wounded.

His Majesty's cutter the Jackall, commanded by Lieutenant Dobree, being on a cruize off the island of Bas, on the 18th of October, fell in with and took, after a chase of eight hours, the Sylph lugger, belonging to the French King, mounting four four pounders, and having thirty men on board. She was commanded by Le Sieur Paillet, Lieutenant de fregate.

Commodore Elliot in the Romney, on the 17th of October, fell in with, and, after a chase of two days, took the Comte de Bois Gelin, a privateer from St. Malo, of twelve guns and sixty men.

The Hon. Captain James Luttrell, commanding his Majesty's ship Mediator of forty-four guns, being on a cruize off Ferrol in Spain, and receiving information from a neutral vessel, that an American frigate was ready to sail from Bourdeaux, steered a course to fall into her tract. On the 12th of December, at seven in the morning, he got sight of five sail on the lee beam, to which he gave chase. At eight, their hulls were above water: they were then forming in a close line of battle, and shortened sail, in order to wait for the Mediator. The headmost was l'Eugene, a frigate built vessel, of thirty-six guns and one hundred and thirty men, commanded by M. Baudin, laden for the French King, and bound to Port au Prince. She had a French pendant and ensign flying. Next to her was an American brig, of fourteen guns and seventy men, with American colours. Next to her was a two-decked ship, the length of a sixty-four, *armée en flute*, called the Menagere, under French colours, commanded by M. de Foligne, Captain of a fireship of the department of Rochfort. She mounted, on her main-deck, twenty-six long twelve pounders, and four six pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, had a complement of two hundred and twelve men, and was laden with gun-  
powder,

powder, naval stores, and bale goods, for the French King's service at Port au Prince. Next to this ship was placed the *Alexander*, of twenty-four nine pounders and one hundred and two men, with a French pendant and an American ensign. She was commanded by a Captain Gregory, who was supposed by Captain Luttrell to be an Irishman, but had a commission from the American Congress. She was laden with stores and provisions, for the French King's use at Port au Prince. Next to her lay the *Dauphin Royal*, of twenty-eight guns and one hundred and twenty men, bound for the East Indies. She hoisted French colours.

Captain Luttrell, trusting that the good sailing of the King's ship would enable him to bring her off, if, after a few broadsides, he should see no probability of success, determined, without losing a moment, to attack them; and, if possible, to throw their squadron into confusion, that he might avail himself of any advantage resulting from that circumstance. He therefore continued to bear down on them, with all his sails set, except such as might be in the way of quick manœuvres.

At ten, he received a few shot from the *Menagere's* upper deck, which convinced him that she had no lower deck guns in, although she had all her ports seemingly complete. As he approached them, he received the fire of their line. After having been obliged to tack and wear, at half past ten, he got up with their rearmost ships, viz. the brig and *Dauphin Royal*, which not being able to stand his fire, crowded sail away from the rest; upon which, the three other ships wore, under an easy sail.

At eleven, the *Mediator* bore down, and, fighting both sides occasionally, cut off the *Alexander* from her consorts. Upon pouring the first broadside into her, when quite close to her, she struck her colours, and let fly her sheets. The *Menagere* and *Eugene*, after firing a few broadsides, crowded all the sail they could, and went away before the wind. Possession was then taken of the prize; and the prisoners were exchanged as fast as possible.

This



This business being completed, at twelve o'clock, the Mediator went in pursuit of the Menagere and Eugene, leaving orders with the prize-master, to bear away for England, if she should chace hull down. At three, the Eugene hauled her her wind from the Menagere: and, at five, the Mediator began to fire on the last mentioned ship; that, by being covered with the smoke of her own guns, she might be prevented from aiming at her masts.

At half past five, she got so near, that both ships occasionally fired broadsides at each other. At six, a sudden squall of wind came on: and the King's ship had three of her lower deck guns run out, which obliged Captain Luttrell to put her before the wind, as the water rushed in at the ports, till it was knee deep on the deck; but, by means of the chain-pumps, he got his vessel speedily cleared; and as soon as she was safe, he again made sail towards the enemy. At seven he came up with her, and renewed the action; and soon after that, his main-top-gallant-mast and fore-top-gallant-yard were shot away; but notwithstanding these losses, he continued to gain on the enemy, and persevered in the engagement. By nine, he had got within pistol shot of the Menagere's quarter, and was just preparing to pour into her, a broadside of round and grape shot; but the enemy, aware of this, threw their ship up in the wind, hauled down their colours, and hailed, that they had struck. Captain Luttrell took possession of the prize as soon as possible: and judging, that he was then only five miles from the entrance of Ferrol, where the cannonade must have been heard, he made the utmost dispatch, to get both ships off from the land.

At eleven that night, the Alexander prize joined company. The Mediator's fore-shrouds, and a great deal of her running rigging being shot away, prevented her from making much sail for two hours, during which time two hundred prisoners were put on board her. She then made sail with her prizes, and stood off shore to the westward. On the 13th at day-break, they saw the island Sisargo, distant five or six leagues; and

discerned in the offing, the Dauphin Royal and the brig, which had fled in the beginning of the action. Both of them had felt the squall of wind in a severer degree than the Mediator had done; for the former had lost her main-topmast and was otherwise much disabled, and the latter had lost all her masts, except part of her lower masts. The sight of them, in this condition, was very tempting to Captain Luttrell; but he had already so many prisoners on board, both of his own ship and of the two prizes, that it required his utmost efforts to navigate the vessels, and to guard them properly. He therefore would not risk the safety of the ship committed to his charge, by making more prizes, and having more prisoners than he could manage, and accordingly made sail for England.

In these several actions, his Majesty's ship was so fortunate as not to have a man killed or wounded. This was owing to the enemy directing their fire entirely at the masts and rigging of the ship, in hopes of disabling her. Her lower rigging forward, and some abaft was shot away: and her main-top-gallant-mast, studding-sail and yard, and fore-top-gallant-yard, topmast, rigging, sails, and running rigging were, in general, much cut. This, with a few shot in the bows, was all the damage she sustained.

The enemy did not come off so well: for on board of the *Alexander*, six men were killed, and nine wounded; and on board of the *Menagere*, a M. d'Armignac, a gentleman of property in the island of St. Domingo, and three seamen were killed, and seven or eight wounded.

Captain Luttrell treated his prisoners with great tenderness and lenity, and made their situation as comfortable as circumstances would permit. The private men were confined below, and a few were permitted to come up at a time. The officers were treated with uncommon kindness, and were allowed to mess with the Lieutenants of the ship. Among this number was Captain Gregory of the *Alexander*, who made so base a return for the civilities he received, as would have justified Captain Luttrell in practising the utmost severity against him.

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The use which he made of the liberty granted him, was to lay a plot for the prisoners to rise, and endeavour to become masters of the King's ship. This desperate scheme would certainly have been put in practice, if it had not been prevented by the indefatigable attention of the officers of the ship, and of Lieutenant Rankin of the marines, in disposing and regulating the centries and others as a guard; and by the precaution that was fortunately taken, of ordering all the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun-deck, to be battened down with capstan bars, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, where, in case of an alarm, the general rendezvous was fixed. The signal agreed to be given by Mr. Gregory for the prisoners to rise, was the firing of one of the lower deck guns, an eighteen pounder, in the gun-room, where he slept. On the 14th of December, about ten o'clock at night, he gave the concerted signal, which occasioned a general alarm on board; and soon after it, a cry of fire was heard. The officer of the watch came, and reported to Captain Luttrell, that one of the lee ports in the gun-room was blown away into the sea, by the firing of the gun, and that the water was making in. The Captain ordered the ship to be wore round, to get the port-hole covered with tarpaulins, and properly secured. As soon as this was done, he went down, found the gun-room on fire, and every thing shattered, that was near the explosion. Gregory and his accomplices were dressed, though they had pretended to go to bed: and, in their cot was found gun-powder, which they had provided for the purpose of priming the gun. In short, there was every proof, necessary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it, as an alarm to make the prisoners rise. He had also endeavoured to provide himself with a sword; but being disappointed in his project, he begged his life. A cry of fire forwards was heard among the prisoners, when the signal gun was fired; but from the precautions that had been taken in having them properly secured, they were prevented from rising to execute the plot. Every thing being discovered and settled, Captain Luttrell ordered Mr. Gregory,



Gregory, together with such of his officers and men, as he had reason to believe were concerned in the conspiracy, to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. Captain Luttrell, in his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, very properly observes, that he would not have troubled the Lords of the Admiralty with a narrative of this affair, but in justice to his Majesty's colours, under which no prisoners are undeservedly treated with rigour. The officers of the Menagere, having always conducted themselves like men of honour, he was happy to have the pleasure of continuing them at his table, with the usual confidence in their parole.

The bravery shewn by the officers and crew of the Mediator, in the action; and their good conduct and seamanship, both before and after it, are very conspicuous: and gave great satisfaction to Captain Luttrell, who, in his public letter, says, "When their Lordships consider the force offering us battle, and at first united to oppose us, they will, I trust, be convinced, that our success was chiefly owing to the exertions and activity of the officers and men, in working the ship, as well as in fighting her."

The Jupiter, Captain Pasley, took the Boulogne privateer of St. Malo, of sixteen guns. The Crown and Panther took the Pigmy cutter, of fourteen guns and ninety-two men. The Fly sloop took the Escamateur, a French privateer, of fourteen guns and sixty-five men.

On the 18th of April, Captain Collins of the *Æolus*, being off Cape Cornwall, took, after a chase of eight hours, l'*Aglæe*, a privateer belonging to St. Malo's, of twenty guns, six and nine pounders, and one hundred and twenty-one men. She was purchased by Government, and made a sloop in the Royal Navy, by the same name.

On the 23d of April, the Crocodile frigate, in company with the Scourge and Helena sloops, part of the squadron under the orders of Vice-Admiral Drake, being on a cruize, took the Active Roebuck, a French cutter privateer, of eighteen six and two

two twelve pounders, and one hundred and thirty-three men, commanded by one Chitty, an Englishman.

The *Bucephalus* privateer of Sunderland, of twenty-two nine pounders, on the 12th of May, about six leagues off Dimlington, fell in with three Dutch privateers, of ten six and four pounders each, called the *Vrow Maria*, *De Dree Brothers*, and *De Dree Sisters*, from the *Texel*. An engagement immediately took place, which lasted an hour and a half, in which the *Bucephalus* had not a man either killed or wounded; but the three Dutch vessels were much shattered, and having lost a number of men in the action, they all three struck their colours.

It would be almost impossible, to enumerate all the gallant actions that were performed by privateers, fighting under the British flag, or to mention by name, the many and valuable prizes which they made. It is sufficient to say, that by their means, the trade of both France and Spain suffered much. Nor can it be supposed, that the commerce of Britain was not very materially injured, by the host of foes, with which she had to contend. This consideration alone made peace a most desirable object: and, towards the close of autumn this year, negotiations for that purpose were begun at Paris, under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany, and the Empress of Russia. The new Administration in England were sincerely disposed to an accommodation, from the moment in which they came into power: and the Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, now Lord Grenville, was sent to Paris, supposed to be vested with powers to settle the necessary preliminaries, and to smooth the way for opening a negotiation in due form. These, it was supposed, would be easily adjusted, because the great and mighty obstacle to this business, was understood to be already removed, by the disposition which appeared in the British Cabinet, to grant independence to America. When this was allowed, France had seemingly no reason for continuing the war; for, the attainment of this object, was the sole cause of her commencing hostilities with Great Britain.

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As to her conquests and losses, they were nearly balanced, when the former in the West Indies, are weighed against the latter in the East Indies. France, however, had another reason for secretly desiring peace: and this was the exhausted condition of her public treasury; for this war, while it lasted, had in reality proved one of the most expensive, in which that kingdom had ever been engaged. Her extraordinary exertions at sea; the opposite extremes of the globe in which they were made; the great and frequent losses sustained in the supply of her navy; and the immense current charges to which it was subjected, by the greatness of the distance to which it must often be conveyed, were drains sufficient of themselves, to embarrass her finances: but to these must be added, the money, troops, ships, and warlike stores of all sorts, with which she abundantly supplied the revolted colonies in North America, and which may well be supposed, altogether, in point of expence, greatly to exceed the sums which she had been accustomed to expend, in maintaining and paying vast armies in support of her ambitious projects, in the course of her continental wars, and in subsidies which she had long been in the habit of paying to some of the European potentates. Although the commerce of France had sustained great losses, it might still be regarded as flourishing: yet this alone, was insufficient to find funds for so great an expenditure; and with all the reforms she had adopted, for decreasing the expence of her government, she would have been distressed beyond measure, to have found means to carry on the war for two years longer. As to Spain, her motives for entering into the war, if they could be accounted for at all, were to the last degree romantic: and her conduct in it was highly impolitic. She was led into it as an auxiliary, in consequence of the family compact. Her lending her aid to form a great and independent Empire in America was, as a precedent, the most dangerous and alarming measure that she could possibly pursue; a measure from which she had the most fatal consequences to apprehend. Perhaps, at the time when she was prevailed upon to join France, she did not think it possible, though



though the design was then avowed, that ever such an event could take place. His Catholic Majesty's entering into the war can, therefore, be accounted for only by supposing, that he was so dazzled by the splendid objects of Gibraltar and Jamaica, as to disregard every other consideration. He was induced to believe, that the conquest of the island of Minorca, was only a forerunner to the reduction of the other two. For the attainment of these ends, the most amazing sums were lavished with so unsparring hand, as greatly embarrassed her finances. She had, it is true, subdued the province of West Florida, and taken the Bahama Islands, which last, she estimated at a high rate in the negotiation; but these were most honourably and gallantly recovered, by a handful of private adventurers, before any accounts of the peace had transpired. As to Holland, it must be owned, that in the negotiation for a peace, she never appeared, at any Congress, in so poor a light as she now did, since her independence as a republic had been acknowledged: and she could scarcely be regarded, but as a dependant of France, upon whose favour, generosity, and protection, she entirely relied. With respect to Great Britain, it must be acknowledged, that she stood as much in need of peace, as any of the other belligerent powers. A long and unsuccessful war, carried on at an immense expence, had plunged her deep in debt: she had been assailed by France, Spain, Holland, and her revolted colonies in North America, without one ally, who could afford her the least essential assistance: many of her West India possessions had been torn from her, her commerce had been diminished, and what she still retained, was in hourly danger of being attacked. From this picture, one would be led to think, that there was a certainty of peace: but, for some time, that long wished-for event seemed very uncertain; for all parties were preparing with the greatest assiduity for another campaign. Mr. Grenville accomplished the end of his mission, and the negotiation commenced. Mr. Fitzherbert, (now Lord St. Helens), his Majesty's Minister at Brussels, proceeded to Paris, the King hav-

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ing appointed him his plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace with the Ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Richard Oswald, a merchant, was likewise dispatched to the same place, as Commissioner from his Britannic Majesty, for treating of a peace with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners appointed for the same purpose, on the part of the United States of America.

The severe check, which the Spaniards had got to their design of attacking the island of Jamaica this campaign, was so far from making them relinquish their plan for that conquest, that they redoubled their efforts, in hopes of better success the ensuing season. For this purpose, the Comte d'Estaing, whom the King of Spain requested to command the naval force destined for this service, repaired early to Madrid, to receive his instructions: and, from that, proceeded to Cadiz; where he hoisted his flag, and was very active in getting the fleet ready for sea. This fleet was to escort a body of infantry, along with whom were embarked, a large battering train of artillery, and every requisite necessary for carrying on a siege. M. de la Mothe Piquet was appointed second in command of the French squadron. Soon after the Comte arrived at Cadiz, he was joined by ten sail of the line, and a number of transports, having on board six thousand men from Brest. With this grand combined armament, he was to proceed to Cape François in the island of Hispaniola, and there to form a junction with M. de Vaudreuil. To this place, the King of Spain had ordered Don Bernard de Galvez, who was to command the land-forces, and Don Joseph Solano to repair, with all the troops and ships of war that could be spared from the Havannah. The Spaniards boasted, that when this mighty armada was assembled, it would consist of sixty-six ships of the line, a number of frigates and small vessels of war, and twenty-four thousand regular troops. This force, they said, was so great, that Britain could send out nothing able to oppose it with success, and they of course, regarded Jamaica as already their own. The siege of Gibraltar was,

was, in the mean time, continued with unremitting vigour. The preparations of the French were almost as formidable as those of the Spaniards: for, independent of the great naval and land force which they had sent to the West Indies, they were to send out very strong reinforcements of troops and ships to the East, and these were, on their way thither, to make an attack on the island of St. Helena. As soon as the season would permit, the Spanish and French fleets, under Don Louis de Cordova and the Comte de Guichen, were once more to appear in the British Channel, where they were to be joined by a Dutch squadron: and they hoped thus to obtain the complete command of the European seas.

Notwithstanding of all these mighty designs, Great Britain was not dismayed: and Administration pursued every measure that could be devised, to render them abortive. A strong reinforcement of ships, under Commodore Elliot, and also of troops, were ordered to proceed to Jamaica, to reinforce Admiral Pigot and General Campbell.\* Part of these troops, were supposed to be destined to retake the Dutch settlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo. After having received these reinforcements, the fleet under Admiral Pigot might amount to sixty-two ships of the line, and a number of frigates; and General Campbell would have under his command, about five thousand regular troops, and the whole militia of the island; so that, if the enemy had put their threats in execution, they would not have found the conquest of Jamaica so easy a matter as they imagined. Commodore Elliot, with his squadron, sailed from Spithead on the 10th of September, and was scarcely out of sight, when an express arrived at Portsmouth, with orders for him not to proceed on his voyage, in consequence of the preliminary articles of peace being adjusted. A sloop of war was immediately detached after the Commodore, which overtook him in the Channel, and he returned the next day with his squadron, to their former anchoring ground.

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\* See Note 312.



A squadron was ordered, and troops were embarked on board of transports, for some enterprize, which was kept a profound secret. Various were the conjectures of the public concerning the object of this armament; but from the size of the ships employed, and from other concurrent circumstances, it was generally believed to be intended against Buenos Ayres, in the River de la Plata, in South America, near to which place, it was reported, that a great number of the natives had taken arms against the Spanish government: and that it was to act in concert with the insurgents. The fleet ordered on this expedition was to be commanded by Commodore Sir John Jervis, K. B. ;\* and the land-forces by Lieutenant-General Sir John Dalling, having under him Major-General Edward Smith.

The naval reinforcements, designed for the East Indies, were particularly unfortunate; for Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, who had been appointed to the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels on that station, hoisted his flag on board the *Cato*, a new ship of fifty guns, and sailed from Spithead on the 13th of October; but owing to what dire misfortune has never been ascertained, this gallant officer never reached his destination. After sailing, he with ship and crew were never heard of more. Three sail of the line and a frigate sailed from Spithead, for the East Indies, on the 16th of January, 1783;† but, soon after they left the Channel, they were overtaken by a violent storm, in which two of the former, and the latter, were so much disabled, as to be under a necessity of returning to England. The *Europe* of sixty-four guns, having suffered less than the others in the gale, proceeded on her voyage alone. Other ships‡ were immediately ordered to supply the place of those, which were thus prevented from fulfilling their orders; but before they were ready for this service, the articles of peace were signed, and they were countermanded.

Commodore the Hon. John Leveson Gower, was appointed to the command of the squadron destined for the Channel service,

\* See Note 333.

† See Note 334.

‡ See Note 335.

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vice, in place of Commodore Elliot. Commodore the Hon. Keith Stewart, was appointed to command the squadron destined to observe the motions of the Dutch fleet: and the command of the grand fleet was intrusted to Lord Viscount Howe; who had under him, Vice-Admirals Barrington and Milbank, Rear-Admiral Alexander Hood, and Commodore Hotham. Fortunately, however, the ravages of war, and a farther effusion of human blood, were put a stop to, by the signing of the articles of peace. Of this necessary and important business, no part bears so much the marks of precipitation, not to call it ignorance, as the provisional articles between Great Britain and the United States of America. They were much sooner settled, than those between Great Britain and the European powers with which she was at war. They were signed on the 30th of November, 1782, and were to be included in any future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and the other belligerent powers should take place. It cannot be doubted, that Mr. Oswald acted by orders from the Ministry. Be that as it may: in this business the Americans had manifestly the advantage; for, in adjusting the boundaries, several imaginary lines were drawn, which, intersecting immense countries, lakes, and rivers, threw into their hands vast tracts of land and water, to which they had no prior claim. Besides the fertile and extensive countries on the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, which came within this description, these limits trenching deeply on the boundaries, both of Canada and Nova Scotia; and the fur trade was therefore considered as in a manner given up, as almost all the forts and carrying-places were situated on what was, by this treaty, to become part of the territory of the United States of America. This capital blunder, and the neglect of the American loyalists, in the treaty with the Americans, proved the destruction of Lord Shelburne's Administration.

The Parliament met on the 5th of December, 1782. On

the opening of the session, his Majesty made the following speech to both Houses:

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ SINCE the close of the last sessions, I have employed my whole time in the care and attention, which the important and critical conjuncture of public affairs required of me.

“ I lost no time, in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my Parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

“ Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the Court of France.

“ In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the Empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities, which have formerly proved in the mother-country, how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition shall be wanting on my part.

“ While



“ While I have carefully abstained from all offensive operations against America, I have directed my whole force, by land and sea, against the other powers at war, with as much vigour as the situation of that force at the commencement of the campaign would permit. I trust, that you feel the advantages resulting from the safety of the great branches of our trade. You must have seen with pride and satisfaction, the gallant defence of the Governor and the garrison of Gibraltar; and my fleet, after having effected the object of their destination, offering battle to the combined force of France and Spain on their own coasts; those of my kingdoms have remained at the same time perfectly secure, and your domestic tranquillity uninterrupted. This respectable state, under the blessing of God, I attribute to the entire confidence which subsists between me and my people, and to the readiness which has been shewn by my subjects in my city of London, and in other parts of my kingdoms, to stand forth in the general defence. Some proofs have lately been given of public spirit in private men, which would do honour to any age, and any country.

“ Having manifested to the whole world, by the most lasting examples, the signal spirit and bravery of my people, I conceive it a moment not unbecoming my dignity, and thought it a regard due to the lives and fortunes of such brave and gallant subjects, to shew myself ready, on my part, to embrace fair and honourable terms of accommodation with all the powers at war.

“ I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that negotiations to this effect are considerably advanced, the result of which, as soon as they are brought to a conclusion, shall be immediately communicated to you.

“ I have every reason to hope and believe, that I shall have it in my power, in a very short time, to acquaint you, that they have ended in terms of pacification, which, I trust, you will see just cause to approve. I rely however with perfect confidence on the wisdom of my Parliament, and the spirit of

“ my people, that if any unforeseen change in the dispositions  
“ of the belligerent powers should frustrate my confident ex-  
“ pectations, they will approve of the preparations I have  
“ thought it advisable to make, and be ready to second the most  
“ vigorous efforts in the further prosecution of the war.”

*“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ I have endeavoured, by every measure in my power, to  
“ diminish the burdens of my people. I lost no time in taking  
“ the most decided measures for introducing a better economy  
“ into the expenditure of the army.

“ I have carried into strict execution the several reductions  
“ in my civil list expences, directed by an act of the last  
“ sessions. I have introduced a further reform into other de-  
“ partments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them.  
“ I have by this means so regulated my establishments, that  
“ my expence shall not in future exceed my income.

“ I have ordered the estimate of the civil list debt, laid be-  
“ fore you last sessions, to be completed. The debt proving  
“ somewhat greater than could be then correctly stated, and  
“ the proposed reduction not immediately taking place, I trust  
“ you will provide for the deficiency, securing, as before, the  
“ repayment out of my annual income.

“ I have ordered inquiry to be made into the application of  
“ the sum voted in support of the American sufferers; and I  
“ trust that you will agree with me, that a due and generous  
“ attention ought to be shewn to those who have relinquished  
“ their properties or professions, from motives of loyalty to  
“ me, or attachment to the mother-country.

“ As it may be necessary to give stability to some regulations  
“ by act of Parliament, I have ordered accounts of the several  
“ establishments, incidental expences, fees, and other emolu-  
“ ments of office, to be laid before you. Regulations have  
“ already taken place in some, which it is my intention to ex-  
“ tend to all, and which, besides expediting all public business,  
“ must

“ must produce a very considerable saving, without taking  
“ from that ample encouragement which ought to be held forth  
“ to talents, diligence, and integrity, wherever they are to be  
“ found.

“ I have directed an inquiry to be made into whatever re-  
“ gards the landed revenue of my crown, as well as the ma-  
“ nagement of my woods and forests, that both may be made  
“ as beneficial as possible, and that the latter may furnish a  
“ certain resource for supplying the navy, our great national  
“ bulwark, with its first material.

“ I have directed an investigation into the department of the  
“ Mint, that the purity of the coin, of so much importance  
“ to commerce, may be always adhered to ; that, by render-  
“ ing the difficulty of counterfeiting greater, the lives of num-  
“ bers may be saved, and every needless expence in it sup-  
“ pressed.

“ I must recommend to you an immediate attention to the  
“ great objects of the public receipts and expenditure ; and  
“ above all, to the state of the public debt. Notwithstanding  
“ the great increase of it during the war, it is to be hoped, that  
“ such regulations may still be established, such savings made,  
“ and future loans so conducted, as to promote the means of its  
“ gradual redemption by a fixed course of payment. I must,  
“ with particular earnestness, distinguish for your serious con-  
“ sideration, that part of the debt which consists of navy,  
“ ordnance, and victualling bills : the enormous discount upon  
“ some of these bills shews this mode of payment to be a most  
“ ruinous expedient.

“ I have ordered the several estimates, made up as correctly  
“ as the present practice would admit, to be laid before you.  
“ I hope, that such further corrections as may be necessary  
“ will be made before the next year. It is my desire, that you  
“ should be apprised of every expence before it is incurred, as  
“ far as the nature of each service can possibly admit. Matters  
“ of account can never be made too public.”



*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ The scarcity, and consequent high price of corn, requires  
“ your instant interposition.

“ The great excess to which the crimes of theft and robbery,  
“ in many instances accompanied with personal violence, par-  
“ ticularly in the neighbourhood of this metropolis, has called  
“ of late for a strict and severe execution of the laws. It were  
“ much to be wished that these crimes could be prevented in  
“ their infancy, by correcting the vices become prevalent in a  
“ most alarming degree.

“ The liberal principles adopted by you concerning the rights  
“ and commerce of Ireland, have done you the highest honour,  
“ and will, I trust, increase that harmony, which ought always  
“ to subsist between the two kingdoms. I am persuaded that  
“ a general increase of commerce throughout the Empire, will  
“ prove the wisdom of your measures with regard to that ob-  
“ ject. I would recommend to you a revision of our whole  
“ trading system upon the same comprehensive principles, with  
“ a view to its utmost possible extension.

“ The regulation of a vast territory in Asia, opens a large  
“ field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight. I trust that  
“ you will be able to frame some fundamental laws, which may  
“ make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India ;  
“ and that you will take therein proper measures to give all  
“ foreign nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire  
“ and perfect confidence in the probity, punctuality, and good  
“ order of our government. You may be assured, that what-  
“ ever depends upon me shall be executed with a steadiness,  
“ which can alone preserve that part of my dominions, or the  
“ commerce which arises from it.

“ It is the fixed object of my heart, to make the general  
“ good, and the true spirit of the constitution, the invariable  
“ rule of my conduct, and on all occasions to advance and re-  
“ ward merit in every profession.

“ Te

“ To insure the full advantage of a government conducted  
 “ on such principles, depends on your temper, your wisdom,  
 “ your disinterestedness, collectively and individually.

“ My people expect these qualifications of you, and I call  
 “ for them.”

Great Britain had never, at the conclusion of any war, made such great concessions to obtain peace, as at the close of this contest. His Majesty, in his speech, appears to have felt this severely; but, in his mind, the good of the people intrusted to his care, overbalanced every other consideration. Britain had never before experienced so many miseries and losses, in any war in which she had been engaged: and when there was a prospect of peace being once more restored to the nation, it was to be hoped, that the violence of party rage, would not prevent her from enjoying the blessings of tranquillity. The contrary, however, was the case. The addresses from both Houses to the King, on his most gracious speech from the throne, were opposed with great warmth; but opposition gave up the point, and they were at last carried without a division. This calm, was far from being an indication that the storm was over: both parties were busy in gaining friends to support them, when the important question concerning the peace, came to be agitated before Parliament. In the mean time, the steps pursued by Administration, were well calculated to gain the confidence of the public. They were active and vigorous: and lest the negotiations for peace should fail of success, they took every measure to enable the nation to carry on the war with effect. The House of Commons voted one hundred and ten thousand men to be employed in the sea-service, for the year 1783, including twenty-five thousand two hundred and ninety marines: and the whole supplies granted by Parliament, in the course of the session, amounted to the enormous sum of 19,788,863*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*

To encourage valour, and to express the gratitude which was due to essential services, the thanks of both Houses were

x x 477 VOTES IN FAVOUR WERE VOTED

voted to General Elliot, for his gallant defence of Gibraltar ; to Lieutenant-General Boyd, to Major-General La Motte, Major-General Green, chief engineer, to Sir Roger Curtis, and to the other officers, soldiers, and sailors, employed in the defence of that fortress. They were also voted to Lord Viscount Howe, for the important service he had rendered to his country, by his relief of Gibraltar, and by his gallant and able manœuvres of the fleet under his command, against a superior force of the enemy. A like honour was conferred upon Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, for the important services performed by the squadron under his command in the East Indies, on the 17th of February, and on the 12th of April, 1782 ; and also, to Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, for the great perseverance which he displayed, and the indefatigable pains which he employed, to surmount the difficulties, in which the affairs of the Carnatic were involved ; and for the gallant and spirited exertions which he had made, from the time when he put himself at the head of the army, in that quarter of India.

As the King's speech to both Houses of Parliament, avowed the granting of independence to the revolted colonies in North America, a strong and a general curiosity prevailed with the public, to know the precise terms of the provisional treaty. Mr. Secretary Townshend, to prevent the mischiefs resulting from speculating in the funds, had addressed a letter to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, dated November 22d, 1782, in which he stated, that the negotiations carrying on at Paris, were brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion either for peace or war, before the meeting of the Parliament. Upon the 3d day of December following, he addressed a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, in which he acquainted him, that a messenger had just arrived from Paris, with an account of provisional articles having been signed on the 30th of November, by his Majesty's Commissioners, and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in a treaty of peace, to be concluded, when pacific terms should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France.

By



By this time, the party in opposition to Administration were become very formidable, and had many adherents, who inveighed with great asperity, against the ambiguous language of these letters; which, they said, served to encourage apprehensions and doubts. Instead of preventing speculations in the funds, they affirmed, that the first letter would promote the very end which it was intended to frustrate; for, it clearly courted an immediate speculation, upon an event which was held out as soon to happen. The Secretary's second letter was spoken of, as still more absurd than his first; as, notwithstanding his promise, it announced neither peace nor war, and kept up a mysterious suspense, on a topic which Administration could not explain with too much precision to the public, who, on this occasion, considered themselves as extremely ill used by being kept in ignorance of so important a fact, while it must be known to the Courts of France and Spain, to the Commissioners of America, and to the Dutch. This secrecy, said the opposition, could arise only from the Ministers being ashamed of what they had done: they had submitted to shameful stipulations, and had been deluded by French artifices. This uncommunicative disposition in the Ministry, made the opposition party in both Houses insist for the information which, they said, they had a right to demand, and brought on most violent debates. These arguments, however, were pressed in vain on the Earl of Shelburne; for he peremptorily avoided entering upon the question. On the 23d of December, 1782, the Parliament was adjourned till the 21st of January, 1783.

1783.

DURING the recess, the opposition gained a considerable acquisition of strength. The Cabinet were not unanimous in their approbation of the preliminary articles of peace: and, as they were such as Lord Viscount Keppel, the First Lord of the Admiralty, could not approve, he resigned his office. He con-  
sidered

sidered the terms of peace about to be accepted, as much inferior to what Great Britain had a right to expect. The Earl of Carlisle, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, likewise resigned. On the 28th of January, 1783, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Richard Viscount Howe, Admiral Hugh Pigot, Charles Brett, and Richard Hopkins, Esqrs. the Hon. John Jefferies Pratt, John Aubrey, Esq; and the Hon. John Leveson Gower, Commissioners of the Admiralty.\*

The negotiations for peace with the Dutch were not attended with the same success, as those with the other belligerent powers. This business was retarded, by the plenipotentiaries of the States General presenting a Memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert at Paris, in which intimations were made of some advantages which they expected, and which could not be granted. To this Mr. Fitzherbert replied with great spirit: and while this matter was transacting, the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, were agreed upon, and signed at Paris on the 20th of January, 1783: and, together with the provisional articles with America, were, by his Majesty's command, soon after the meeting of Parliament, laid before the House of Lords by Lord Grantham, and before the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Townshend. They were ordered by both Houses to be printed, so that the nation at large might have an opportunity of perusing them attentively, and of passing their opinion on their merits or demerits. As might be expected, various sentiments were entertained of this important business; but before the treaties with France and Spain could be taken into the consideration of Parliament, it was necessary that they should be ratified. This transaction being at length announced, motions were made in both Houses of Parliament, to take them into consideration; and to inquire, at the same time, into the treaty with the United States of America. The 17th of February was the day fixed for discussing this

\* Such readers as may be desirous of reading the various treaties alluded to, will find complete copies of them in the Appendix, Note 336.

this subject. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Pembroke opened the business, and expressed a hope, that the treaties now before them, would meet with their Lordships' approbation, which he enforced with very strong arguments; and concluded, by moving an address of thanks to his Majesty, for relieving his subjects from a burdensome war. The motion was seconded by the Marquis of Carmarthen, (afterwards Duke of Leeds); but it met with a very warm opposition from several noble Lords, and in particular, from the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Loughborough. The former of these Lords said, that he reprobated the negotiations for peace, as injurious in the highest degree, to the interests and dignity of the nation; the condition of which required, and ought to have commanded articles, more beneficial and honourable. The exhausted finances of France, the disappointment of Spain in her mighty attempts against Gibraltar, and the severe losses which had been sustained by Holland, were considerations infinitely in our favour; and though our debts were great, the people were generous. Peace might indeed be an object to be desired; but it ought to have been pursued with dignity, and obtained with honour. The treatment which the American loyalists had received, he considered as a most wanton and unwarrantable oppression. Here the want of policy, and the contempt of humanity, were joined together. To sacrifice men, who had encountered the greatest hazards to preserve their loyalty to Great Britain, was a disgrace not less flagrant than pusillanimous. It was an encouragement to desert loyalty and the crown, in the day of temptation and danger: and it was to foster the spirit of mutiny and revolt. Nor was this all. His Majesty's Ministers had, through an extreme inaccuracy, or an egregious ignorance, drawn such a line of boundary between America and Great Britain, as delivered Canada and Nova Scotia, fettered into the hands of the Congress. The forts, the passes, the fittest places for the fur trade; all that was valuable, was surrendered to our enemies. Our concessions were made with so heedless a prodigality, that even the free navigation



tion of the Mississippi, so affectedly granted to us, was rendered useless and abortive. Our Indian allies too, who placed a confidence in us, and who had been taught to account Great Britain as the greatest kingdom in the world, were left to their fate: and our national faith was meanly exposed, not merely to suspicions, but to the most open and certain reproach. The transactions of the Ministry were so absurd, so impolitic, so unjust, and so cruel, that no apology could be made for them: and it would be in vain to look back into our annals, for an example of such an accumulation of folly and wickedness. He concluded by moving an amendment to the address, which, if it had been carried, would have fixed a severe censure on his Majesty's Ministers. Lords Walsingham and Stormont supported the Earl of Carlisle's arguments and amendment. This called up the Earl of Shelburne, who defended himself and his colleagues with great ability. He said, that peace was the object, for which the nation at large had discovered the most unequivocal desire: and that in conducting it, men profoundly skilled in trade, and in all that related to it, had been anxiously consulted. He defended the principles on which the line of limits between America and Great Britain had been drawn, as resulting from sound policy; and affirmed, that the giving up of the forts, was a sure means to preserve peace with the Americans, and that it freed Great Britain, from the enormous expence of keeping garrisons in them. He mentioned the American loyalists with the greatest regret and commiseration. He said, that his feelings for them were as pungent, as those of their greatest admirers. The necessity of submitting to the discretion of their enemies was most unhappy. There was but one answer to be given to this particular; and that answer alone, included the principle, that could reconcile the measure to his bleeding heart. A part must be wounded, that the whole Empire might not perish. If better terms could have been procured, he would have embraced them with the greatest cordiality. Peace was absolutely necessary to our very existence as a nation. The best terms of accommodation had  
been

been procured; and they could only be opposed, or decried, by pride, ignorance, and faction. The assertions of the Minister were ably combated by Lord Loughborough, who, in a flow of the most elegant language, exposed all the defects of the treaties. He was answered by Lord Thurlow, in whom Administration found a very able defender. At length the House divided, when there appeared for the address, seventy-two; against it, fifty-nine.

In the House of Commons, the Minister was less successful. Here an address of thanks to the King, in terms nearly similar to that of the House of Lords, was moved for by Mr. Thomas Pitt, (afterwards Lord Camelford), and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce. Both of these gentlemen meant to demonstrate, that at this juncture, peace was essentially necessary for the salvation of this country. Lord John Cavendish differed much in opinion from these two gentlemen. He declared, that he was fond of peace; but that the question was not, will you have this peace, or continue the war? The real question was, under our present circumstances, could a better peace have been obtained? This question did not admit of an easy answer, and called for a serious deliberation. After several strong arguments, he concluded by moving, that, to the address for thanking his Majesty for laying before the House the articles of the different treaties, there should be annexed the following words: "His faithful Commons will proceed to consider the treaties, with that serious and faithful attention, which a subject of such importance to the present and future interests of his Majesty's dominions deserves. That, in the mean time, they entertain the fullest confidence in his Majesty's paternal care, that he will concert with his Parliament such measures, as may be expedient for extending the commerce of his Majesty's subjects. That whatever may be the sentiments of his faithful Commons on this investigation of the terms of pacification, they beg leave to assure his Majesty, of their firm and unalterable resolution, to adhere invariably to the several articles, for which the public faith

" is

“is pledged, and to maintain the blessings of peace, so necessary to his Majesty’s subjects, and the general happiness of mankind.” This motion was seconded with great ability by the Hon. John St. John. Lord North spoke with his usual force of language against the address; which was defended by Mr. Powys and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, with great force of argument. The Hon. Mr. Fox was pointedly severe against the address; and supported his arguments with shrewd observations. Having, in the course of the debate, been attacked as inconsistent, because, while he was one of his Majesty’s servants, he had been solicitous to obtain peace with the Dutch; he replied, that he meant not to conceal the part he had acted with Holland: his letter was public: and his sentiments could not be misunderstood. The Dutch, having been plunged into a war without a serious cause, it was his opinion, that they might have been withdrawn from it, by liberal offers of peace. But since these offers were rejected, and they had behaved with haughtiness, a new situation was produced; and they ought to be punished for their insolence. They had forfeited every title to favour; and as we lost greatly by the war, it would have been right, to have provided a recompence to us, in the possession of Trincomalé, and of other objects. A rumour had gone abroad, that this claim was to be abandoned; and if it was so, nothing would be wanting, to render the present peace the most disastrous and humiliating, that had ever disgraced any country. Mr. Pitt, the Chancellor of Exchequer, answered Mr. Fox, defended the motion for the address, and displayed very great abilities in his speech. He remarked, that the clamours against the peace were noisy in proportion to their injustice. It was natural, that men who complained without cause, should endeavour to acquire importance, by the intemperance of their language. The resolutions of the House of Commons had bound Ministers to recognise the independency of America: and this obligation took away from them, the ground of advantage in negotiating; and demonstrated, that the terms which had been settled, were the best that could



could possibly be obtained, considering our present situation. Several other members took a part in the debate; and when the House divided, the Ministry were defeated: the numbers being for the amendment, two hundred and twenty-four; against it, two hundred and eight: majority against Administration, sixteen.

The defeat of the Minister, in the House of Commons, on the subject of the address to the throne, was the universal topic of conversation: and was regarded as the certain forerunner of his resignation. The opposition, having gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons, followed up their victory, by moving for the production of a number of official papers respecting the navy, which was considered as a preparatory step, to their publicly announcing their disapprobation of the terms of the peace, which Administration had just made. Accordingly, it was not long before they took that measure; for, on the 21st of February, Lord John Cavendish made a motion in the House of Commons, for the House to bestow its attention, upon the spirit and tendency of the peace. This, he said, was the more necessary, as an opinion had been artfully spread abroad, that the majority for the amendment on the address of thanks to the throne, had actually voted against the peace. It was obvious, however, from the words of the amendment, that no idea of that kind was ever entertained; and it was natural to conclude, that this report had arisen from motives of faction. It was therefore proper to contradict it; and, with this view, he had framed some propositions, which he now held in his hand. He was clearly of opinion, that the relative situation of affairs of this country, and of the belligerent powers, was a foundation, which would support him in affirming, that the peace was inadequate to what we were entitled to expect. The three treaties were disgraced by concessions, which we could have resisted; and to which, no consent should ever have been given. We had the dominion of the seas in the West Indies, and in America. The relief of Gibraltar was a demonstration, that we were able, not only to defend

our coasts and protect our trade ; but also, that we could meet the united fleets of France and Spain. It was true, our finances were in a reduced state. But the finances of our enemies were, at least, in a situation equally, if not more alarming. Our superiority, in every quarter of the globe, ought to have induced the Ministry to have shewn greater pride and spirit in their negotiations. He then proceeded to read his propositions, that the House, if it should think proper, might adopt them :

1st.—“ Resolved, That in consideration of the public faith, which ought to be preserved inviolate, this House will support his Majesty, in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitively, in consequence of the provisional treaty and preliminary articles, which have been laid before the House.

2d.—“ That this House will, in concurrence with his Majesty’s paternal regard for his people, employ its best endeavours to improve the blessings of peace, to the advantage of his crown and subjects.

3d.—“ That his Majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, by virtue of the powers vested in him by the act of the last session of Parliament, to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace, or truce, with certain colonies in North America, has acted as circumstances of affairs indispenfibly required, and in conformity to the sense of Parliament.

4th.—“ That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, by the said provisional treaty and preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength.

5th.—“ That this House do feel the regard due from this nation to every description of men, who, with the risk of their lives, and the sacrifice of their property, have distinguished their loyalty, and been conspicuous for their fidelity, during a long and a calamitous war: and to assure his Majesty,  
“ that

“ that they shall take every proper method to relieve them,  
 “ which the state of the circumstances of this country will  
 “ permit.” He concluded, with moving the first.

The Honourable St. Andrew St. John seconded the motion. The Honourable Keith Stewart said, that the conduct of Administration had been condemned by the noble Lord, on account of the great superiority of our navy in the West Indies. Now, he could assure the House from good authority, that the combined fleets in Cadiz harbour amounted to sixty sail of the line, all destined for the West Indies. Our boasted superiority could not therefore be of any long continuance there. In the East Indies, it was true, that on the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, we should have been able to have stood against the enemy: but, when those ships arrived there, which France intended, and was preparing to send, we should then be much inferior to them. As to our fleet at home, it would, last year, have been greatly inadequate to our defence, had it not been for the dissensions in Holland, which were carried to a much greater height, than even in this country. Our Baltic fleet was saved, only by the dissensions which reigned in the Dutch fleet, which kept them inactive the whole year, and gave Lord Howe the opportunity of relieving Gibraltar: but, was it reasonable to suppose, that our success should continue always? Or that the same cause, that preserved us last campaign, should exist still? Gentlemen should consider the danger to which this country must inevitably be exposed this summer. If the war had continued, the Dutch would certainly have exerted their force against us: by that time, they would have twenty-five sail of the line fit for sea, which, added to the combined fleets of France and Spain, must inevitably have ruined us. Mr. Secretary Townshend, (afterwards Viscount Sydney), after animadverting on the conduct of the mover of the resolutions in this business, said, as to the first proposition, that it certainly met his warmest approbation. It was not only proper, but, in his opinion, absolutely necessary, at a time when reports were circulating, that the House of Commons disapproved of the

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peace.



peace. With respect to the second and third propositions, he should not oppose them. The fourth proposition, which condemned the peace in direct terms, he was resolved to meet fairly, and to have it determined, either in the affirmative or negative; for he would not endeavour to evade a decision, by any parliamentary trick or artifice. As to the last proposition, relative to the loyalists, he was of opinion, to say the least of it, that it was premature. Several other members took a part in the debate. Some little time was spent in determining the point, whether the five propositions should be put and carried one by one, or altogether; but it was at length agreed, to put each motion separately. The first and second were accordingly put, and carried unanimously. The third was likewise carried, after some debate, and a small amendment being made to it. The fourth was then put, when a long and warm debate ensued, in which some of the first speakers in the House took a part: and several of them spoke of the coalition of parties, between Lord North and Mr. Fox, with great asperity. They both defended themselves with great ability: and some reflections having been cast on the state of the navy, during the time that Lord Keppel presided at the Admiralty Board, he said, to contend, as some have done, that the state of our navy was inadequate to the continuance of the war; and to found, on this assertion, an argument for the peace, was chimerical. It never had been dispatched upon a service to which it was inadequate. There was not a measure offensive or defensive, to which it had not been competent. Facts and circumstances, notorious and indisputable, were against the assertion. The number and condition of our ships were against it. Nor would Lord Keppel have resigned his place, because he disapproved of the peace, if he had been conscious of our naval inability for war. If he had been sensible, that the condition of our navy was inadequate to the relative service of war, he would have approved of the peace; because he must have seen, that the prolongation of the war would have destroyed his country. Mr. Fox had no sooner sat down, than the Chancellor of the

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Exchequer, Mr. W. Pitt, rose ; and, in a speech of two hours and a half in length, made a most able defence of his Majesty's Ministers, for concluding the peace, and of the terms they had obtained. At the beginning, this speech did not promise much ; but as Mr. Pitt proceeded, he brightened up, till he burst into a blaze of genius and ability, that arrested the attention, and excited the admiration of every person in the House. Few speeches have been made in Parliament, more comprehensive in their nature, more clear in their details of facts, more forcible in their reasoning, more just in their conclusions, or more pointed and powerful in their ridicule, than this. As our chief concern is in what relates to the navy and army, we shall select such parts of this celebrated speech, as were directed to those important objects. Mr. Pitt said, that as Mr. Fox had rested the merits of the question, on the comparative strength of the two countries, he would allow the issue to be a fair one, and would join it. He then went into a most elaborate detail of the state of our navy, denying, that the authority of the late First Lord of the Admiralty, great as it was, and as it confessedly ought to be, was that which he would submit to, as a criterion of the cause at issue. He said, that high authority had acted in a manner which the House ought to know. When called upon to state the force of the French navy, with a view to a negociation for peace, it had so happened, that he generally magnified their number of ships, and their strength. When desired to give the state of their marine, in order to guide and direct others in their plans of war, he had then considered their navy in another light, and reduced their number considerably. After this, he went into a description of the disposition of the marine of the House of Bourbon. That of France and Spain, he said, amounted to one hundred and forty sail of the line, while Britain had not more than one hundred sail of the line. A fleet of seventy-two ships of the line was destined to act against Jamaica, when Admiral Pigot would have only forty-six sail of the line to support it : and, it was a favourite maxim of many members of this

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House, that defensive war must end in ruin. The combined fleets of France and Spain at Cadiz, amounted to sixty sail of the line, a great part of which were to be detached to the West Indies, where they would have a decided superiority of strength. The remainder, when joined by some ships fitting out at Brest, and by what ships the Dutch could send to sea, would form such a force, as would give the enemies of Britain a decided superiority of naval strength in the European seas. The picture which he drew, of our military force, was far from representing it in a formidable point of view. New levies, he said, were with difficulty raised, in a country almost drained of men: and when raised, required some time to be disciplined. We might send, upon an offensive scheme, five or six thousand men; but what advantage could be derived from such a force as this? To have withdrawn the troops from the continent of America, was a critical game. There were no transports in which they might be embarked; and if it had been possible to embark them, in what miraculous manner were they to be protected against the fleets of the enemy? He passed a high encomium on the abilities of the Minister, who, he said, had stood forth in the hour of danger, and rescued his country, when on the brink of ruin. As for himself, he had acted with the approbation of his own mind: and, though he had no title to despise the honest emoluments of office, he was ready to retire, without a sigh, to a private station, if such a step could contribute, in the smallest degree, to soften the inquietudes of his country. In so doing, he should retire, not disappointed, but triumphant—triumphant in the conviction, that his talents, humble as they were, had been earnestly and zealously employed in promoting the welfare of his country: and, however he might stand chargeable with error of judgment, nothing could be imputed to him, that bore the smallest complexion of an interested, a corrupt, or a dishonest intention. Lord North vindicated his own Administration, and affirmed, that conscious of his own good intentions to serve his country, he was bold enough to say, that he defied either censure or punishment.



punishment. He justified the coalition he had with Mr. Fox, and approved of the propositions drawn up by Lord John Cavendish. Other members spoke: but it being past three in the morning, the House became quite impatient for the question, and, for some time, was in a continual uproar. After it had subsided, the Speaker put the question: "That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, by the provisional treaty and preliminary articles, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or their comparative strength?"

The House divided at half past three o'clock:

Ayes,	207
Noes,	190

Majority against the Minister, 17

As soon as the members returned to the House, Lord John Cavendish rose, and said, he would wave the fifth motion, which respected the loyalists, as it was contained in the address of the House on Monday last. The House adjourned to the 24th: and, on the 25th, they adjourned to the 28th, in order to give time to form a new arrangement of Ministers. This, it seems, was a matter not easily effected, as the coalition, confident of their strength, were desirous to enter into power, upon their own terms. The Ministry were not willing to go out of office; and various attempts were made to disunite the leaders of the new association: all these, however, proved abortive. Conferences with the King were repeatedly held, on the subject of forming a permanent Administration; but they came to nothing. The firmness of the coalition was not to be shaken. This sort of interregnum was fraught with many bad consequences, as the affairs of the nation were wholly neglected. It became the source of several disturbances: mutinies and riots became frequent all over the kingdom. Near to the town of Newcastle, in Staffordshire, a large body of potters at New Etruria left their work, and became extremely riotous; but they were got the better off, by the

activity and resolution of the magistrates, assisted by some companies of the Staffordshire and Carmarthenshire militia, whose behaviour on this occasion was much commended. The discharge of seamen, the reduction of several regiments, and the disembodiment of the different regiments of militia about this time, contributed to increase the scenes of tumult and confusion. The relaxation of the discipline to which they had been accustomed, increased their discontent, at the ill usage they had received, real or pretended; and made that spirit of turbulence, natural to men accustomed to arms, break out with greater violence than it would have otherwise done. A regiment of highlanders at Portsmouth, having received orders to embark for the East Indies, mutinied against their officers, several of whom they severely wounded, and refused to go on board the ships, declaring, that they had enlisted to serve during the war only. A regiment on board of transports at Spithead, under similar orders, mutinied; and obliged the sailors to weigh the anchors, and to conduct the vessels into the harbour, where the men disembarked. They were lodged in Hulsea Barracks, until their grievances should be inquired into. The complaints of the highland regiment were found to have arisen, from promises made by recruiting parties. They were marched into Scotland, and there disbanded. As to the other regiment; such men as had enlisted, to serve during the war only, were discharged: and the regiment returned to Ireland, there being no necessity for sending troops to the East Indies. Several other military corps mutinied; but, by the exertions of their officers, they were quelled: and some of the ringleaders were punished. The same spirit of mutiny seized on the sailors, as well as on the soldiers, particularly at Portsmouth, where several of the crews confined their officers. The whole of this disorder seems to have arisen, from not issuing clear and distinct orders to every ship, as one ship receiving orders, and not another, gave birth to suspicions, that they were not to be all treated in the same manner. These suspicions were fomented by  
ignorant

ignorant or designing men, until they broke out in open disobedience and violence. The Janus, for instance, had just returned from the West Indies, where she had been for some years. The men were confident that they would receive their wages, and be discharged. Some designing persons on shore raised a report, that instead of this, the ship was immediately to go to sea. This reached the men's ears, who immediately held a consultation, what was proper for them to do. The consultation was soon over, and the result of it was, that the authority of the officers should be no longer obeyed, and that there should be a suspension of all duty on board. The men, however, were not satisfied with merely taking this resolution. They knew, that force might be used, to compel them to return to their duty; and therefore took measures to resist force, by preparing for a stout defence. In order to guard against all surprise, they lashed up all their hammocks, got them in the bays forward, and made a very fine barricado. They then pointed two eighteen pounders aft in the gun-room, and loaded them with a double charge of grape-shot. Almost all the officers were on board at this time, except the Captain. They did all that lay in their power to maintain discipline, but in vain. Finding at last, that their power was at an end, they begged that the men would hoist out a boat for the Captain, who wanted to get on board; but this they refused, telling their officers, that they might take the long-boat, and man her with marines, but not a seaman would get into her. The Captain (O'Hara) at length got on board. The crew all assembled to give him a hearing. He was proceeding, to say all that was proper to be said upon the occasion; but having said, that the ship was to be kept in commission, and that she was destined for the American station, the men exclaimed with one voice, that they had heard enough, and they would listen to no more. They immediately went down to their quarters, lighted their matches, and were ready to fire, on the first appearance of necessity for so doing. In this state were matters,



when it was intimated to the crew, that Lord Howe was preparing to come on board. The men said, that they would receive him with every mark of respect. On the day following, his Lordship went on board. He called the men up, and harangued them from the quarter-deck. He assured them, that it was a thing determined on, to pay off all the ships then in port : and he regretted, that a ship which had distinguished herself so much in the West Indies, could not be kept in commission : the gallant men of which the crew was composed, were so valuable to this country, that he did not know how to part with them ; but they might rest assured, that the Janus should be paid off among the very first. The men having thus the faith of the public pledged to them, judged that their point was gained. They therefore gave his Lordship three cheers ; which were answered by as many, from all the ships of war that lay near the Janus. They immediately returned to their duty, and submitted to their officers. Near a week elapsed : and, not hearing of any orders for the ship to go into the harbour, the patience of the crew was exhausted, and they once more shook off the authority of their officers. In the evening, the sail-room by some accident took fire. It was not discovered till about ten o'clock at night. The confusion on board may be more easily conceived than described. However, by the activity of the men, the fire was extinguished. The crew continued masters of the ship. The day following, a letter from Lord Howe was sent on board ; in which his Lordship informed them, that if they were so impatient to be discharged, they must consent to be paid in bills or notes ; for the money for paying off the ships was not yet arrived from London. The proposal was acceded to by the men, who immediately returned to their duty, and were soon after paid off.

The crews of several other ships likewise mutinied, both at Portsmouth and Plymouth ; but were reduced to order, by the activity of their officers, or by the persuasion of the Admirals.

mirals. In this service, the public were much indebted to Sir Thomas Pye, Lord Viscount Howe, Rear-Admirals Alexander Hood and Lord Hood; also, to Captains Sir Hyde Parker, Macbride of the *Artois*, Lloyd of the *Oiseau*, &c. &c. Both Portsmouth and Plymouth were, during the months of March and April, the scenes of riot and disorder. A formidable mutiny was suppressed on board the *Queen*.<sup>\*</sup> This unhappy furor seized on the crews of some of the ships just returned from the Leeward Islands. It appeared particularly, on board of the *Raisable*, Captain Lord Hervey, who behaved with great spirit and resolution on the occasion. The *Raisable* was at Spithead, and ordered to proceed round to Chatham, to be paid off. The ship's company hearing of it, openly declared, that they would not go round, but that they would carry the ship into Portsmouth harbour themselves, and be paid off there, and were proceeding to unmoor the ship without orders. Lord Hervey observing this, previously armed himself: and, at the risk of his life, seized twelve of the ringleaders, and confined them. This spirited conduct, so intimidated the rest of the mutineers, that they returned to their duty, and navigated the ship round to Chatham. The prisoners were there brought to a Court-martial;† by which, seven of them received sentence of death, three were ordered three hundred lashes each, and two were acquitted. The spirit of mutiny had got to such a daring height, that, to suppress it, an example became absolutely necessary. Accordingly, four of the seven under sentence of death, and least deserving mercy, were selected for this purpose: and, on the 11th of August, these unhappy men were removed from the *Irresistible*, and disposed of in the following manner, for execution. The *Scipio*, *Dictator*, *Carnatic*, and *Thetis*, were the ships appointed for this solemn scene; one being ordered to be executed on board of  
of

\* Of this mutiny, see a particular account in the Appendix, Note 337.

† See Note 338.

of each. But the man, who was to receive his punishment on board the *Thetis*, was reprieved, just before the signal was given. The other three were hanged at the yard-arm, at the firing of a gun. A yellow flag was kept flying from each ship, during the execution. The others, who were ordered to suffer death by the sentence of the Court-martial, as also those ordered to be flogged, being extremely penitent for their crime, were, through the intercession of Lord Hervey, pardoned by his Majesty.

No Administration having as yet been settled, the Commons became much incensed: and, on the 24th of March, Mr. Thomas Wenman Coke remarked to them, that as the expectation of the appointment of a proper Ministry had, for some time, been entertained in vain, he thought it expedient to move, "That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to take into his serious consideration, the very distracted and unsettled state of the Empire, after a long and exhausting war: and that he would therefore condescend to a compliance with the wishes of this House, by forming an Administration entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." To this the House agreed: and it was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, by such members as were Privy Counsellors. The King was graciously pleased to return for answer—"That it was his earnest desire to do every thing that was in his power, to comply with the wishes expressed by his faithful Commons." Some days intervened: and no intimation being given, of a new Ministry being established, the Commons again began to shew their displeasure at the delay; and an address, drawn up by the Earl of Surrey, was moved for: but it was withdrawn, in the hope, that a new Administration would soon be announced. In the interim, the negotiations with the Duke of Portland and his friends were renewed; a Ministry was formed; and their appointment



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ment was published in the Gazette of April 2d. The Duke of Portland was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury; Lord North and the Honourable Charles Fox, Secretaries of State: and the following Lords and Gentlemen composed the Board of Admiralty, viz.: Admiral Augustus Lord Viscount Keppel, William Lord Viscount Duncannon, Lord John Townshend, Sir John Lindsay, K. B., William Jolliffe, and Whitshed Keene, Esquires.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



















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